

VOLUME 99 • NUMBER 4 • OCTOBER 1994

The American Historical Review

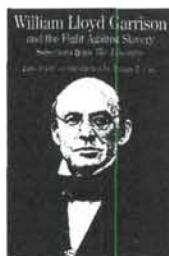
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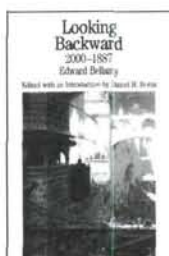
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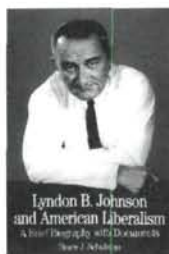
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The American Historical Review appears in February, April, June, October, and December of each year. It is published by the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-544-2422) and is printed and mailed by Byrd Press, 2901 Byrdhill Road, Richmond, Virginia 23228. The editorial offices are located at 914 Atwater, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405 (812) 855-7609.

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Postmaster: Please send notification (Form 3579) regarding undelivered journals to: American Historical Association, 400 A Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Publication identification number: *American Historical Review* (ISSN 0002-8762).

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Contact Sharon K. Tune, Executive Associate, American Historical Association, 400 A ST SE, Washington, DC 20003. Phone (202) 544-2422, fax (202) 544-8307.

Second-class postage paid at Washington, D.C., and at additional mailing offices

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In This Issue

Two daring essays frame this issue. The lead article commits the always risky act of synthesis, while the final essay attempts something never before tried in this publication: it deploys the Gaia hypothesis as an explanatory model for a central institution of modern history.

We are always on the lookout for fresh and challenging syntheses and are therefore delighted to feature as our lead essay **Gary Gerstle's** bold new examination of changes in twentieth-century American liberalism. He ranges from the early 1900s forward to the 1960s, using as a theme for organizing the history of reform efforts the liberals' pursuit of the "rational" and flight from the "irrational." His particular interest is in explaining why an economically oriented liberalism became dominant in the 1930s, supplanting an earlier liberal concern with issues of civil rights, cultural pluralism, and moral improvement. Gerstle rejects the obvious explanation that the shock of the Depression gave economic issues a new urgency because, he contends, political economy had already taken a primary position in liberal circles in the 1920s, a change brought about not by economic collapse but by the experience of World War I. The ethnic, racist, and nationalist passions unleashed by the war caused liberals to question whether the common people were capable of self-control, an essential ingredient of a free society. Leading liberals accordingly delineated a sphere of social action in which ordinary citizens could be expected to be reasonable and democratic rather than irrational and intolerant. Hence the importance of economic and political issues, which were thought to be knowable, analyzable, and controllable through regulation and reform, and the abandonment of cultural and moral issues now understood as "irrational."

Kenneth Lipartito looks at the relationship between labor and technology from the perspective of the strategies of a major business firm and finds that new technology does not automatically lead to deskilling. America's largest telephone company, AT&T, employed a significant portion of this country's female work force in the early twentieth century and could have saved money by replacing these women with automatic switching devices two decades before the company actually did so. The company's managers, however, had come to see women operators as vital to their competitive strategy and adapted current technology to the labor force in preference to supplanting the operators with automatic switches. It was the success of this strategy in building a national network that became too large and complicated for manual switching, rather than labor conflict or cost, that finally compelled the long-delayed automation. Lipartito contends that the history of business enterprises requires a broad view of company strategy and an appreciation of the interrelationship of technology, gender, and work process, rather than a narrow focus on labor conflict and control.

A new subject of interest among historians is the emergence of a movement for women's rights on an international scale. Our forthcoming December issue will carry an article about three major international women's organizations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this issue, **Sandra Stanley Holton** explores links that go back even further between American and British suffragist movements. The bridge between the two movements was built principally by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and her daughter, Harriot Stanton Blatch. Holton's essay looks at the shared Garrisonian legacy of the movements, their common emphasis on coverture as of equal importance with enfranchisement for the full citizenship of women, and, in time, a stress also on work as a basis for women's claim to citizenship. Holton sees a need to revise current views on nineteenth-century British suffragism, especially its radical wing, and also to question the idea that militancy was a direct import to the United States from Britain.

The English Civil War has long been regarded as unusual in the restraint the warring sides exercised in the punishment of defeated enemies. **Barbara Donagan** argues that the restraint was fragile, that atrocities occurred, and that the problem of punishment for those guilty of them remained legally unresolved, even as issues of conduct between enemies in battle and in victory or defeat, between soldiers and civilians, and between military and civil power in the state were addressed in mid-seventeenth-century England. A crucial, mutual decision early in the war to fight it according to internationally recognized though unwritten rules governing war between sovereign states, between "lawful enemies," rather than to apply the harsh law of domestic treason, prevented wholesale descent into a war of reprisal. The first civil war saw many failures to observe the "soldierly" professional and moral standards to which both sides nominally adhered but no official abandonment of them. The second civil war, however, saw the selective introduction of a kind of "victor's justice." Treason, atrocity, and an uncertain conception of war crime were the basis of trials that denied soldiers the protections of the laws of war and subjected them to the politicized justice of the state. The interlude was short—contemporaries recognized the danger it posed to long-term postwar reconciliation—but it raised issues with which the twentieth century remains familiar: the defense of acting under legitimate orders, the nature of a war crime, the distinction between atrocity and sanctioned cruelty, the quality and function of military honor, and the relationship between the state and the soldier.

Another consequence of warfare for Great Britain is addressed in the next essay by **Seth Koven**. This time, it is World War I and concerns the intertwined histories of crippled children and wounded soldiers. Koven analyzes a series of issues, including gender and sexuality, war and memory,

body and the nation, all through the prism of physical disability and its representations. These representations and social welfare policy converged during the war to remake crippled children into "brave soldiers" and wounded soldiers into emasculated children. Koven links in his analysis themes of education and welfare for disabled persons, the rapid development of military orthopedics and prostheses, and masculinity of the disabled and national identity, and he ends with the melancholy observation that a social imperative to forget misshapen victims of war and of crippling diseases limited voluntary and public welfare entitlements for the disabled.

Environmental history is by now an established subfield of our discipline, but what is "history from the ecological perspective," the title **Brett Fairbairn** gives to his essay? It is the application to historical events of a specific scientific hypothesis, the Gaia theory of James Lovelock and Lynn Margulis that apprehends the earth as a self-regulating system. Fairbairn argues that Gaia serves as a model for the growth of the German cooperative movement before 1914. The emergence and development of cooperatives, perhaps the largest social movement in Germany's history, do not, according to Fairbairn, fit into the models usually favored by historians, models that build on individual action, group contest for domination, or economic competition. Cooperatives grew and changed with a seeming life of their own, filling social niches, closing feedback loops between social groups and the economy, and performing a system-stabilizing role that countered the social turbulence of industrializing Germany. Fairbairn implies that just as Gaia is a response to a competitive-individualist bias among evolutionary scientists, a systems perspective could correct for a competitive-individualist bias among historians.

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The Protean Character of American Liberalism

GARY GERSTLE

IN HIS CLASSIC WORK, *The Age of Reform*, Richard Hofstadter proposed that the New Deal marked a “drastic new departure . . . in the history of American reform.” Although many elements signaled this new departure, at its core was the New Dealers’ rejection of what Hofstadter characterized as the “insistent moralism of the Progressives” and their embrace instead of Franklin Delano Roosevelt’s call for “bold, persistent experimentation.” Whereas Progressives had been preoccupied with matters of moral strength and weakness, New Dealers were guided by urgent, practical questions concerning what political and economic arrangements would get the economy working again. If, in addressing such issues, reformers were led to act in amoral ways—for instance, to work with corrupt city bosses or scheming monopolists—so be it. From Hofstadter’s perspective, the point of politics was not moral reformation but economic recovery.¹

Hofstadter’s insistence on the amoral, instrumental character of New Deal reform seems wrong to anyone who has studied the politics of the 1930s from the bottom up. For millions of ordinary Americans, especially the workers, farmers, and urban dwellers who participated in the decade’s mass movements, the New Deal was above all a great moral crusade meant to restore justice, fairness, democracy, and equality to their rightful place in the republic’s economic life. The reservoir of patriotism flowing into the New Deal—its “real Americanism,” in the words of the 1936 Democratic Party platform—and the reverence felt by so many for FDR throughout his presidency and beyond further underscore the New

A fellowship from the Institute for Advanced Study, School of Social Science, made possible the initial research on which this article is based. A travel grant from the Catholic University of America funded research trips to the American Jewish Archives and the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, where staffs furnished expert help and a pleasant working environment. Kevin Downing, Margot Nathan, and Marcia Tucker provided valuable research assistance. I am grateful to each of these institutions and individuals.

I am also grateful for opportunities to present earlier versions of this essay to scholars at the Institute for Advanced Study, the Seminar on Politics, Culture, and Society at New York University’s Department of History, the Catholic University of America, and the Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies at Princeton University. Each presentation generated vigorous conversation and debate and prompted me to revise my work in significant ways. Finally, I would like to thank the following people for their close and penetrating readings: Alan Brinkley, Leon Fink, Steve Fraser, James Gilbert, Walter Jackson, Michael Kammen, Michael Katz, Michael Kazin, James Kloppenberg, Michael Lacey, Elizabeth Lunbeck, Peter Mandler, Arno Mayer, John Murrin, Bruce Nelson, Carl Nightingale, Roy Rosenzweig, Hilda Sabato, Elliott Shore, Fred Siegel, Peter Wagner, Jon Wakelyn, Michael Walzer, Andrew Weiss, Robert Westbrook, and several anonymous *AHR* reviewers.

¹ Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 303, 316–17.

Deal's transcendence of the pragmatic, utilitarian quality that Hofstadter took pains to stress.²

But if Hofstadter erred in defining the New Deal as devoid of moral fervor, he did astutely identify what distinguished New Deal reform from what had preceded it. Missing from the New Deal was the Progressive preoccupation with individual virtue and vice. Progressives had been intent on reforming individuals and improving character. Civil servants were to be made honest and efficient; immigrants were to be educated in the ways of American democracy; young women were to be saved from prostitution, young men from drink. These character-building intentions, which gave rise to crusades for "good government," Americanization, social hygiene, and Prohibition, were essential stepping stones, Progressives believed, to fashioning the unified moral community that they desired. New Dealers, by contrast, expressed little interest in remaking individuals or in uniting all Americans into a single moral community. They reserved their moral passion for economic reform; their moral compass pointed to such words and phrases as "security," "opportunity," and "industrial democracy." This pattern was set in the earliest days of the New Deal, when the federal government embarked on a whirlwind of economic reforms (the legendary "Hundred Days") while simultaneously announcing, through the expeditious handling of Prohibition's repeal, its retirement from the job of "morals" policeman.³

Believing that American reform had benefited from the removal of moral issues from politics, Hofstadter regarded the New Deal as superior to Progressivism. But such a judgment is open to challenge. If the Progressives' concern with individual behavior had its more repressive side, it also imbued their age with a remarkably capacious notion of reform, one not limited to questions of political economy. The feminist campaign for equal rights blossomed under Progressivism, and the modern movement for black equality, symbolized by the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1910, was born. The first demands for cultural pluralism—what we now call multiculturalism—date from this era as well. Sexuality, gender, race, and ethnicity all became subjects of intense debate and reform.

New Deal reform, by contrast, was more narrowly conceived. Little feminist activity emerged during those years, and questions of race and ethnicity received scant national attention. To take but one example: in 1936, when the New Deal was at its most expansive, the framers of the Democratic Party platform called for "a democracy of opportunity for all the people." Who were the people? Farmers, workers, small businessmen. Barely a word in the entire document spoke to the particular concerns of blacks, women, or ethnics.⁴ Members of these groups were welcomed into the New Deal—indeed, they constituted its backbone—but only when subsumed under economic categories. Although anger at racial injustice and cultural prejudice was a motivating force among many who gave their votes

² Democratic National Committee, *The Campaign Handbook of the Democratic Party, Candidates and Issues* (n.p., 1936), 6.

³ On the Progressive preoccupation with virtue and vice, see Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), part 4. On Prohibition's repeal, see William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1963), 46–47.

⁴ Democratic National Committee, *Campaign Handbook*, 2–4.

to the New Deal, it found little expression in contemporaneous liberal politics. In the liberalism of the day, the American people were divided into and represented by economic categories. Economic issues, metaphors, and antagonists dominated the New Deal's language of political mobilization and conflict.

Why economic language should have been so dominant in 1930s liberalism is a question that has attracted little attention. This is in part because the answer seems obvious: the shock of the Depression gave economic issues a "natural," overriding urgency.⁵ But this explanation does not bear up under scrutiny, at least with respect to the intellectuals who gave ideological shape to New Deal liberalism. The primacy of political economy had already established itself in liberal circles in the prosperous 1920s and had far more to do with a crisis in liberal thought arising out of the Great War and the Russian Revolution than with the catastrophe of economic collapse. Designing a new liberalism that emphasized the "economic" and neglected the "cultural" was the way chosen by one group of influential liberal thinkers to put their embattled creed on a more secure foundation. How this liberalism took shape, how it gained, sustained, and then lost the power to set the terms of reform: these are the questions this essay will address.

CRITICAL TO THIS INVESTIGATION IS A BELIEF in the malleability of the "liberal tradition." Far from being a Hartzian creed etched in Lockean stone, liberalism in twentieth-century America has emerged as a variable, somewhat tractable, political philosophy.⁶ The liberalism of our own time, with its emphasis on racial equality, minority rights, and expansive notions of individual freedom, differs substantially from the liberalism of the interwar years, which was focused on taming capitalism; further, both liberalisms differ from Progressivism. All three represent a substantial departure from the classical liberal program of limiting the government's right to interfere with the economic and political liberties of its citizens.

The protean character of American liberalism, so puzzling to European commentators, is in part traceable to its role as a surrogate socialism. Although the American polity successfully excluded a mass socialist or labor party from serious electoral competition from World War I on, it could not banish poverty, unemployment, excessive concentrations of economic power, and other ills associated with industrial capitalism. It fell to liberals to deal with these issues, which is why American liberalism has sometimes acquired a social democratic tinge and why would-be or one-time socialists—Florence Kelley, Walter Lippmann, John Dewey, Rexford Tugwell, Walter Reuther, Daniel Bell, Martin Luther King, Jr., Tom Hayden, to name but a few—often found themselves drawn into association with liberal projects.⁷

⁵ This was Hofstadter's view; see *Age of Reform*, 302–08.

⁶ For Hartz's theory of liberalism, see Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York, 1955).

⁷ On the relationship of American socialism to American liberalism, see Irving Howe, "Socialism and Liberalism: Articles of Conciliation?" in his *Socialism and America* (San Diego, 1985), 147–76; Michael Harrington, *Socialism* (New York, 1973), chap. 11; Dorothy Ross, "Socialism and American Liberalism: Academic Social Thought in the 1880s," in *Perspectives in American History*, 11 (1977–78):

Liberalism is not infinitely flexible, of course. However much it changed, it never abandoned three foundational principles: emancipation, rationality, and progress. Indeed, liberalism's evolution can be understood as a series of efforts to reinterpret these principles in light of unexpected historical developments. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, classical liberals defined emancipation in political, economic, and cultural terms: as the universal extension of political rights, as the removal of feudal/mercantilist restraints on production and trade, and as the waning of ascriptive ("primitive") forms of association and identification (kin, tribal, religious). A belief in "man's" essentially rational and sociable nature was crucial to these emancipatory projects. This nature would flourish once "unnatural" political, economic, and cultural constraints were removed. Emancipation would lead not to a Hobbesian state of strife, coercion, or misery but to harmony, the rule of reason, and general happiness.⁸

When liberal policies failed to yield these results—when free enterprise became corporate monopoly, when freeing the slaves produced a caste system in the South, when America's free social and political environment failed to dissolve "coagulated" ethnic attachments—liberals were forced to concede that the mere release of human nature from unnatural restraints was no longer sufficient to ensure emancipation. Human nature had to be nurtured; individuals required a humane economic and social environment in which to live, and they needed instruction in how best to express and enjoy their individuality. Buoyed by the remarkable growth of scientific knowledge in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, liberals turned to the state as an institutional medium capable of reconstructing society and of educating citizens in the task of intelligent living. Such rational interventions in society and culture would encourage individuals to cultivate their best human capacities. Relations among individuals and social groups would improve as a result, and history would be restored to its progressive, emancipatory path.⁹

Not all liberals followed this path, of course. Some doggedly clung to classical liberalism, even as such adherence turned them into de-facto defenders of corporate capitalism, segregation, and disenfranchisement. They effectively renounced the earlier liberal hope of universal emancipation—that every individual could enjoy the full flowering of his or her individuality. These liberals were well

5–80. On the relationship of liberalism to socialism more generally, see Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working-Class History: Bengal, 1890–1940* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), chap. 7.

⁸ This notion of classical liberalism merges two classical liberalisms—one represented by Locke, the other by Adam Smith—that some theorists would prefer to keep distinct. Peter Laslett, ed., *Locke's Two Treatises of Government* (Cambridge, 1988); Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Edwin Cannan, ed. (New York, 1937). On the expectation that liberalism would erode ascriptive characteristics, see Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990). Christopher Lasch offers some intelligent commentary on liberalism's underlying beliefs in *The American Liberals and the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1962), vii–viii, *passim*.

⁹ John Dewey, *Liberalism and Social Action* (New York, 1935); Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought, 1865–1901* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1956); James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York, 1986); David E. Green, *Shaping Political Consciousness: The Language of Politics from McKinley to Reagan* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987). See also L. T. Hobhouse, *Liberalism* (London, 1911); and Isaiah Berlin, "Two Concepts of Liberty," in Berlin, *Four Essays on Liberty* (London, 1969).

represented on the Supreme Court and among corporate elites and the owners of small businesses. Although their political influence and their self-identity as liberals remained strong until the 1930s, they will not be treated here. Their story more properly belongs to the history of modern American conservatism.¹⁰

The majority of liberals, who did reconstruct their philosophy around the idea of a strong state, had barely settled into their new political orientation when they were struck by more unexpected shocks. The eruption of communism in 1917, with its call for emancipation through violent class struggle, deeply unsettled liberals who had believed that "liberation" and "revolution" could be achieved in a peaceful and orderly way. Moreover, the ugly racist and nationalist passions unleashed by World War I, at home and abroad, made liberals wonder whether the modern masses were capable of self-control, a characteristic they deemed essential to the success of a free society. The allure of emancipation dimmed for those who harbored these doubts, while the imperative of developing a rational and controlled democratic politics correspondingly increased. Some liberals turned to hierarchical notions of expertise, engineering, and technocracy—tools that would allow enlightened elites to manage the common peoples' quest for freedom.¹¹ Others sought to delineate a realm of social action in which ordinary people could be expected to behave in reasonable and democratic, rather than in irrational and intolerant, ways. Liberals who chose this second strategy rarely discussed their rationale. To admit that human frailties doomed certain reforms to failure ran counter to their deep belief in man's fundamentally good nature. But their actions nevertheless profoundly shaped the character of liberalism between the wars.

WHENEVER THE CHARACTER OF LIBERALISM CHANGED, so did the composition of the liberal community. The transition from classical to strong-state liberalism brought agrarian reformers such as William Jennings Bryan into the liberal fold and alienated those who still clung to *laissez faire*. The trauma of World War I resulted in the exit of many moral reformers from liberal ranks (including Bryan) and the entry of H. L. Mencken and his libertarian legions. These and other changes in constituency make it unwise to treat the liberal community as a stable political entity or to presume that the criteria for identifying liberals in one period can be applied to another. Any effort to define the liberal community must be firmly located in time and space.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the liberal community was strongest in the industrial and commercial centers of the Northeast and Midwest. It had cohered in the 1910s among European immigrants and their children, progressive trade unionists such as those who belonged to the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and Amalgamated Clothing Workers, settlement house workers, social workers, and others involved with urban reform. These liberals could be found in both the Republican and Democratic parties, although by 1916 the Democratic

¹⁰ See Clinton Rossiter, *Conservatism in America* (New York, 1955).

¹¹ See Leon Fink's incisive essay, "The Fearsome Public: Democratic Disenchantment and the Advance of Learning," unpublished, in author's possession.

Party had emerged as their preferred home. In the 1920s, the liberal constellation expanded to include Menckente libertarians, liberal Protestants, and growing numbers of intellectuals affiliated with universities or with newly established social science foundations such as the Social Science Research Council, the Spelman Fund, the National Bureau of Economic Research, and the Institute for Government Research.¹²

The intellectuals in this liberal community are of particular interest. They were the ones most imbued with the new liberal faith in science as a tool of reform and in the capacity of a strong state to educate and liberate. Those with the greatest influence were concentrated at a relatively few elite universities: Wisconsin, Chicago, Harvard, Yale, and, above all, Columbia. The number of Columbia academics who shaped American liberalism through their writings or, in the 1930s, as New Deal policy makers exceeded that of any other institution: John Dewey in philosophy, Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict in anthropology, Robert Lynd in sociology, Rexford Tugwell and Wesley Clair Mitchell in economics, Adolph Berle and William O. Douglas in law.¹³

Columbia's distinction arose not simply from the size and academic prestige of its faculty but also from its access to New York's thriving metropolitan community of independent intellectuals, writers, magazine editors, book publishers, and reformers. Hungry for ideas and eager to turn ideas into print, this urban public encouraged university-based intellectuals to seek influence beyond their academic specialties. They were invited to give public lectures, to join study groups, and to comment in print on major political issues of the day. As Thomas Bender has noted, John Dewey became a "wide-ranging and cosmopolitan intellectual" only after leaving Chicago for New York. Dewey's graduate student Max Eastman introduced Dewey to Greenwich Village, and his colleague Charles Beard asked him to join the "X" Club, a high-powered group of New York intellectuals, journalists, and political activists that met biweekly from 1903 to 1917. In this milieu, "Dewey learned to put his talk on general social, cultural, and political

¹² The Institute for Government Research was later renamed the Brookings Institution. Barry D. Karl and Stanley N. Katz, "The American Philanthropic Foundation and the Public Sphere, 1890-1930," *Minerva*, 19 (Summer 1981): 266-70. On the roots of this interwar liberalism, see J. Joseph Huthmacher, "Urban Liberalism and the Age of Reform," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 49 (September 1962): 231-41.

One can identify other liberal communities in the 1920s, most notably that emerging in the South around the issue of race. I do not treat the southern liberal tradition here, although any complete history of American liberalism would have to take it into account and make sense of its relationship to the dominant liberalism of the era. It would also have to stress the role of the University of North Carolina and, in particular, of sociologist Howard Odum in defining this liberalism. See Morton Sosna, *In Search of the Silent South: Southern Liberals and the Race Issue* (New York, 1977); Walter A. Jackson, *Gunmar Myrdal and America's Conscience: Social Engineering and Racial Liberalism, 1938-1987* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), chap. 3 in particular; John T. Kneebone, *Southern Liberal Journalists and the Issue of Race, 1920-1944* (Chapel Hill, 1985); and John D. Buenker, *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform* (New York, 1973).

¹³ Charles Beard was a member of the Columbia government faculty until 1917, when he resigned to protest the university's suppression of faculty dissent during World War I. As a founding member of the New School for Social Research in 1919 and then as an independent intellectual, he remained very much a part of New York City's liberal community.

issues into print"; by the 1920s, he had become "America's great public philosopher."¹⁴

New York City's success in nurturing liberal intellectuals affected the entire country. Much of the nation's liberal thought reached the public through one of the city's liberal journals. The country's premier liberal magazine, the *New Republic*, operated out of a brownstone on West 21st Street. *The Nation* also had its offices in New York, as did the *Survey Graphic*. New York was liberalism's heart. For this reason, a disproportionate number of liberal intellectuals made New York their home, including several who will receive close examination in this essay—Herbert Croly, John Dewey, Robert and Helen Lynd, and Horace Kallen. To understand the liberalism they constructed in the 1920s and 1930s, we must first consider the liberalism—Progressivism—they cast off.

IN THE LATE NINETEENTH and early twentieth-century United States, reformers who fashioned themselves Progressives altered classical liberalism as they attempted to address the unanticipated complexities of their industrial society. Two of the issues that Progressives found most perplexing were the extraordinary concentration of power and wealth in the hands of relatively small numbers of industrialists and bankers and the bewildering array and unexpected vigor of ethnic cultures among the working people.

Progressive reformers' efforts to devise new formulas that would guarantee freedom of trade and individual liberty in a society suddenly dominated by economically and politically powerful corporations are well documented. In fact, Progressivism is often understood as a constellation of such formulas, some of which called for new democratic procedures more impervious to manipulation by the "Interests" (and more invigorating to a dispirited citizenry), others of which called on the state to regulate or to break up large-scale economic institutions, still others of which focused on the empowerment of subaltern groups such as workers, farmers, and, to a lesser extent, consumers. Campaigning against the "Interests" and the "Trusts," some liberals began elaborating an American theory of corporatism that called for a strong state both to regulate the corporations and to help workers and farmers organize themselves and press their demands. Other liberals were attracted to the English theory of guild socialism, which held the promise of group empowerment while keeping the state small. Herbert Croly elaborated American versions of both approaches, the corporatist in his famous work *The Promise of American Life* (1909) and the guild socialist in his less well known *Progressive Democracy* (1914). Both were disseminated widely through the pages of the *New Republic*, the liberal weekly he founded in 1914.¹⁵

¹⁴ Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York, 1987), 309–10, and chap. 8 *passim*. The urban cultures of other metropolitan cities such as Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and San Francisco nourished intellectual life, too, but none in this period could rival New York in size, intensity, or national influence.

¹⁵ The literature on the economic dimension of Progressivism is immense. The more important general works include Arthur Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910–1917* (New York, 1954); Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*; Samuel Hays, *The Response to Industrialism, 1885–1914* (Chicago,

Progressives were concerned equally with the problem of culture, however, believing that society's problems could not be successfully resolved without a thoroughgoing reform of morals, aesthetics, and traditions. To Croly's way of thinking, the most well-intentioned economic reforms would accomplish little if not accompanied by a "new nationalism." Many historians have interpreted Croly's "new nationalism" in terms of political economy, as the use of Hamiltonian means (a strong central government) to check the private power of industry and finance.¹⁶ But for Croly himself, the creation of a new nationalism was a task of cultural reconstruction independent of his program for economic reform. Throughout *The Promise of American Life*, Croly stressed that the American people had to stitch themselves together in moral as well as in economic ways, a point he drove home in the book's last few paragraphs, where he declared "that the task of individual and social regeneration must remain incomplete and impoverished, until the conviction and feeling of human brotherhood enters into the possession of the human spirit."¹⁷

Although not all Progressives spoke in this sort of spiritual idiom, most shared Croly's underlying belief that successful economic reform depended on a parallel program of moral renewal. Indeed, this belief accounts for much that was distinctive about Progressive reform. For many Progressives, the emphasis on morality expressed the Protestant faith instilled in them as children. Even those who had turned their backs on formal religion were still certain that society would benefit from sustained and secularized campaigns for moral improvement.¹⁸ These campaigns came in all shapes and sizes: Croly sought spiritual nourishment in the arts; "political" Progressives such as Lincoln Steffens and Ida Tarbell focused on rooting out corruption in government and industry; "social" Progressives such as Jane Addams hoped to rehabilitate those urban dwellers who, for reasons of poverty, isolation, ignorance, or moral weakness, had fallen into vice; suffragists argued that giving women the vote would moralize politics, while prohibitionists insisted that the elimination of drink would keep men's baser instincts in check. The notion binding all these campaigns together—most broadly, that the reinvigoration of democracy depended on moral regeneration as much as it did on economic reform—also impelled Progressives to devote a great deal of attention to the immigrant millions in their midst. The problem of integrating immigrants into American society could not be solved simply by finding them good jobs or distributing to them sufficient fruits from American

1957); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (New York, 1967); James Weinstein, *The Corporate Ideal in the Liberal State, 1900–1918* (Boston, 1968); Nell Irvin Painter, *Standing at Armageddon: The United States, 1877–1919* (New York, 1987); Martin Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism: The Market, the Law and Politics* (Cambridge, 1988); Alan Dawley, *Struggles for Justice: Social Responsibility and the Liberal State* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991). On Croly, see Charles Forcey, *The Crossroads of Liberalism: Croly, Weyl, Lippmann, and the Progressive Era, 1900–1925* (New York, 1961); and David W. Levy, *Herbert Croly of the New Republic: The Life and Thought of an American Progressive* (Princeton, N.J., 1985).

¹⁶ See, for example, Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era*, 18–20.

¹⁷ Herbert Croly, *The Promise of American Life* (New York, 1909), 453. For a perceptive rendering of Croly's thought, see Bender, *New York Intellectual*, 222–27.

¹⁸ On the religious roots of Progressivism, see Robert M. Crunden, *Ministers of Reform: The Progressives' Achievement in American Civilization, 1889–1920* (New York, 1982).

capitalism, although these tasks were important. Immigrants had to be "Americanized," culturally and morally transformed from aliens into citizens, and given a sense of membership in and loyalty to the nation.¹⁹

Even if Progressives could agree on the importance of moral regeneration, their actual efforts to transmute their moral sensibilities into political programs triggered conflict. The Progressives were a diverse lot. In addition to urban liberals, their ranks included William Jennings Bryan, William La Follette, and other agrarian reformers who were heirs to the Populists, southern Democrats such as Josephus Daniels committed to anticorporate economics and racial segregation, and Republican gentry (such as Theodore Roosevelt) whose distaste for commercialism had impelled them toward reform. Because of these broad differences in background and aspiration, the Progressives had difficulty fashioning a cultural politics to which they could all adhere. The issue of immigration illustrates the problem. Rightward-leaning Progressives such as Roosevelt minced no words about their low regard for the immigrants' cultural heritages or their desire to impress America's superior Anglo-Saxon mores upon them. Many other Progressives who did not publicly indulge in harsh racial stereotyping or subscribe to calls for coercive Americanization nevertheless regarded the dissolution of ethnic cultures and their replacement by a thoroughly American identity as one of Progressivism's most important tasks.²⁰

A distinctly different cultural politics emerged among left-leaning Progressives, however, especially among those whose work in settlement houses and schools had given them an intimate knowledge of and appreciation for immigrant cultures. Jane Addams, Emily Balch, John Dewey, Louis Brandeis, and others regarded the immigrants' Old World heritages as cultural treasures too important to destroy; these heritages were to be preserved outright or integrated into a cosmopolitan American nationalism. It was not easy for the likes of Addams and Dewey, immersed since youth in the culture of American Protestantism and republicanism, to acknowledge an equivalent value in the very different heritages of immigrants, especially of those from Southern and Eastern Europe. But they struggled hard to do so, and their work made it easier for a younger generation of Progressives, led by Horace Kallen and Randolph Bourne, to celebrate ethnic

¹⁹ Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (New York, 1904); Ida Tarbell, *The History of the Standard Oil Company* (New York, 1904); Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York, 1910); Aileen S. Kraditor, *Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890–1920* (New York, 1965); Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, Conn., 1981). See also Paul F. Bourke, "The Status of Politics, 1909–1919: The New Republic, Randolph Bourne and Van Wyck Brooks," in *American Studies*, 8 (August 1974): 171–202; Casey Nelson Blake, *Beloved Community: The Cultural Criticism of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Lewis Mumford* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1990), chaps. 3–4 in particular; and Christopher Lasch, *The True and Only Heaven: Progress and Its Critics* (New York, 1991), *passim*, for illuminating commentary on Progressive "moralism."

²⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, "Straight Americanism," in Hermann Hagedorn, ed., *The Americanism of Theodore Roosevelt: Selections from His Writings and Speeches* (Boston, 1923), 199–210; Jacob A. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York* (New York, 1890), *passim*. The theme of discarding European baggage and forming a new, and distinctively American, identity is what made Israel Zangwill's play *The Melting Pot* (New York, 1909) so popular among Progressives.

diversity—what Kallen would call cultural pluralism—as the true spirit of Americanism.²¹

The ideological intensity of war revealed the underlying irreconcilability of these divergent Progressive approaches. With Roosevelt and his allies screaming for “100 percent Americanism” and Kallen, Bourne, and others denouncing the ugly coercion and conformity they saw as central to such campaigns, Progressivism lost its coherence as a political movement. But until that time, Progressives managed to hold differences on cultural questions in check. At crucial moments, such as Roosevelt’s run for the presidency on the Progressive “Bull Moose” party ticket in 1912, they made common cause. Their shared commitment to addressing questions of ethnic diversity, national identity, and moral well-being gave them a common ground large enough to accommodate a range of policy disagreements. Their determination to elaborate a program of reform that addressed itself both to political economy and to cultural politics, that refused to make culture a function of economics, or vice versa, was a hallmark of pre-World War I liberalism distinguishing it both from classical liberalism and from a new, economically oriented liberalism that emerged from the excitements and disillusionments of World War I.

AS LATE AS 1917, ON THE EVE OF AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN THE GREAT WAR, a majority of Americans were not eager to fight. Their enthusiasm for war had to be aroused, their loyalty to the nation-state secured. Woodrow Wilson sought to mobilize support by portraying the war as a means of extending Progressive reform, both in the United States and abroad: this was to be a “war to end all wars,” a “war for democracy” in which the power of old monarchs and empires would be crushed and the freedom of ordinary people everywhere would be enhanced. In calling on Americans to participate in this great crusade, Wilson thought he could draw on the Progressives’ desire to unite all citizens in a single community of shared values and aspirations. But America was too heterogeneous a society and the opposition to war was too deep for that community to be built overnight through exhortation alone. Thus the Wilson administration turned rather quickly to coercion—censoring the mail, curtailing the rights of free speech

²¹ John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860–1925* (New York, 1955), is illuminating on the “left” and “right” versions of Progressive cultural politics; see chap. 9 in particular. On the “left” version, see also Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1890–1919* (Chicago, 1989); Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, chap. 11; John Dewey, “The School as Social Center,” *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association* (1902); Dewey, “Nationalizing Education,” *ibid.* (1916); “Universal Service as Education,” *New Republic*, April 22, 29, 1916; John Dewey to Horace M. Kallen, March 31 and April 16, 1915, Box 7, File 13, Horace M. Kallen Papers, Manuscript Collection No. 1, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio (hereafter, AJC); Horace M. Kallen, “Democracy versus the Melting Pot,” *The Nation*, February 18, 25, 1915; Randolph Bourne, “Trans-National America,” in Randolph Bourne, *The Radical Will: Selected Writings, 1911–1918*, Olaf Hansen, ed. (New York, 1977), 248–64; Louis Brandeis, “True Americanism,” in *Brandeis on Zionism: A Collection of Addresses and Statements by Louis D. Brandeis* (Washington, D.C., 1942), 3–11; and Oswald Garrison Villard, *Fighting Years: Memoirs of a Liberal Editor* (New York, 1939), 191–200, 236–42.

and assembly, jailing aliens and dissenters.²² In so doing, the administration brought into the open a dilemma intrinsic to Progressive politics but one that many Progressives had yet to think through: Was the use of force justified in achieving a community of shared morals and common purpose?

Rightward-leaning Progressives, on the whole, answered that question affirmatively. They outdid the administration in their determination to discipline cultural and political dissenters. They fought successfully for Prohibition, helped to secure the first federal law in a generation restricting immigration and harassed immigrants already here with their "100 percent Americanism" campaigns. When even these measures failed to attain the desired level of cultural conformity, many Progressives lost their enthusiasm for reform altogether and reemerged, in the 1920s, as reactionaries—obsessed with restoring America to some imagined state of cultural homogeneity and moral purity. The American Legion, fundamentalism, and even the Ku Klux Klan all drew support from those who, ten years earlier, had considered themselves Progressives. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., founded the American Legion in 1919, hoping that, with its vigilance in identifying subversive groups and activities, it would carry on the political work of his deceased father. William Jennings Bryan adhered to his populist principles until his death in 1926, but they were barely discernible in his fundamentalist crusade to restore Christian faith and biblical truth to the classroom. Those who followed the path of a Roosevelt or Bryan had, by the mid-1920s, exited the world of American reform.²³

The war and postwar history of left-leaning Progressives was strikingly different. A few had refused to accept the legitimacy of the war or the use of government power to legislate conformity; from their ranks in the 1920s would come the American Civil Liberties Union and Menckens-style libertarianism. A larger number withheld their support until the Russian Revolution of 1917 generated apocalyptic excitement in their ranks. Viewing the tsar's fall as vindication of Wilson's claim that the United States was indeed engaged in a "war for democracy," they embraced the American war effort as their own. As a result of making this embrace, investing their hopes in Wilson, and then suffering through the disillusionment of Versailles and the domestic repression of 1919, they substantially changed the character of liberal politics.

The tsar's fall and the consequent enthusiasm for war had two major effects on the politics of left-leaning Progressives—or liberals, as they increasingly called themselves. First, it made them complicit in the Wilson administration's repressive wartime policies. Second, it inclined them to look sympathetically at the new forms of democratic governance that seemed to be arising in Russia. In particular, these liberals found in the "soviet" an exciting form of extra-parliamentary, direct democracy. They began calling for the extension of the principles of political

²² David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York, 1980), 3–92; Horace C. Peterson and Gilbert C. Fite, *Opponents of War, 1917–1918* (Madison, Wis., 1957).

²³ Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, chaps. 9–10; William Pencak, *For God and Country: The American Legion, 1919–1941* (Boston, 1989); Kathleen M. Blee, *Women of the Klan: Racism and Gender in the 1920s* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); Leonard J. Moore, *Citizen Klansmen: The Ku Klux Klan in Indiana, 1921–1928* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1991); Lawrence W. Levine, *Defender of the Faith: William Jennings Bryan; The Last Decade, 1915–1925* (New York, 1965).

democracy to economic life in the United States. As the iron grip of Bolshevik control increasingly made the soviets appear too radical an experiment to try in American circumstances, liberals harkened to the tamer calls for industrial democracy emanating from British guild socialists such as Harold Laski and G. D. H. Cole and, by 1918, from the British Labour Party itself. A fearsome concatenation of strikes by American workers in 1919 impelled liberals to endorse the British way with ever more fervor, as it seemed the only step that could possibly forestall a Bolshevik-style revolution in the United States.²⁴

Liberals' espousal of "industrial democracy" alone should not be interpreted as a sharp break from Progressive thinking. Progressives before the war had been concerned about inequalities in wealth and power between capitalists and workers and had long been searching for some way to reinvigorate American democracy. Their encounter with the Russian Revolution deepened—some would say radicalized—their concern and convinced them that the moment for far-reaching economic reconstruction had arrived. But it was only because this deepening commitment to economic reconstruction occurred *in conjunction with* a profound disenchantment with the possibilities of cultural reconstruction that World War I became a transformative moment in liberal thought.

The sources of cultural disenchantment were, to a certain extent, independent of the Russian Revolution and "the labor question." In 1919, liberals saw their hopes for a new world order crushed by the cynical, punitive terms the Allies forced on Germany through the Treaty of Versailles. They now cast a critical eye on overheated nationalist passions, both for encouraging the outbreak of war and for undermining the chances for a rational and fair peace. They could not, moreover, treat these passions as a peculiarly Old World debility, for American nationalist sentiments, whipped to a frenzy by war mobilization, had produced rampant intolerance of immigrants, radicals, blacks, intellectuals, and others whose words and customs could be construed as "unAmerican." The year 1919 was marked by harsh Americanization campaigns, Prohibition, the Palmer raids, race riots, and clamor for immigration restriction.²⁵ Liberals recoiled from this intolerance, abandoning programs to which they had been committed before the United States entered the war. These programs—emphasizing ethnic contributions (what Jane Addams labeled "immigrant gifts") to American culture, proselytizing for a "new nationalism," insisting on moral rectitude—too easily contributed to group antagonisms, liberals now believed, and were a spur to virulent nativism and racism. Feeling themselves impotent in the face of a reactionary nationalism, and perhaps guilty as well for helping to create this cultural

²⁴ Walter Lippmann and Herbert Croly, articles in the *New Republic*, April 14, 1917, and September 15, 1917; unsigned articles in *ibid.*, June 29, 1918, and February 1, 1919; *New Republic*, Supplement, "Labour and the Social Order," February 16, 1918. See also Lasch, *American Liberals, passim*; Stanley Shapiro, "The Great War and Reform: Liberals and Labor, 1917–1919," *Labor History*, 12 (Summer 1971): 232–44; Steven Fraser, *Labor Will Rule: Sidney Hillman and the Rise of American Labor* (New York, 1991), 114–45.

Harold Laski, who lived in Cambridge, Mass., and taught at Harvard in the years 1915–1920, played a critical role in knitting together American liberals and British Labourites. See Paul F. Bourke, "The Pluralist Reading of James Madison's Tenth Federalist," *Perspectives in American History*, 9 (1975): 271–94.

²⁵ Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, chaps. 8–9.

Frankenstein, liberals gave up the fight to create a new culture and new nationalism for the masses. Action on the cultural front only made the prospects for liberal progress worse.

In this climate of disillusionment, some left-leaning Progressives abandoned politics altogether. The flight of intellectuals to Europe reflected widespread despair in artistic circles concerning the possibility of progress of any sort—cultural or economic, liberal or socialist. Political demoralization was equally apparent in the bitter delight aroused by H. L. Mencken's biting social commentary, especially by his savage depictions of average Americans as small-town buffoons and his ridicule of ill-conceived liberal attempts at education and uplift. Walter Lippmann, a central figure in Herbert Croly's *New Republic* liberal circle who was profoundly shaken by the war's outcome and taken with Mencken's iconoclasm, maintained his beliefs in progress and in the efficacy of rational social action but not in democracy. In his view, average citizens, buffeted by sophisticated propaganda emanating from ever larger, more centralized, and more powerful opinion-making organizations, had lost mastery of their own minds; they could no longer make the kind of informed, rational judgments required to make popular sovereignty work. Only the rule of experts, of men like himself, could render government in the United States effective and just.²⁶

The critique of democracy proffered by Mencken and Lippmann was incisive, and liberals who were determined to remain politically engaged had to take it into account. They did so by jettisoning projects of moral improvement and intensifying their focus on economic reorganization. Both Mencken and Lippmann pointed to the role of large-scale capitalism and its attendant business civilization in stupefying the American people. Some argued, therefore, that a thoroughgoing reform of capitalism could salvage democracy and reinvigorate the nation's culture; ethnic, racial, and all other cultural problems would be resolved once relations between capital and labor were put on a sound footing. This is the stance the Progressive stalwart Frederick Howe invoked when he declared (in 1922) that "the problem of immigration, like the problem of America, is the re-establishment of economic democracy."²⁷ John Dewey, another Progressive who had contributed significantly to debates about immigrants—their culture, schooling, and loyalty—also conceived of postwar reconstruction largely in terms of the transformation of the condition of labor in American society.²⁸ In the 1920s, this founding member of the NAACP grew silent on the still-vexing questions raised by America's racial and ethnic diversity, publishing dozens of essays, none of them focused on African Americans. Only once did he protest the racist character of the immigration restriction system put in place between 1921 and 1924, and his protest was motivated not by his concern that such a system betrayed liberal ideals but that it would inflame militarist passions in Japan and thereby increase the

²⁶ Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (New York, 1934), 74–80 in particular; Eric F. Goldman, *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of American Reform* (New York, 1977), 244–46; Walter Lippmann, *The Phantom Public* (New York, 1925).

²⁷ Frederick Howe, "The Alien," in Harold Stearns, *Civilization in the United States: An Inquiry by Thirty Americans* (New York, 1922). Mencken and Lippmann, of course, did not share this view.

²⁸ See, for example, his "Elements of Social Reorganization," in Joseph Ratner, ed., *Character and Events: Popular Essays in Social and Political Philosophy by John Dewey* (1918; New York, 1929), 2: 745–59.

likelihood of war.²⁹ Dewey, moreover, turned away from his personal involvement with immigrants: his grass-roots work with the ethnic populations living near Chicago's Hull House, his field research into the Polish community of Philadelphia, and his love affair with the young Polish-Jewish writer Anzia Yezierska—all these experiences he safely tucked away into an earlier (pre-1920), and now bygone, era.³⁰

Dewey still considered racial or religious bigotry abhorrent; he lived in a cosmopolitan milieu in which such prejudice was not tolerated. To a number of teacher groups, he spoke movingly about the need for a curriculum "which will make the different racial elements in this country aware of what each has contributed" and thus help extinguish "the flames of hatred and suspicion." But in these speeches, as in his other public statements, Dewey's attention invariably focused not on racial discrimination but on "the social divisions that come from economic and industrial forces" and "the problems of capital and labor" arising from these divisions. Students had to be taught how economic power affected the machinery of government, and they had to be put on their guard against "the deadening influences [of factory work and industrial life] which will dull their imagination and inventiveness." These, not ethnic and racial comity, were the greatest civic tasks confronting the schools.³¹

IN HIS *Liberalism in America*, PUBLISHED IN 1919, a young Harold Stearns pummeled his fellow liberals for their hypocritical and pusillanimous behavior during the Great War. On the one hand, he argued, liberals had strutted about, confident that their hardheaded and pragmatic techniques would solve any political problem; on the other, they seemed all too eager to abandon policies that had gone awry or else to cover up their mistakes with vague and evasive abstractions.³²

²⁹ John Dewey, "Public Opinion in Japan," *The Middle Works, 1899–1924*, Jo Ann Boydston, ed. (Carbondale, Ill., 1976–83), vol. 13, 1921–1922, 261. The Johnson-Reid Immigration Act of 1924 stipulated that annual immigration would be limited to 165,000 per year and that most of the openings would be reserved for immigrants from northwestern Europe. The thinly veiled objective of the act was to reduce drastically the immigration of "inferior" peoples from Southern and Eastern Europe. William S. Bernard, "Immigration: A History of U.S. Policy," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 492–95.

³⁰ Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 212–23; Mary V. Dearborn, *Love in the Promised Land: The Story of Anzia Yezierska and John Dewey* (New York, 1988).

³¹ John Dewey, "The School as a Means of Developing a Social Consciousness and Social Ideals in Children," and "Social Purposes in Education," in Boydston, *The Middle Works*, vol. 15, 1923–1924, 150–69. Dewey's turn away from immigrant issues and its connection to his intensifying concern with political economy is still poorly understood, despite a large literature on Dewey that includes Westbrook's fine biography and a heated though sterile debate among historians of education regarding Dewey's "true" attitudes toward immigrants. For an introduction to this latter controversy, see Walter Feinberg, "Progressive Education and Social Planning," *Teachers College Record*, 73 (May 1972); Clarence J. Karier, "Liberalism and the Quest for Orderly Change," *History of Education Quarterly*, 12 (Spring 1972): 57–80; J. Christopher Eisele, "John Dewey and the Immigrants," and Charles L. Zerby, "John Dewey and the Polish Question: A Response to the Revisionist Historians," *History of Education Quarterly*, 15 (Spring 1975): 17–30, 67–85. Dearborn's *Love in the Promised Land* is suggestive on Dewey's sudden flight from immigrant issues; and Ronald K. Goodenow, "Racial and Ethnic Tolerance in John Dewey's Educational and Social Thought: The Depression Years," *Educational Theory*, 27 (Winter 1977): 48–64, is illuminating.

³² Harold Stearns, *Liberalism in America: Its Origins, Its Temporary Collapse, Its Future* (New York, 1919), 124–47 in particular.

Part of Stearns's critique—the liberal penchant for running away from policies that had turned out badly—would seem to account for liberals' flight from cultural issues once they realized that their work for a cosmopolitan nationalism had yielded embarrassingly parochial and nativist results. But such a general explanation collapses under the weight of closer examination. Stearns's reflections failed to anticipate the kind of thorough, and unblinking, reckoning that liberals would undertake to make sense of what they considered their mistakes. The pacifism that dominated 1920s liberal thought, for example, showed not only an ability to acknowledge fully the failure of the Wilsonian strategy of peace and democracy through war but also a determination to develop an alternative politics more faithful to liberal ideals.³³ Similarly, the recoiling from Bolshevism in 1918–1919 did not lead to liberal abandonment of hopes for economic reconstruction but rather to democratic plans for capitalism's reform.³⁴ What requires explanation, then, is not a general habit of running from mistaken policies but a particular flight from failed cultural politics. In the wake of the reactionary nationalism of the postwar years, liberals might have committed themselves more strongly to the ideals of cultural pluralism; they might have raised a storm of indignation about the racism underlying the Johnson-Reid Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 (similar to the fury they unleashed on the expression of militarist sentiment at home and abroad). That they did not suggests that liberals found it easier to confront and transcend the failure of social action in some spheres than in others. Why was this so?

The answer may lie in the perceived nature of the spheres themselves. Liberals conceived of the international and economic arenas as populated by rational actors—nation-states in the former, industry and labor in the latter. These actors might behave irrationally on occasion, but they were fundamentally driven by interests that were knowable, analyzable, and thus controllable through regulation or reform. The cultural arena, by contrast, was populated by irrational actors—ethnic, racial, and religious groups driven more by passions than by interests and thus less suitable as targets for social action. For liberals, cultural issues were, by nature, more difficult to address; the path of progress was elusive, the achievement of emancipation uncertain. Even those Progressives, like Dewey, who were most understanding of ethnic needs and most committed to developing an inclusive American nationalism, had never felt entirely comfortable in the presence of strong ethnic cultures. During the hopeful days of Progressivism, they had put aside their suspicions and bravely tolerated, even encouraged, a kind of ethnic diversity. In the pessimistic years following the war, however, their suspicions returned, and they retreated to a more classically liberal position: it would be best for irrational, ascriptive identities to disappear or, at least, to cease being the subject of political debate or social action.

Liberals such as Dewey found justification for this political retreat in the teachings of psychiatry and psychology, allied intellectual disciplines that had acquired a measure of authority and prestige by the 1920s. Psychiatrists and

³³ See, for example, Charles DeBenedetti, *The Peace Reform in American History* (Bloomington, Ind., 1980).

³⁴ Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Crisis of the Old Order, 1919–1933* (Boston, 1957), 130–44.

psychologists had not discovered the irrational, of course, but they mapped its contours with such confidence and in such detail that many intellectuals accepted their claims to have discovered a second new world. Scholars and lay people of all sorts pored over Sigmund Freud's writings on the unconscious and William James's guides to "instinct," "habit," and other heretofore hidden stretches of the human psyche. They found in these new mental maps confirmation of what their observations of "the masses" had suggested: that ordinary people were often gripped by emotions, prejudices, and feelings that they did not understand and could not control. In the hands of Lippmann, this was scientific corroboration that justified abandoning the democratic idea that ordinary people were capable of self-control and self-rule. In the hands of Dewey and others determined to remain democrats, it reinforced an inclination to limit reform movements to those issues or arenas in which irrational impulses could be checked.³⁵

On one occasion, an address in 1921 to Chinese political scientists (in China) on the causes of racial and ethnic prejudice in America, Dewey talked explicitly about his desire to keep irrational issues off his reform agenda. The prejudice that had engulfed America after the war, Dewey told his audience, contained both irrational and rational elements. The irrational component expressed man's "instinctive" fear of "the stranger," a fear accentuated when the foreigners were culturally or physiognomically different from the native-born.³⁶ The rational element Dewey located in the rise of political nationalism on the one hand and the economic competition among ethnic and racial groups for scarce material goods on the other.³⁷ While these rational and irrational components were analytically distinct, in practice they were impossible to disentangle. Thus to combat race friction directly—through, for instance, a vigorous civil rights movement or a concerted educational project designed to make individuals conscious of their intolerance—invariably would stir up irrational habits and instincts and thus ensure the campaign's defeat. "Individuals here and there," Dewey noted, "achieve freedom from prejudice and rational control of instinctive bias with comparative ease. But the mass cannot attain it," not even with the help of determined educational and publicity campaigns.³⁸ What, then, could be done for blacks who had suffered through race riots, or Southern and Eastern Europeans who encountered rising levels of anti-Semitism and anti-Catholicism? "I see no great hope for alleviation," Dewey grimly intoned. "The simple fact of the case is that at present the world is not sufficiently civilized to permit close contact of peoples of widely different cultures without deplorable consequences."³⁹ Here,

³⁵ On the enormous influence of psychology and psychiatry on American intellectuals between the wars, see Robert M. Crunden, *From Self to Society, 1919–1941* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), chaps. 2–3 in particular.

³⁶ John Dewey, "Racial Prejudice and Friction," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, 6 (1922): 2–7.

³⁷ Dewey, "Racial Prejudice and Friction," 8–12.

³⁸ Dewey, "Racial Prejudice and Friction," 14–15. Here, Dewey is giving voice to an elitist sentiment that, as David Hollinger has shrewdly observed, characterized large stretches of the American intelligentsia from the 1920s through the 1960s. See his "Ethnic Diversity, Cosmopolitanism, and the Emergence of the American Liberal Intelligentsia," in David A. Hollinger, *In the American Province: Studies in the History and Historiography of Ideas* (1985; Baltimore, Md., 1989), 56–73.

³⁹ Dewey, "Racial Prejudice and Friction," 13–14.

Dewey actually admitted what his 1920s writings and speeches so often implied: that “unrestricted contact through immigration and by similar activities should not take place.”⁴⁰ The number of strangers in the land, in other words, should be sharply limited; America’s immigrant gates should be closed. Dewey did not specifically endorse a racist restriction act, but everything he said to his Chinese audience indicated he would be willing to tolerate one. Such legislation would at least give the United States and the world essential “rest and recuperation.”⁴¹ Reformers could proceed with the rational tasks of economic reconstruction and universal disarmament, tasks that, if successfully carried out, would reduce the sources of racial friction over the long term. Meanwhile, direct efforts to ease racial prejudice would have to wait.⁴²

SOME MIGHT DISPUTE this analysis, which stresses the perceived rationality of an issue as the determinant of its presence on, or absence from, the liberal agenda. A popular line of argument holds that the economically oriented liberalism of the 1920s reflected “real” changes in economy and society. On the one hand, the fabled “consumer revolution” of that decade, which put cars, washing machines, radios, vacuum cleaners, and phonographs within reach of ordinary Americans, made capitalism and the material civilization it spawned the most powerful force in American life; questions of the proper division of power between capital and labor and of how to resist the deleterious effects of business civilization “naturally” drew liberal attention. On the other hand, questions of immigrant culture and autonomy decreased in importance as the second generation—the American-born children of immigrants—superseded the first and rapidly discarded their parents’ Old World traits and worries.⁴³

That view of the 1920s, however, rests on a questionable reading of the historical evidence. In the first place, it cannot explain why the preoccupation with

⁴⁰ Dewey, “Racial Prejudice and Friction,” 17.

⁴¹ Dewey, “Racial Prejudice and Friction,” 17.

⁴² Dewey, “Racial Prejudice and Friction,” 16–17. This political abandonment of the realm of culture did not sit well with Dewey, for whom individual moral development was an important component of democratic politics. Thus, in his 1927 book *The Public and Its Problems*, Dewey attempted to design a new cultural politics, one appropriate to an age in which man has “enormously enlarged [his] control of physical energies without any corresponding ability to control himself and his own affairs.” Dewey called for a “new kind of knowledge and insight which does not yet exist” and its dissemination beyond the ranks of scientific and policy experts to the entire society. This free flow of knowledge would not only give individuals insight into their modern predicament, it would also bring them together, give them a sense of shared experience and common purpose, and accelerate their transformation from a “Great Society” to a “Great Community.” The combination of knowledge and community would invigorate the democratic public and allow it to control, in a rational way, the energy and institutions of modern life. Although this was a noble vision, Dewey provided little guidance on how this transformation would actually be effected. Dewey’s vagueness simply underscored the difficulty of designing a cultural politics for the “irrational masses” of the machine age. See John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems: An Essay in Political Inquiry* (New York, 1927), 162, 175, in particular; Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy*, 300–18.

⁴³ This view of the 1920s stretches back to Frederick Lewis Allen, *Only Yesterday: An Informal History of the 1920s* (New York, 1931); and forward to Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1984); and the contributors to Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880–1980* (New York, 1983).

capitalism—its economics and its civilization—achieved primacy on the liberal agenda in the early 1920s, a moment in which the nation's economy was either mired in a postwar depression or in the early stages of recovery. The decade's record-shattering statistics of economic growth had yet to be compiled, and much of the extraordinary diffusion of consumer durables into American households had yet to occur. We can credit liberals for their clairvoyance in anticipating some of the effects of the consumer revolution, but to do so is also to admit that the powerful machine civilization they feared was as much mental construction as economic fact.

Moreover, the notion that, in the 1920s, questions of ethnic autonomy and culture had ceased to matter to the nation's immigrants or to their children is untenable. During that decade, millions of ethnics felt culturally besieged. They suffered from the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and the plain wish of its four million members to rid the country of Catholics, Jews, and blacks. Not only were nativist and racist sentiments in ascendance but the government showed an unprecedented willingness to use its powers to encode such sentiments into law. Prohibition, mandatory Americanization programs, and immigration restriction were coercive measures designed to strip immigrants of their foreign languages, customs, and politics.⁴⁴

This cultural coercion was not a minor, or regional, issue. Precisely how "ethnic" urban America was in the 1920s is not always appreciated. Consider these statistics from the 1930 census: immigrants and their children formed three-fourths of the population in New York City and Boston, two-thirds in Chicago, and more than half in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Detroit, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. These percentages *understate* the ethnic influence because they do not include the third generation—the grandchildren of those immigrants who arrived in the 1880s and 1890s.⁴⁵ They also do not include the more than one million African Americans who had moved north since 1916. Harlem in the 1920s not only emerged as the capital of a black artistic renaissance, it also became home for hundreds of thousands of rural blacks fleeing privation and discrimination in the South. In the 1920s, in other words, ethnic and racial minorities predominated in American cities of the North, Midwest, and West. Attacks on minority cultures were issues of national import.

Ethnic minorities did not react passively to such attacks. To the contrary, 1920s-style repression made them more determined than ever to develop the political muscle necessary to defeat the forces of nativism, to get the "state" off their backs, and, if possible, turn governmental cultural policy in a more liberal direction. This political mobilization began to yield victories at the local level by the mid-1920s, as the swelling ranks of enfranchised ethnics generated sufficient votes to defeat anti-immigrant councilmen, mayors, state representatives, and even an occasional governor. In 1928, through the Democratic presidential campaign of the Catholic New York governor Alfred E. Smith (who made the election, in part, a referendum on Prohibition), the various local ethnic groups

⁴⁴ Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, chaps. 10–11.

⁴⁵ Statistics drawn from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States, Population* (Washington, D.C., 1933), vol. 2, 67–73, 313–37.

discovered that they were part of a movement of national proportions. Their solidarity enabled Smith to carry the nation's twelve largest cities and signaled the emergence of the "ethnic vote" as a major political force.⁴⁶

Liberal intellectuals could have written about these developments or used them as an occasion to press a campaign for racial or ethnic equality. Alternatively, they could have considered whether the persistence of strong ethnic and racial cultures meant that the nation's new business civilization was less overpowering than they had thought or that its effects varied from one cultural group to another. Some intellectuals, especially those, such as Alain Locke and Isaac Berkson, organically linked to one ethnic or racial group or another, did turn to these issues.⁴⁷ Yet their intellectual work counted for little in the liberal politics of the age. The most popular liberal historical work of the period, by far, was Charles Beard and Mary Beard's book *The Rise of American Civilization* (1927), which portrayed American history almost exclusively in terms of the struggle between economic elites and the toiling masses; likewise, the most popular liberal social science work of the period was Robert Lynd and Helen Lynd's *Middletown*, which focused on the deleterious effects of capitalist civilization on traditional American values.⁴⁸ Ethnicity and race played no part in the Lynds' analysis. In fact, they deliberately chose for their case study a midwestern industrial town—Muncie, Indiana—virtually free of immigrants and blacks. Muncie was not free of racial prejudice, however. Indiana was a stronghold of the 1920s Klan, and the Lynds arrived in the state just as voters there were electing a Klansman as governor. Even though Muncie harbored a vigorous Klan organization, the Lynds paid scant attention to this phenomenon, judging it worthy of only four pages in their 502-page book.⁴⁹ In their estimation, no factor could be allowed to interfere with the primacy of capitalism and its social and cultural effects; ethnicity, race, and bigotry were ephemeral features of urban life that would simply distort any true assessment of American society.⁵⁰

The Lynds cannot be accused of ignoring culture. They subtitled their book "A Study in Modern American Culture"; much of the book's appeal rested on its incisive ethnographic examination of Middletowners' lives at work and at school,

⁴⁶ See Kristi Andersen, *The Creation of a Democratic Majority, 1928–1936* (Chicago, 1979); for a glimpse of this process at work at the local level, see Gary Gerstle, *Working-Class Americanism: The Politics of Labor in a Textile City, 1914–1960* (Cambridge, 1989), chap. 1.

For blacks, the story was different. An African-American political mobilization did not occur in those years. Political pessimism reigned, especially once Marcus Garvey's black nationalist movement collapsed. Jeffrey Stewart has recently argued that the flowering of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s represented a kind of political retreat, at least for African-American intellectuals such as Alain Locke, who perceived that opportunities for political equality had vanished. Alain LeRoy Locke, *Race Contacts and Interracial Relations: Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Race*, Jeffrey C. Stewart, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1992), xli–xliii.

⁴⁷ Isaac B. Berkson, *Theories of Americanization: A Critical Study with Special Reference to the Jewish Group* (New York, 1920); Alain Locke, *The New Negro* (New York, 1925).

⁴⁸ On the popularity of *The Rise of American Civilization* and *Middletown*, see Stanley Coben, "The First Years of Modern America, 1918–1933," in William E. Leuchtenburg, ed., *The Unfinished Century: America since 1900* (Boston, 1973), 257–353.

⁴⁹ Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in Modern American Culture* (New York, 1929), 481–84. On the Klan in Indiana and in Muncie, see Blee, *Women of the Klan*; and Moore, *Citizen Klansmen*.

⁵⁰ Lynd and Lynd, *Middletown*, 7–8; Helen Merrell Lynd, *Possibilities* (Youngstown, Ohio, 1983), 34.

at home and at play, at church and in fraternal organizations. But central to the Lynds' analysis was the belief that economic developments, apparent in the salience of class division and the proliferation of new tools and inventions, were determining the character and speed of social change in Middletown. The many social and personal tensions present in Middletown had arisen, in the Lynds' view, because local institutions and cultural values had failed to keep pace with the revolution in material life. This analysis, a version of the "cultural lag" theory popular among social scientists of the 1920s, effectively denied the autonomy of the cultural realm. On the one hand, the Lynds judged cultural developments solely in terms of how they assisted or complicated people's adjustments to economic change. On the other hand, the Lynds felt justified in excluding cultural phenomena—such as race and ethnicity—that seemed extraneous to the story of the rise of machine civilization.⁵¹

The Lynds' exclusion of ethnicity and race does not appear to have troubled many of *Middletown's* reviewers, who praised the book's anthropological method, thorough research, and, most of all, "objective" revelations about modern American society and culture. *Middletown* "gets closer to the truth about the normal Americano than any other I have ever heard of," exclaimed Mencken.⁵² "Who touches this book touches the heart of America, nay, the heart of machine culture in the Western World," declared Stuart Chase in *The Nation*.⁵³ Several reviewers, including Mencken and Chase, duly noted the features of Middletown—its midwestern location, its relatively small size, the absence of ethnics and blacks—that made it less than representative of urban America. But the notion that the Lynds' findings and analysis might have been skewed by the peculiarities of Muncie, Indiana, and might thus have been of limited relevance to urban life elsewhere did not take hold in reviewers' minds. The Lynds had revealed "the disturbing wrinkles and crows-feet in our present-day industrial and social face," noted Whiting Williams in the *Saturday Evening Review*; "it is hard to gainsay the mirror's truth," Williams continued, "as to what *we* are and what *we* were thirty years ago."⁵⁴

Only Max Lerner, writing in the *New York Evening Post*, demurred. He, too, was impressed by the research, the detail, and the comprehensiveness of the Lynds' study. But their central theme, "of a city in twilight, an area of mediocrity and frustration, a dim stage upon which was being enacted a tragedy of pale desires and petty ambitions," sounded too familiar. "Is it accident or the authors' intention," he wondered, "that when I am reading about Middletown I seem to be revisiting [Sinclair Lewis's] *Zenith*, where I first met Babbitt?" Perhaps because he was a social scientist himself, Lerner could not accept the idea that Middletown

⁵¹ For an interesting essay on the evolution of the Middletown project, see Richard Wightman Fox, "Epitaph for Middletown: Robert S. Lynd and the Analysis of Consumer Culture," in Fox and Lears, eds., *Culture of Consumption*, 103–41.

⁵² H. L. Mencken, "A City in Moronia," *The American Mercury*, 16 (1929): 379–81.

⁵³ Chase, review in *The Nation* (February 6, 1929): 164.

⁵⁴ Williams, review in *The Saturday Review of Literature* (March 30, 1929): 824, emphasis added. Dewey also accepted the Lynds' approach without reservation, blithely declaring Middletown to be Anytown and, in the process, endorsing the Lynds' refusal to examine those cultural issues arising from ethnic and racial, rather than economic, factors. John Dewey, *Individualism, Old and New* (New York, 1930), 45–49.

represented some objective confirmation of Lewisian social portraiture. He suggested that it was not true, as Mencken had claimed, that the Lynds "carried with them [to Middletown] no prepossessions and no thesis to prove." To the contrary, he asserted, the Lynds "tried honestly to verify or reject, by a study of an actual community, the impressions they had . . . derived" from "a literature of national introspection and the voluminous protest against the barrenness of American life." While it was "a brilliant intention" to use social science "to cut, for once, through the whole tissue of hypothesis, conjecture, intuition, and opinion" concerning the perilous condition of American civilization, it was a treacherous gamble that could not but fail. "The human mind tends to discover what it sets out to discover. If you set out to describe Middletown with a picture of Zenith indelibly in your mind, you will find that you have described Zenith after all."⁵⁵ The charge that the Lynds were working within a particular tradition of social criticism that profoundly shaped the interpretive character of *Middletown* could not have been leveled more directly.

INTELLECTUALS RARELY CONCEDED that their preoccupation with class division and capitalist culture was driven, at least in part, by their unease with what they saw as the irrational politics of ethnicity and race. Dewey was one of the few to confess to such discomfort (although he did it a safe 9,000 miles away from his New York home). Another was a longtime friend of Dewey's, the philosopher Horace Kallen. Prior to 1920, Kallen's voice had been among the strongest and most eloquent calling for cultural pluralism. In classes he taught at Harvard, the University of Wisconsin, and the New School for Social Research (of which he was a founding member) and in articles written for *The Nation*, the *Dial*, and the *New Republic*, Kallen argued against forced assimilation and for the celebration of ethnic difference. He imagined the American nation as an orchestra in which each ethnic group would have its own "theme and melody" and contribute a distinctive part to the "symphony of [American] civilization."⁵⁶ As a Jew and a Zionist, Kallen had a considerable personal stake in this pluralism; he wanted to create an American nation in which his people would find it possible both to declare their loyalty to America and remain true to their ancestral culture.⁵⁷

Despite the depths of his commitment to Zionism and the politics of cultural pluralism, Kallen, too, was unprepared for the irrational ethnic fervor and cultural prejudice unleashed by World War I. He first encountered these forces within the Zionist movement itself, in the form of growing opposition to the practical, social democratic Zionism that he, along with Brandeis, Stephen Wise, and other prominent American Zionists, favored. This opposition, largely East

⁵⁵ Lerner, *New York Evening Post*, February 9, 1929.

⁵⁶ Kallen, "Democracy versus Melting Pot," in *The Nation*, February 18 and 25, 1915; reprinted in Horace M. Kallen, *Culture and Democracy in the United States: Group Psychology of the American Peoples* (New York, 1924), 67–125.

⁵⁷ For biographical background on Kallen, see Sarah Leff Schmidt, "Horace M. Kallen and the Americanization of Zionism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1973); on his Zionist views, see his exchange with Morris Cohen on ethnicity, Zionism, and liberalism in the *New Republic*, March 18 and April 5, 1919.

European in composition and led by Chaim Weizmann, stemmed from many factors, some of which turned on petty clashes over personality, status, and control. But Kallen and others in the Brandeisian camp became convinced that their opponents were in the grip of unrealistic and irrational passions. These East Europeans, in Kallen's view, would talk endlessly at meetings of their longings for Zion but then prove utterly inept at planning the establishment of an actual state. These same European Zionists were prone to expend precious funds meant for Palestine's economic development on frivolous cultural projects. They grew bored with discussions of establishing a "cooperative commonwealth" in Palestine and hostile to any Zionist who insisted on maintaining a dual identity. They regarded as reprehensible Brandeis's decision in 1919 to continue his career as an American Supreme Court justice rather than accept the presidency of the World Zionist Congress. By 1921, Kallen and others in Brandeis's camp had become so embittered by the East European camp's behavior that they withdrew from organized Zionist activity altogether. Kallen remained a Zionist at heart, but he would never again be the Zionist activist he had been from 1914 to 1921.⁵⁸

If the East European Zionists represented one kind of cultural nightmare for Kallen, the Boston Irish represented another. Kallen had been an early and vociferous critic of the trial of the two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, accused in 1920 of murdering a South Braintree, Massachusetts, factory paymaster. Convinced of the anarchists' innocence, Kallen was baffled by their failure, despite many appeals for justice, to win a reprieve from execution. Kallen was not satisfied with the explanation favored by many liberal intellectuals, namely, that this case was a brutal example of class injustice, of the economically strong and their judicial allies punishing those brave souls who had dared to speak up for the nation's dispossessed. Kallen grew up in Boston, and in the 1920s he returned to it often, to work with the Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee. Kallen knew the city's political complexion well. He maintained that Sacco and Vanzetti could not have been executed without the full cooperation of the Irish political machine that controlled key posts of state and municipal government. Kallen blamed the Irish not only for the anarchists' execution but for introducing a climate of "fear and madness" to a state "which once had been the center of culture in the United States." This onetime cultural emporium had become, in his eyes, the nation's laughingstock through its repeated public and private efforts to ban "dangerous" books, plays, and speeches.⁵⁹ Kallen himself experienced the shame and silliness of this repression in 1928 when Boston police attempted to arrest him for calling Jesus Christ an anarchist. The case made

⁵⁸ On the split within the Zionist movement, see Ben Halpern, *A Clash of Heroes: Brandeis, Weizmann, and American Zionism* (New York, 1987). Kallen's book, *Zionism and World Politics* (New York, 1924), obscures more than it reveals about the bitter feud within Zionist ranks. Kallen's career as a Zionist, his growing disillusionment, and sharp break in 1921 with the movement can best be understood through Kallen's correspondence with Brandeis, Stephen Wise, Jacob de Haas, and other American Zionists in the years 1914 to 1921. See Box 4, Folders 10–11; Box 12, Folder 17; Box 31, Folder 22, Kallen Papers, AJC. Sarah Schmidt reproduces many of the critical letters in her Kallen dissertation cited above.

⁵⁹ See Horace M. Kallen, "Fear and Freedom: With Special Reference to the Madness of Massachusetts," unpublished manuscript of speech delivered by Kallen to the Open Forum in Baltimore, December 30, 1928, Box 72, Folder 2, Kallen Papers, AJC, pp. 19–20 in particular.

national headlines, drawing comparisons to the Tennessee Scopes Trial, when it became known that a Boston judge had charged Kallen under a 1640 Puritan blasphemy statute.⁶⁰

Such behavior by the Boston Irish, Kallen concluded, could not be understood in terms of class analysis alone. The Irish political machine, backed by the church, may have been a wealthy institution, but its economic clout paled in comparison to that wielded by Boston's Brahmin financial elite. Moreover, it drew much of its support from Boston's large population of working-class Irish. Kallen turned somewhat reluctantly, therefore, to cultural analysis. Was there something about Irish culture, Kallen wondered, that encouraged intolerance? He toyed with the idea that Irish Catholicism harbored a puritanical streak that naturally inclined it to repression. He proposed a socioeconomic explanation that stressed how the hostile reception given the Irish immigrants by their Protestant hosts had damaged Irish culture in ways not easily repaired.⁶¹ Each of these explanations raised serious questions about the desirability of pursuing a program of cultural pluralism. Kallen did not want an America in which the intolerant culture of the Irish—or the irrational culture of East European Zionists—was given license to flourish.

Kallen's encounter with Boston politics in 1927 and 1928 confirmed what had been bothering him since his break with Zionism in the early 1920s: the difficulty of achieving progress through cultural politics. Like many other liberal intellectuals of the age, he retreated to the economic realm. His writings began focusing almost entirely on the advent of machine civilization and its adverse effects on individuality and freedom. His political attention was increasingly drawn to the establishment of consumer and producer cooperatives, a guild socialist program that he believed would restore freedom and meaning to American life. By 1929, Kallen's "economic" approach to the problems of American society was indistinguishable from that of Dewey or the Lynds. That the American nation was an amalgam of various ethnic and racial communities, that the nation suffered from serious cultural tensions arising from group differences, that any progressive politics had to address itself to these cultural issues: such concerns, which had been central to Kallen's earlier thought, are rarely expressed in the many books and articles he published between the mid-1920s and the mid-1940s.⁶²

⁶⁰ See Box 72, Folders 3–5; Box 14, Folder 8, Kallen Papers, AJC. Kallen's blasphemous words, uttered at a Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting in August 1928, were: "if Sacco and Vanzetti were anarchists, Jesus Christ was an anarchist." The blasphemy statute read: "Whoever wilfully blasphemes the holy name of God by denying, cursing or contumeliously reproaching God, His creation, government or final judging of the world, or by cursing or contumeliously reproaching Jesus Christ or the Holy Ghost . . . shall be punished."

⁶¹ Kallen, "Fear and Freedom," 16–19.

⁶² The titles of Kallen's books in the years 1925 to 1944 are revealing: *Education, the Machine and the Worker* (1925); *Freedom in the Modern World* (1928); *Individualism: An American Way of Life* (1933); *A Free Society* (1934); *The Decline and Rise of the Consumer: A Philosophy of Consumer Cooperation* (1936); *Consumer Cooperation and the Freedom of Man* (1944). One book, *Frontiers of Hope* (New York, 1929), explored the situation of Jews in Russia and Palestine but pointedly refused to contemplate their condition in the United States. Another book, *Judaism at Bay: Essays toward the Adjustment of Judaism to Modernity* (New York, 1932), assembled seventeen essays that Kallen had written on Jewish or Zionist themes since 1909; most had been written by 1925.

Interest in Kallen is growing, a reflection of our current preoccupation with multiculturalism; yet most scholars seem unaware that Kallen abandoned his advocacy of cultural pluralism in the years

The work of the sociologist Robert Park and of his graduate students at the University of Chicago would seem to constitute an important exception to this pattern of silence and retreat on questions of ethnicity and race. Park's "Chicago School," after all, defined itself in the 1920s through its detailed investigations of ethnic and racial group life in American cities. Park elaborated his famous four-step race relations cycle in those years (all intergroup encounters began with innocent contacts, moved through periods of competition and accommodation, and culminated in assimilation), and, by the late 1920s, doctoral dissertations testing this model in case studies were accumulating in the University of Chicago library. Not only did Park confront the problems that other liberal intellectuals avoided, but events of the 1920s caused him to become more, rather than less, sanguine about the possibilities of inter-ethnic and interracial cooperation. Park's intellectual influence was immense, and his work, over the long term, contributed significantly to the discrediting of racism in scholarship and in politics. In the short term, however, his work actually reinforced the marginalization of ethnicity and race as issues of liberal social action.⁶³

Park's work rested on a deep naturalism. Society, he believed, advanced through "natural" processes that did not respond well to political interventions. Human agency could alter prevailing social structures—the progress of Park's race relations cycle, in fact, depended on an oppressed racial or ethnic group mobilizing to demand fair treatment—but not if initiated by "do-gooders" who lacked an organic connection to the group whose cause they had embraced. All such artificial intrusions into evolutionary social processes—what Gunnar Myrdal would later hail as "social engineering"—simply frustrated, even reversed, the natural tendency toward harmony, equilibrium, and progress. Park rejected a prominent role for himself in the struggle for racial equality on precisely these grounds. He refused to use his academic prestige as a national soapbox from

between the two world wars. See, for example, Werner Sollors, "A Critique of Pure Pluralism," in Sacvan Bercovitch, ed., *Reconstructing American Literary History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 250–79; Moses Rischin, "The Jews and Pluralism: Toward an American Freedom Symphony," in Gladys Rosen, ed., *Jewish Life in America: Historical Perspectives* (New York, 1978); Michael Walzer, "What Does It Mean to Be an 'American'?" *Social Research*, 57 (Fall 1990): 591–614; Hollinger, "Ethnic Diversity, Cosmopolitanism, and the Emergence of the American Liberal Intelligentsia"; Susanne Klingenstein, *Jews in the American Academy, 1900–1940: The Dynamics of Intellectual Assimilation* (New Haven, Conn., 1991); and Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York, 1964).

John Higham and Philip Gleason are among the few who have discerned in Kallen's interwar thought a retreat from pluralism, and Gleason alone has understood the depths and persistence of Kallen's anti-Catholicism, a hostility that originated, I would argue, in his experiences with the Boston Irish in the 1920s. See Higham, "Ethnic Pluralism in Modern American Thought," in John Higham, *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America* (New York, 1975), 196–230; and Gleason, "The Odd Couple: Pluralism and Assimilation," and "Pluralism, Democracy, and Catholicism: Religious Tensions," in Philip Gleason, *Speaking of Diversity: Language and Ethnicity in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore, Md., 1992), 47–90, 207–28. See also Philip Gleason, "American Identity and Americanization," in Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, 43–47.

⁶³ On Park, see Fred H. Matthews, *Quest for an American Sociology: Robert E. Park and the Chicago School* (Montreal, 1977); Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991), chap. 9; Stow Persons, *Ethnic Studies at Chicago, 1905–45* (Urbana, Ill., 1987). Early dissertations written under Park's direction were Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago, 1928); and Harvey Warren Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum: A Sociological Study of Chicago's Near North Side* (Chicago, 1929).

which to agitate for civil rights. Although trained as a journalist, he generally declined to write on current events or to publish popular essays on questions of racial prejudice and discrimination. He limited his own political activity to local Chicago organizations, where he could justify his involvement as organic rather than intrusive. Throughout his life, he locked horns with racial liberals and radicals—W. E. B. Du Bois, Oswald Garrison Villard, Mary Ovington, and Gunnar Myrdal, among others—who fashioned for intellectuals a highly visible and interventionist political role. When mainstream liberals, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, began insisting on such intervention into racial matters, Park distanced himself from the liberal label and then, in 1943, rejected it altogether.⁶⁴

Given Park's views on the role of intellectuals in politics, it is hardly surprising that his work did little to challenge prevailing liberal orthodoxies in 1920s America. Indeed, the lines of influence may have run in the opposite direction. Park came to share the conviction of other liberals that a global capitalist revolution had unleashed forces of enormous power. Unlike the Lynds, Park viewed this revolution positively ("a cosmic process"), for he believed it would generate "a vast unconscious cooperation of races and peoples" in matters of economic and social life. Even the most encrusted racial antagonisms would not withstand the solvent that the world-wide exchange of goods and culture would inject into international and interracial relations. Because of these economic developments, Park declared in 1926, "the race relations cycle . . . of contacts, competition, accommodation and eventual assimilation" had become "progressive and irreversible." All racial barriers, he now believed, would fall.⁶⁵ If Park differed from the Lynds in his evaluation of the social consequences of capitalist growth, he apparently shared their view that capitalism had rendered ethnic and racial antagonisms obsolete. His work offered no easily grasped alternative to those looking for an escape from the economically oriented discourse dominant in 1920s liberal thought.

WE ARE ACCUSTOMED TO THINKING OF the Great Depression as a terrible shock, as an event that caught the American people utterly unprepared. Many Americans undoubtedly experienced the 1929 crash in this way. Herbert Hoover, who in 1928 had spoken of the imminent abolition of poverty in the United States, certainly did; so, too, did the many poor souls who had sunk their meager life savings into Florida real estate scams.

The experience of American liberals, however, was different. To them, the

⁶⁴ Matthews, *Quest for an American Sociology*, 76–77, 81–82, 189; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*, 2 vols. (New York, 1944), 2: 1049–57. Park's views on political action owed a great deal to Booker T. Washington (with whom he was once closely associated) and to the "naturalism" of his fellow sociologist and colleague William Fielding Ogburn. Ross, *Origins of American Social Science*, is very good on the growing influence of naturalism and "scientism" on Park's work.

⁶⁵ "Customs regulations, immigration restrictions and racial barriers," Park continued, "may slacken the tempo of the movement; may perhaps halt it altogether for a time; but cannot change its direction; cannot at any rate, reverse it." See Park, "Our Racial Frontier in the Pacific," and "Behind Our Masks," in Robert E. Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), 138–51, 244–55; originally published in *Survey Graphic*, 56 (May 1926): 192–96, 135–39, respectively.

Depression came as no great intellectual shock; unlike World War I, it triggered no crisis of faith, nor did it require a fundamental reevaluation of liberal politics. The beliefs we associate with New Deal liberals—that the capitalist economy was dangerously unbalanced in terms of its distribution of power, that machine civilization had spun out of control—were well established among liberals in the 1920s. Nor did liberal intellectuals need to sweep their agendas clear of “annoying” or “distracting” cultural issues such as racial or religious discrimination in order to focus on pressing economic matters, for this intellectual work had been largely completed by the mid-1920s. Because questions of ethnicity and race had been effectively marginalized, liberals found it easy—remarkably easy—to exclude ethnics and blacks from their representations of the critical New Deal constituencies of workers, farmers, and small businessmen.

The way in which liberal intellectuals and reformers defined membership in the American “folk” reveals the marginality of ethnicity and race in 1930s discourse. The 1930s concept of the “folk” or the “people” referred to Americans, past and present, whose freedom from capitalist contamination endowed them with the strength to endure the Depression and to inspire the fight for cultural and political renewal. Liberals might have found such “folk” in ethnic communities (as the social historian Herbert Gutman would later do), where bonds of religion, language, and customs insulated community members from the worst effects of the market. But liberals rarely thought in these terms. Their “folk” were usually native-born Yankees or white southerners whose families, over the course of generations, had sunk deep roots into *American* soil. The degree to which an American pastoral ideal shaped representations of the “people” during this decade of industrial collapse can scarcely be exaggerated. The Depression era’s most celebrated photograph was Dorothea Lange’s searing 1936 portrait of the worn but proud, simple but virtuous “Migrant Mother” in transit from Oklahoma to California. The popularity of Lange’s visual image was matched in print by John Steinbeck’s *Grapes of Wrath* (1939), an epic tale of the flight of the gallant Joad family after machines had entered and ravaged their rural Eden; and it was rivaled in film by Frank Capra’s *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town* (1936) and *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939), both fables of simple, small-town Yankee men (played, respectively, by Gary Cooper and Jimmy Stewart, both actors with impeccable “Yankee” credentials), armed with little more than their honesty and common sense, vanquishing the corrupt and evil forces spawned by urban, machine civilization. As the case of Capra illustrates, these Yankee/yeoman representations of the American folk were often the work of individuals who were themselves immigrants or the children of immigrants.⁶⁶

⁶⁶ Milton Meltzer, *Dorothea Lange: A Photographer's Life* (New York, 1978), 132–36; Richard H. Pells, *Radical Visions and American Dreams: Culture and Social Thought in the Depression Years* (New York, 1973), 215–19; James N. Gregory, *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California* (New York, 1989), xi, 10, *passim*; Joseph McBride, *Frank Capra: The Catastrophe of Success* (New York, 1992). The virtually complete absence of references to ethnicity or race in Warren Susman’s encyclopedic essays on 1930s culture further underscores my point. See Susman, “The Culture of the Thirties,” and “Culture and Commitment,” in his *Culture as History*, 150–211.

Artists and intellectuals of the decade actually did assemble considerable material on racial and ethnic minorities (one outstanding example being the WPA [Work Projects Administration] interviews with ex-slaves), archives that present-day historians are using to render a far more complex

A similar exclusion of race and ethnicity was apparent in the representation of American labor. The dominant working-class iconographic image of those years—the strapping Anglo-Saxon male, chest bared and muscles flexed—offered no hint of the cultural diversity of the American working class. Official labor movement documents, ranging from union newspapers and organizing buttons and banners to the public statements of union leaders, were customarily silent on the ethnic and racial composition of the American working class. These documents stressed the Americanism of the labor movement and commonly depicted workers as the descendants not of African slaves or European peasants but of heroic Yankees: Pilgrims, Minute Men, Founding Fathers, westward-trekking pioneers. The labor economists who designed and administered the industrial relations machinery of the New Deal state—individuals such as William Leiserson and David Saposs—made no effort to measure the influence of ethnic factors on labor disputes, even though this subject had been, in the 1910s and early 1920s, one of their chief concerns.⁶⁷

If the exclusion of race and ethnicity from these “folk” and “labor” representations was easily effected, owing to the strength of the liberal tradition born in the aftermath of World War I, it also became increasingly strange. Liberal political power in the 1930s rested, after all, on the millions of urban ethnic workers who had committed themselves to organized labor and the Democratic Party. And while these mobilized millions did not call their movement a crusade for ethnic or minority rights, they were nevertheless eager to eliminate racial and religious discrimination from American life. The same was true of the rapidly growing number of Jewish and Catholic reformers whom Roosevelt welcomed into the ranks of New Deal policy makers.

In time, these socio-political developments might have caused the liberal tradition of the 1920s and 1930s to decompose or to be gradually transmuted into another liberalism more expressive of the aspirations of those who constituted its social base. But a series of events, beginning with the rise of Nazism, continuing with World War II, and concluding with the Cold War, ensured that the transformation of liberalism would be swift and deeply unsettling. That transformation entailed yet another reconfiguration of the liberal tradition.

portrait of 1930s society and culture; but this material had almost no effect on liberal perceptions of the American “folk” and “people” at the time. For example, none of the WPA ex-slave interviews were published during the 1930s, and most received no scholarly or popular attention before the late 1960s. See George P. Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community* (1972), Vol. 1 of *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, George P. Rawick, gen. ed., 12 vols. (Westport, Connecticut, 1972–), xiii–xxi. For current uses of other long-neglected archival material from the 1930s, see Ann Banks, *First-Person America* (New York, 1980); C. Stewart Doty, *Acadian Hard Times: The Farm Security Administration in Maine's St. John Valley, 1940–1943* (Orono, Me., 1991); and Barbara Melosh, *Engendering Culture: Manhood and Womanhood in New Deal Public Art and Theater* (Washington, D.C., 1991).

⁶⁷ On the construction of 1930s Americanism, see Gerstle, *Working-Class Americanism*, chap. 5. On the labor economists' earlier interest in ethnicity, see William Leiserson, *Adjusting Immigrant and Industry* (New York, 1924); David J. Saposs, “The Immigrant in the Labor Movement,” *Modern Quarterly*, 3 (February–April 1926): 119–24; David J. Saposs Papers, MSS 113, Boxes 21 and 22 in particular, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.

HITLER'S RISE TO POWER in one of the world's most technologically and culturally advanced societies directly challenged two convictions that had sustained American liberalism since the early 1920s: first, that the taming of capitalism was the preeminent problem confronting industrial societies and, second, that issues of racial and ethnic discrimination were best left alone or addressed indirectly, through programs of economic reform. The terrifying popularity of Nazi racist doctrines forced American liberals to reconsider their "hands-off" approach to problems of religious bigotry and racial hatred. These problems were not "secondary"; they were themselves primary. Their distinctive roots had to be exposed, their baneful influence combated. Racism and prejudice had to become subjects of political commentary and targets of social action.

This confrontation with Nazism induced a shift in liberal sensibilities that was, in the 1930s, subtle but would, in the 1940s, achieve seismic proportions. The magnitude of this shift can be discerned in the outpouring of books on racial problems and religious prejudice during the 1940s. Causes that had languished on the liberal agenda—civil rights, Zionism, and immigration reform—were now embraced. Reinhold Niebuhr, the Protestant theologian who would have a large influence on post-World War II liberalism, excoriated his fellow liberals in 1942 for thinking that the distribution of property was a more fundamental cause of social division and conflict than were racial and ethnic differences. Gunnar Myrdal's book *An American Dilemma*, a massive sociological study of black America published in 1944, received the kind of acclaim that liberals had bestowed on the Lynds' *Middletown* fifteen years earlier. And, in 1948, the Democratic Party, for the first time in its history (prodged by a new organization of liberals, Americans for Democratic Action, led by, among others, a young Hubert Humphrey and a young Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.) formally committed itself to civil rights. Although concerns with class division and the ill effects of capitalist civilization did not disappear from the liberal agenda, they lost their primacy. The intensification of the Cold War pushed these issues further to the periphery; in some portions of the liberal community, they were banished altogether. Here, in the 1940s, are the roots of 1960s liberalism, a liberalism very different in language, tone, and content from the one espoused by a pre-World War I Herbert Croly or an interwar John Dewey.⁶⁸

One constant, however, was the liberal commitment to rationality. The shock of Nazism proved politically decisive because it coincided with an emerging conviction among liberals that rational social action *could* remedy ethnic and racial hostilities. The growing sophistication of the social sciences provided the osten-

⁶⁸ See Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defence* (New York, 1944); and Niebuhr, "Jews after the War," *The Nation*, February 21 and 28, 1942; William S. Bernard, ed., *American Immigration Policy: A Reappraisal* (New York, 1950); Jackson, *Gunnar Myrdal and America's Conscience*; Steven M. Gillon, *Politics and Vision: The ADA and American Liberalism, 1947-1985* (New York, 1987); Carey McWilliams, *Brothers under the Skin* (Boston, 1951); Donald R. McCoy and Richard T. Ruetten, *Quest and Response: Minority Rights and the Truman Administration* (Lawrence, Kan., 1973). On the decline of class in post-World War II liberal politics, see Nelson Lichtenstein, "From Corporatism to Collective Bargaining: Organized Labor and the Eclipse of Social Democracy in the Postwar Era," and Ira Katznelson, "Was the Great Society a Lost Opportunity?" both in Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton, N.J., 1989), 122-52, 185-211.

sible rationale for this new-found confidence. Many liberals believed that their contributions to New Deal policy making and to war mobilization proved their capacity for social engineering on the grandest scale. No problem was too great for them to handle. The discovery of new methods and the accumulation of new knowledge allowed them to tackle social problems, such as prejudice, whose irrational nature had frustrated reformers in the past. The 1940s emergence of social psychology as a serious field of intellectual inquiry was the outstanding example of social science's expanding purview.⁶⁹

Yet it would be a mistake to think that the territory of liberal social action was simply expanding in all directions, an objective correlate of a marked increase in social knowledge. Instead, liberals were reconstituting the realms of the rational and the irrational. As they were defining issues of ethnicity and race as appropriate targets of rational social action, they were beginning to treat class politics as an expression of irrationality. Class politics increasingly meant mass politics—a politics in which a mass of isolated individuals, desperate to overcome the loneliness that modernity had thrust upon them, gave their support to a party, a demagogue, or a movement that promised them community, purpose, meaning. In so doing, these individuals became pawns in the hands of tyrants such as Joseph Stalin and complicit in ideologies and politics that were irrational and dangerous. Democracy could never work in such circumstances.

Liberals had dreaded the “irrational mass” since World War I, but only in the 1940s did they come to think that class issues, more than cultural issues, were likely to stir the slumbering masses to irrational action. This shift from culture to class reflected a reevaluation of communism in light of the Stalinist terror and the outbreak of the Cold War. While liberals had feared the ruthlessness of Russia's Bolshevik rulers in the 1920s and 1930s, they had also admired their use of social intelligence and their commitment to social planning. Many liberals, in fact, hoped to introduce a similar kind of rational, technocratic rule—appropriately democratized, of course—to America.⁷⁰ By the late 1940s, however, Soviet collectivism was no longer seen as embodying rationally organized intelligence or as expressing society's best hopes for liberation; it was viewed as totalitarian, as a brutal kind of despotism that thrived on modern man's desperate loneliness and overwhelming need, in Erich Fromm's memorable phrase, to escape his freedom. Although this theory arose as an effort to comprehend both Nazism and communism, to make sense of regimes of terror built on race hatred and class hatred, it was communism that, in the context of the Cold War, seemed to present the far greater danger. The Soviet state, unlike the Nazi state, had endured; its international power and prestige were rising. Thus liberal fears of extreme and irrational behavior—of “the totalitarian psychosis,” to use Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.'s phrase—came to focus on problems originating in class division and the deracinating effects of industrialization more than in ethnic or racial difference.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time* (New York, 1976), part 1; Jackson, Gunnar Myrdal and *America's Conscience*, chap. 7; Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations* (New York, 1947).

⁷⁰ See, for example, Stuart Chase, Robert Dunn, and Rexford G. Tugwell, eds., *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade* (New York, 1928).

⁷¹ Paraphrasing Fromm, Schlesinger wrote: “The psychological stigmata of the fugitives from

If the history of Soviet Communism—its longevity, its terror, its growing international power—caused liberals anxiety about class politics, the recent history of ethnic relations in America inspired hope. Liberals observed that hatreds among European ethnics—between Catholics and Jews, white Protestants and Catholics, the Irish and Italians—had softened since the 1910s through a long-term process of assimilation. By the late 1930s and early 1940s, ethnic feeling seemed much less reactionary and irrational than it had in the 1920s; ethnic differences, moreover, seemed less potent and thus less threatening to the American sense of nationhood. Problems of prejudice and discrimination could be safely addressed. Horace Kallen could now listen to his multi-ethnic orchestra perform an American symphony without fear that a few players, by refusing their assigned roles, would interrupt a beautiful melody with an ear-splitting screech.⁷² Some liberals even began hailing the cultural vigor of different ethnic groups as vital to American democracy. Such pluralism, or what Oscar Handlin called “group life within the American pattern,” provided assurance that American society would not be devastated by communism or some other form of mass politics. “A democratic society, based on a genuine cultural pluralism,” Schlesinger wrote in 1949, “could go far to supply outlets for the variegated emotions of man, and thus restore meaning to democratic life.” By the late 1940s, liberals were writing as though ethnicity were a repository for healthy, and rational, human sentiments; class, by contrast, was treated as a pit of irrational and dangerous passion.⁷³ The change in liberal perspective from the 1920s could hardly have been more startling.

And yet the influence of the Great War and the Russian Revolution was still manifest. Liberals of the 1940s, like those of the 1920s, were determined to demarcate a “rational” realm in which the pursuit of freedom would unfold in an orderly and reasonable way. Only by asserting this kind of control over the process of emancipation could they sustain their belief in the positive and progressive character of reform.

THIS STRATEGY, I have tried to show, suffered from an inescapable instability. On the one hand, external events such as the rise of Nazism periodically compelled liberals to address “irrational” issues, such as racial bigotry, that they preferred to ignore. On the other hand, the reform movements they embraced often chal-

freedom . . . are the strivings for submission and for domination, the losing of self in masochism or sadism.” *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (Boston, 1949), 53, 85; Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York, 1941); Will Herberg, “Personalism against Totalitarianism,” *Politics*, 2 (December 1945): 369–74; Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951); Alonzo L. Hamby, “The Vital Center, the Fair Deal, and the Quest for a Liberal Political Economy,” *AHR*, 77 (June 1972): 653–78.

⁷² Horace M. Kallen, “‘E Pluribus Unum’ and the Cultures of Democracy,” *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 16 (February 1943): 329–32; Higham, “Ethnic Pluralism in Modern American Thought.”

⁷³ Oscar Handlin, “Group Life within the American Pattern,” *Commentary*, 8 (November 1949): 411–17; Schlesinger, *Vital Center*, 253; Will Herberg, *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (New York, 1955). In his seminal 1951 work on interest group politics, David B. Truman treated class politics as a form of “pathogenic politics.” Truman, *The Governmental Process: Political Interests and Public Opinion* (New York, 1951), 523.

lenged the cherished liberal values of order and reason. The very nature of emancipation prompted individuals to throw off constraints, rules, and procedures; in a "war for democracy," a crusade for cultural pluralism, or a labor uprising, activists often crossed the line that liberals had drawn between rational and irrational, orderly and disorderly, behavior. When that occurred, liberals were compelled to rethink the categories of the "rational" and "irrational" and to construct a new realm of rational social action on the ruins of the old. Their 1940s redefinition of what constituted "rational" and "irrational" behavior reveals the contingent, even arbitrary, manner in which they accomplished this task. As their delineation of the rational changed, so, too, did their sense of what politics could and could not accomplish and of which problems seemed suitable for reform and which were best ignored. As a result of this maneuvering, American liberalism was periodically stretched, altered, and reborn.

What American liberalism lacked in ideological coherence and integrity, it gained in political durability. Virtually everywhere outside the United States, liberal movements and parties collapsed as a result of the Great War, their prominent place and influence taken by radical movements of the left and right. Only in the United States did liberalism survive and thrive, in no small measure because of the willingness and ability of American liberals to reconfigure their creed.

Only in the 1960s did liberals experience a crisis that proved too great for them to handle. They were unprepared for the racial hatred that the advances of the civil rights movement unleashed among whites. Liberals could neither dissolve this hatred through social policy nor abandon their commitment to racial equality. The constraints imposed by the Cold War prevented them from resurrecting class politics as a safe terrain on which to fight their reform battles. Liberals were unprepared as well for the radical youth movements that glorified complete liberation from social restraints while relentlessly exposing the inconsistencies of the liberal commitment to emancipation. Young radicals also targeted the repressive consequences of the liberal obsession with rationality. Never before had liberals suffered such a direct assault on their foundational principles, and it left them confused, dazed, and divided, without the will or strength to reconstitute the realms of the rational and irrational, to restore the reform process to a supervised path, or to reassert their notion of controlled emancipation. American liberalism has never been the same.



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An advertisement featuring an operator, just after World War I, when AT&T was beginning its turn to machine methods of switching. Courtesy of AT&T Company Archives, Warren, New Jersey.

When Women Were Switches: Technology, Work, and Gender in the Telephone Industry, 1890–1920

KENNETH LIPARTITO

ALTHOUGH THE TELEPHONE WAS INVENTED IN THE UNITED STATES, and this nation led the world in telecommunications throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it fell behind other industrial economies in the use of one important technological innovation—mechanical switching devices. Instead, America relied on hundreds of thousands of high school-educated, middle-class young women, who served as human telephone switches.

Why was the United States slow in adopting automatic switching, a technology perfectly designed to remove skilled workers from production? The answer casts doubt on certain common assumptions about technological change and its impact on the labor process. In recent years, a deep gulf has separated the many fields of history that bear on such questions—labor history, women's history, business history, and the history of technology. Labor historians have tended to explain automation by focusing on companies' efforts to cut wages and control their work force. Business and economic historians, by contrast, have tended to omit issues of power and gender from their calculations and have explained technological change in terms of factor prices and corporate efficiency. In this essay, I seek to bridge the gap between these approaches by advancing an interpretation of automation that integrates concerns about labor and gender with company strategy and structure through a systems model of technology.

The deskilling thesis advanced by Harry Braverman almost two decades ago remains among the most compelling approaches to technology and the labor process. Identifying skilled workers as the focal point of labor-management conflict, Braverman argued that technology combined with scientific management served to remove workers from their strategic position within production, permitting industrialists to rationalize work without interference from workers. Developing a similar argument, David Montgomery sets craft-management con-

I would like to thank Cindy Aron, Karl Ittmann, William Lazonick, Walter Licht, Steven Mintz, Daniel Nelson, Thomas O'Brien, Philip Scranton, Steven Usselman, David Weiman, Mary Yeager, members of the Business History Seminar at Harvard Business School, the Science, Technology and Economics Workshop at Stanford University, and two anonymous referees for their careful readings and thoughtful comments. I would also like to give a special acknowledgement to Sheldon Hochheiser and the AT&T Archives and to thank Krisztina Robert for her assistance. Funding for this research was provided by the National Endowment for the Humanities and by the Division of Research, Harvard Business School.

flict at the center of his recent narrative describing the making of the American industrial working class. Technology receives a less prominent role in Montgomery's study, but battles over pacing, output, skill, and knowledge remain at the heart of class development.¹

Although Braverman isolated one major issue of labor relations, he has been criticized for ascribing too much to technology. In particular, he ignored the ability of workers to regulate the pace of production even in highly automated settings. Managers must secure worker cooperation to realize gains in productivity. Otherwise, technology is nothing more than an extravagant waste of capital. The need for cooperation is especially acute when innovations create demand for new skills while destroying demand for old ones.² Emphasizing the agency of workers, authors such as Montgomery, Richard Price, and Michael Burawoy have examined worker contributions to the negotiated structure of the labor process.³

Turning to the management side of this relationship, Richard Edwards, David Gordon, and Michael Reich have used the category of control to explain how employers extract effort from their employees. Whether workers are driven by foremen, deskilled by technology, or regulated by bureaucratic methods depends on the "social structure of accumulation." This structure includes the nature of the industry and the behavior of its companies as they interact with the surrounding context of labor and product markets, politics, laws, and culture. Major changes in the methods of control occurred only after old structures proved ineffective at ensuring profits. In the United States, "technical control" grew obsolete following the successful union drive of the 1930s. Managers then turned to market segmentation and divided the working class in order to preserve their own authority.⁴

¹ Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degredation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1974); David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (New York, 1987), esp. 214-56; see also Paul Thompson, *The Nature of Work: An Introduction to Debates on the Labour Process* (London, 1983); Andrew Zimbalist, ed., *Case Studies on the Labor Process* (New York, 1979).

² Philip Scranton, "The Workplace, Technology and Theory in American Labor History," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 35 (Spring 1989): 3-22. Other important critiques of Braverman are provided by Charles F. Sabel, *Work and Politics: The Division of Labor in Industry* (New York, 1982); Larry Hirschhorn, *Beyond Mechanization: Work and Technology in a Postindustrial Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984); William Lazonick, "The Breaking of the American Working Class," *Reviews in American History*, 17 (June 1989): 272-83. On the creation of new skills, see Kenneth C. Kusterer, *Know-How on the Job: The Important Working Knowledge of "Unskilled" Workers* (Boulder, Colo., 1978). For a study of women and work that incorporates a wide range of factors, see Eileen Appelbaum, "Technology and the Redesigning of Work in the Insurance Industry," in Barbara Drygulski Wright, et al., eds., *Women, Work, and Technology* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1987), 182-201. William Lazonick, "Industrial Relations and Technical Change: The Case of the Self-Acting Mule," *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, 3 (September 1979): 231-62, shows how technology in certain market settings actually improved the strategic position of workers.

³ Richard Price, "Theories of Labour Process Formation," *Journal of Social History*, 18 (Fall 1984): 91-110; Michael Burawoy, *Manufacturing Consent: Changes in the Labor Process under Monopoly Capitalism* (Chicago, 1979).

⁴ David M. Gordon, Richard Edwards, and Michael Reich, *Segmented Work, Divided Workers: The Historical Transformation of Labor in the United States* (New York, 1982); Richard Edwards, *Contested Terrain: The Transformation of the Workplace in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1979); William Lazonick, *Competitive Advantage on the Shop Floor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 78-114; William Lazonick and Thomas Brush, "The 'Horndal Effect' in Early U.S. Manufacturing," *Explorations in Economic History*, 22 (1985): 53-96.

Edwards, Gordon, and Reich portray segmentation as a recent development and characterize the period between 1890 and 1920 as one of homogenization. Divisions of work along gender lines, however, have a much longer history. Studies show that nineteenth-century technology did not degender work or allow unskilled women to replace skilled men. The slow evolution of mechanization often preserved patriarchal labor relations. While men gained positions that used new technology, women were relegated to dead-end jobs, frequently involving a substantial hand-labor component. Women performed key tasks in factories, and later in offices and stores, yet they were underpaid and their contributions dismissed as unskilled.⁵ Employers participated in this gendering of work by embracing traditional assumptions, such as women being only temporary employees who would exit the labor force upon marriage. Working-class men contributed to segmentation by defending traditionally male jobs from female competition.⁶ Both agreed that women should be subordinate to men at work just as at home.

Although the new labor history has had much to say about the multifaceted experiences of workers, it has treated management and technology with far less sophistication. Labor historians have taken Braverman to task for ignoring the ability of workers to structure the use and application of technology. Yet they have not done any better in understanding the role of managers and engineers in technological innovation. Too many studies focus on a company's "choice of technique," as if all technologies were available for the asking. In this formulation, knowledge, expertise, and hardware capable of deskilling workers miraculously become available as needed by managers. Missing is the creativity involved in making and shaping the technology of the workplace.⁷

One of the few historians to present a complete picture of innovation and the labor process, David Noble has argued persuasively that technology is infused with human values. Noble attempts to show how technology is shaped by the contradictions and conflicts of the capitalist system.⁸ Admirable in engaging head-on the question of innovation, this analysis nonetheless is one dimensional. In his study of machine-tool automation, Noble contended that the innovation process reflected the desire of capitalists for domination over workers. Engineers

⁵ Judith McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine: Mechanization and Social Change in Berkshire Paper Making, 1801-1885* (Princeton, N.J., 1987); Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana, Ill., 1986); Sharon Hartman Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter: Gender, Class and the Origins of Modern American Office Work, 1900-1930* (Urbana, 1992); Sonya O. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods: Gender and Class in Nineteenth-Century England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991).

⁶ McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine*, 304, 315-17, 322, 343-46; Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter*, 175-78, 187-89, 202; Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 227-82; Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (Westport, Conn., 1980), 3-45, 136-37, 180-84, 236-38; Margery Davies, *Woman's Place Is at the Typewriter: Office Work and Office Workers, 1870-1930* (Philadelphia, 1982).

⁷ Economists explain companies' "choice of technique" through relative factor prices, including the price of labor. Price theory, however, does not explain how managers elicit effort from their workers. For an alternative formulation, see Lazonick, *Competitive Advantage*, appendix. For a recent attempt to add a managerial perspective to labor history, see Sanford M. Jacoby, ed., *Masters to Managers: Historical and Comparative Perspectives on American Employers* (New York, 1991).

⁸ David F. Noble, *Forces of Production: A Social History of Industrial Automation* (New York, 1984); also Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York, 1977).

conspired with managers to plan laborless factories free from all manner of worker discontent.⁹ But it is not clear that machine-tool automation served capitalists quite so well as designers fancied it would. Subsequent studies have shown that early predictions of factories without workers were painfully mistaken. Successful adoption of the new tools required the retraining of workers and a willingness to allow machinists to use their shop-floor knowledge of metalworking in production. Far from pursuing the interests of capital, early promoters of numerically controlled tools may simply have blundered down a blind alley.¹⁰

As the case of automatic telephone switching indicates, any explanation of innovation that relies on a single, all-pervasive ideology such as capitalist control of labor is bound to have trouble accounting for variations and differences among firms, especially firms in the same industry. Nor does such an approach take gender into account. In the telephone industry, for example, some companies swiftly adopted automatic switching equipment, while the largest, American Telephone and Telegraph, committed itself to a manual labor process dependent on female operators. After World War I, however, AT&T dropped its longstanding opposition and emerged as the leader in the design and manufacture of automatic equipment. Explanation of these patterns must be sought in something more specific than the ever-present capitalist search for control.

Recent investigations have portrayed innovation in a different light. It is now recognized as a costly and difficult procedure of searching and learning, rather than a smooth, frictionless choice among known alternatives. Innovators operate within paradigms. They consider some paths and investigate some problems while ignoring others. The number of research projects that might be undertaken is virtually limitless. And firms have only so much time, so many resources to expend. Even creative minds, therefore, are forced to find some means of selecting projects and setting agendas.

Innovators draw on the contexts that surround technology and give it meaning in order to make their decisions. During the nineteenth century, for example, technologists in a variety of industries began to perceive the systematic interrelationships among technical artifacts. Historian Thomas Hughes and economist Nathan Rosenberg, among others, have established the importance of technical systems for focusing research and development.¹¹ Innovators target critical

⁹ Noble, *Forces of Production*, 44, 57, 64, 145.

¹⁰ Sabel, *Work and Politics*; Hirschhorn, *Beyond Mechanization*. Noble himself recognizes the limited applicability of "workerless" machine tools. He tries to surmount this problem by arguing that control of work was not an instrumental but a transcendent value. Capitalists, it appears, wanted to control labor not just to increase profits but for the pure joy of domination. See *Forces of Production*, 163–66, 186–92, 242–44, 254, 321, 324. For a view of automation that would tend to support Noble, see Stuart Bennett, "The Industrial Instrument—Master of Industry, Servant of Management": Automatic Control in the Process Industries, 1900–1940," *Technology and Culture*, 32 (January 1991): 69–81. On the role of ideology, see Eric Schatzberg, "Ideology and Technical Choice: The Decline of the Wooden Airplane in the United States, 1920–1945," *Technology and Culture*, 35 (January 1994): 34–69.

¹¹ Thomas P. Hughes, "The Evolution of Large Technological Systems," in Wiebe E. Bijker, Thomas P. Hughes, and Trevor J. Pinch, eds., *The Social Construction of Technological Systems* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987); and Hughes, *Networks of Power: Electrification in Western Society, 1880–1930* (Baltimore, Md., 1983), 5–6. Hughes defines a system as a collection of interacting components (technological artifacts) connected by structures (physical, organizational, financial) centrally controlled and directed toward the optimization of performance or the achievement of goals. Clearly,

problems, or what Hughes has termed reverse salients: blockages, bottlenecks, and breakdowns in the continuous flow of production and smooth operation of the components. Complementarities and interdependencies between system parts not only help to focus innovation, they constrain it as well. Under the system paradigm, technical change takes on a "momentum," evolving through incremental improvements along an existing trajectory rather than through radical departures.¹²

If the system provides one constraint on innovation, business strategy provides a second. By using technology to gain competitive advantages over rivals, entrepreneurs help to direct inventive activity. In some instances, marketplace success or failure determines which emergent technologies survive and flourish and which wither and die.¹³ As Alfred Chandler has shown, however, over the past century companies have replaced markets as the institution that guides the development of nascent innovations. Coordinating what William Lazonick has termed the company's specialized division of labor, managers have performed crucial roles in tapping the productive potential of new technology.¹⁴ By creating internal research departments, employing vertical structures to integrate functions, and investing in marketing facilities, they have overcome bottlenecks, increased the rate of output, and lowered unit costs.

System and strategy do not exhaust the social constituents of innovation, but they do enjoy a special role in industrial technology. Politics, laws, norms, and ideology can affect organizational behavior and thereby shape technology. It is my contention, however, that politics and culture do not generally operate directly on innovative actors in the manner proposed by David Noble. Rather, they work in an indirect fashion, affecting the immediate, day-to-day experiences of those responsible for overseeing organizations and running systems. These actors respond most strongly to problems and breakdowns in the smooth flow of production, to opportunities offered by expanding markets, and to crises caused by shifting political conditions. In short, when it comes to technology, they are

the goals and performance parameters, as well as the controlling agency, can change with context. See also Thomas P. Hughes, *American Genesis: A Century of Invention and Technological Enthusiasm 1870-1970* (New York, 1989); Nathan Rosenberg, *Perspectives on Technology* (New York, 1976). Paul David's seminal article, "Clio and the Economics of QWERTY," *American Economic Review*, 75 (May 1985): 332-37, discusses the ways in which systems of technology lock in certain paths of development.

¹² It has long been recognized that incremental improvements in existing technology are one of the key forces behind productivity growth. See William J. Abernathy and James Utterbeck, "Patterns of Industrial Innovation," *Technology Review* (June-July 1978): 41-47; Giovanni Dosi, "Sources, Procedures and Microeconomic Effects of Innovation," *Journal of Economic Literature*, 26 (September 1988): 1120-71; McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine*, 59-95.

¹³ Giovanni Dosi, "Technological Paradigms and Technological Trajectories: A Suggested Interpretation of the Determinants and Directions of Technical Change," *Research Policy*, 11 (1982): 147-62; Richard R. Nelson and Sidney G. Winter, *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); and "In Search of a Useful Theory of Innovation," *Research Policy*, 6 (1977): 36-76; Barbara Levitt and James G. March, "Organizational Learning," *American Review of Sociology*, 14 (1988): 319-40.

¹⁴ Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977); and Chandler, *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 593-97. The role of firms in innovation is discussed in depth in William Lazonick, *Business Organization and the Myth of the Market Economy* (New York, 1991).

motivated more by their desire to perfect imperfect systems and iron out anomalies than by overarching ideological predispositions.¹⁵

Historically, this process of innovation has yielded impressive material results, but it has been far from flawless. Systems tend to fold back on themselves and adapt too well to their surroundings. The relentless pursuit of functionality turns open systems that respond to many environmental pressures into closed ones that blindly follow a given trajectory. When this happens, it may block the introduction of new technology and preclude needed restructuring. Radical restructuring tends to take place only after system survival is threatened by a prolonged period of stagnation, rising costs, and lost markets. The interval between the onset of senility and the beginning of rejuvenation may be substantial.

These new models of technological change have important implications for the relationship between technology and the labor process. They recognize that technology is part of a continuing struggle between management and labor. Workplace conflicts that impinge on the operation of a technical system, for example, supply a powerful motivation for technological change.¹⁶ Fights between managers and workers over pace and pay that cause bottlenecks in production provide a point of focus for innovators. When labor relations threaten system growth or company strategy, innovation may be directed at removing workers or deskilling those in strategic positions, perhaps by radically redesigning the labor process and incorporating new forms of automation.

Even under pressures from labor conflict, however, technology may not change. Technology is less responsive to short-term problems or fluctuations in profits than to longer term trends. Managers seek stable interrelationships between the technology of production, the organization of work, and the culture of the work force.¹⁷ Many different combinations of these three factors can prove profitable in a given industry, but those chosen at one point tend to remain in place. Changing the behavior and expectations of workers or the outlook and orientation of managers is as difficult as changing any other system component. And radical change is especially hard.

Conceiving of technology as a system also provides a way of bringing it together with class, culture, and gender. Socially constructed technical systems include a socially constructed labor force. Indeed, it might be best to speak not of technical systems but of techno-labor systems. As is well understood, working-class culture has served as a resource to fight managerial incursions into labor's domain and to support workers and their families. Throughout the twentieth century, however, managers have sought to extend their systems beyond the factory gates, taking into account the culture of their work force. At times, of course, they have fought

¹⁵ This seems to ignore the issue of profit, although profit and financial calculations can be considered part of the overall system as well. More pertinent, profit seems to take a back seat in discussions of technological change not because it is unimportant—firms always seek profit, balanced of course by security—but because firms determine which technological investments are likely to be profitable in part by seeking solutions to system problems.

¹⁶ Philip Scranton has made a similar point about incorporating questions of power into models of technology. See "None-to-Porous Boundaries: Labor History and the History of Technology," *Technology and Culture*, 29 (1988): 722–43.

¹⁷ McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine*, esp. 297–98, 314–34; and Lazonick, *Competitive Advantage*, 98, 213–51, although Lazonick pays much less attention to worker culture.

workers' assertions of autonomy. At other times, however, they have employed different categories of workers with different experiences and skills to operate different systems. Distinctions and divisions among workers, whether wholly rational or not, tend to become deeply embedded in system structures.¹⁸

Locating technology in its various contexts makes change far more problematic and far less deterministic than it is in either Marxian or neo-classical economic models. Managers and engineers generally lack total control over innovation. They proceed with imperfect knowledge, and they concentrate resources on making incremental improvements in existing technology. They build strong systems that follow historically determined patterns of change derived from previous events and choices. Often, the interests of workers, consumers, and politicians coalesce around these evolving systems. Such vested interests reinforce the tendency of technology to follow its existing trajectory. Subject to these powerful inertial forces, techno-labor systems respond slowly to change. Even avaricious capitalists therefore may not be able to use technology as a weapon against refractory workers.¹⁹ On the other hand, unexpected changes in the labor process may arise when the seamless system of production suffers breakdowns in places other than the work site. Labor conflict may be among the critical events that induce radical departures in technology. But even when firms have a strong incentive to deskill workers, there still may be a lag until the system can be moved in a new direction.²⁰

APPLYING THIS APPROACH TO TELEPHONE SWITCHING, we find that the delay in automation becomes much easier to understand. Before the invention of automatic equipment, female operators carried out the crucial task of connecting telephone subscribers. In simplest form, the work of the operator involved receiving verbal requests for connections and physically plugging one line into another at the switchboard. But the rudiments of the work belied a complex labor process built on a number of related factors: the economics of networks, the strategies of telephone firms, evolving switchboard hardware, and the culture of the workers.

Early in the history of telephony, managers had recognized the importance of the operator's task. At large urban telephone exchanges, managers quickly perceived switching to be a potentially serious bottleneck. As telephone networks

¹⁸ Wayne Lewchuck, "Men and Monotony: Fraternalism as a Managerial Strategy at Ford Motor Company," *Journal of Economic History*, 53 (December 1993): 824–56; Charles Sabel and Jonathan Zeitlin, "Historical Alternatives to Mass Production," *Past and Present*, 108 (August 1985): 133–76; Philip Scranton, "Diversity in Diversity: Flexible Production and American Industrialization, 1880–1930," *Business History Review*, 65 (Spring 1991): 27–90.

¹⁹ Lazonick, *Competitive Advantage*, chap. 4.

²⁰ In one sense, my model follows that of Gordon, Edwards, and Reich, in that it focuses on crises rather than short-term changes. Like their work, it also attempts to unite technology, work, and culture in order to understand how managers structure the work environment. But, besides paying close attention to gender, my approach is less deterministic and does not assume that labor issues drive managerial decisions. System and strategy allow for a broader range of considerations than does control.

grew, the number of possible calls to be switched increased geometrically.²¹ Mathematics indicated that at some point demand for switching might exceed capacity. The problem was not a purely technical one. It related to the strategy of the Bell Telephone Company, a sprawling monopoly composed of dozens of regional firms that dominated telephony in America from 1880 until 1894. Bell had built its strategy around the promotion of urban telecommunications. Its prime concern was cultivating telephone use in big city markets, rather than in less densely populated rural areas. Urban telephone networks quickly reached the size at which switching became a problem. Managers avoided a breakdown in the networks by organizing a techno-labor system that employed human operators carefully selected by class, race, and sex. A complex of women and machines solved the critical problem of switching.

Multiple switchboards were the crucial hardware of this techno-labor system. To overcome capacity constraints in cities such as New York, telephone engineers designed a three-panel board containing jacks for every subscriber line—up to 10,000 lines. Operators sat before one panel but, by stretching to the right or left, were able to reach all the other subscriber jacks in the exchange. Each operator was responsible for only a small number of incoming lines but could complete her calls to any other line in the exchange. Multiplying this triptych arrangement, firms engaged dozens of operators working together to handle the heavy load of large central offices.²²

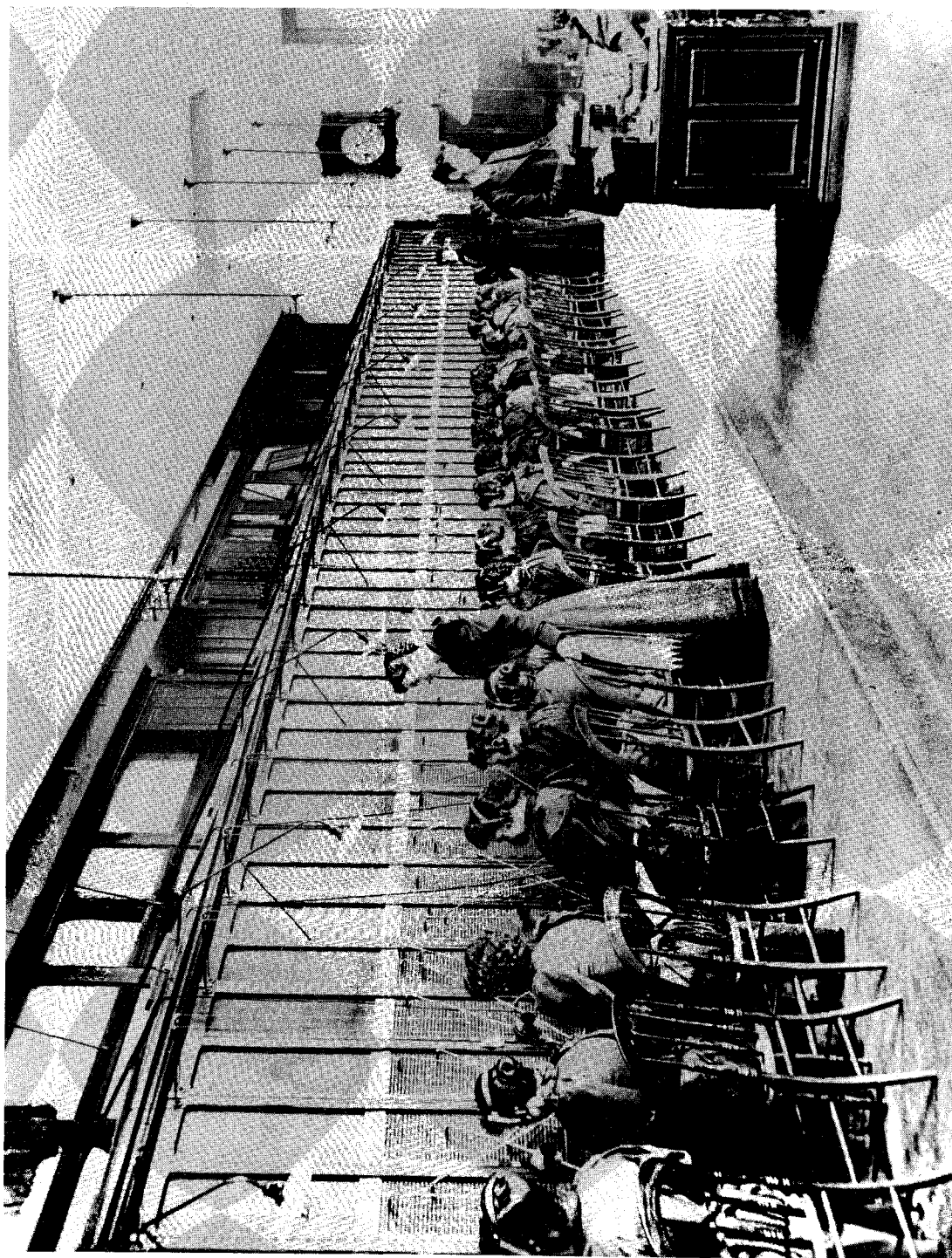
Manual switching had a gender, and here we can see how cultural categories combined with strategy and technology to form a labor process. The social construction of telephone technology created an entirely new group of skilled workers—telephone operators.²³ Since the 1880s, the telephone companies had employed women almost exclusively in this position, a practice also followed in other nations. The origins of this sexual division of labor remain obscure, but two things stand out. Women, male telephone managers believed, possessed the inherent qualities needed in a manual system; and they were available in large numbers.²⁴

²¹ In fact, as the number of subscribers (S) increased, the number of possible connections increased $S \times (S - 1)/2$. E. C. Molina, "The Theory of Probabilities Applied to Telephone Trunking Problems," *Bell System Technical Journal*, 1 (November 1922): 69–81; R. I. Wilkerson, "The Beginnings of Switching Theory in the United States," American Telephone and Telegraph Company Archives, Warren, New Jersey (hereafter, ATT).

²² Milton Mueller, "The Switchboard Problem: Scale, Signaling and Organization in Manual Telephone Switching, 1877–1897," *Technology and Culture*, 30 (July 1989): 534–60; M. D. Fagen, ed., *A History of Engineering and Science in the Bell System*, Vol. 1, *The Early Years, 1875–1925* (New York, 1975–), 489–513. The multiple board was limited by wiring and other considerations to approximately 10,000 lines. Very large cities were served by two or more exchanges strategically placed around the city, each with a 10,000-line switchboard.

²³ In this case, manual switching technology opened up opportunities for women. See Elizabeth F. Baker, *Technology and Woman's Work* (New York, 1964), 50–52, 76, 206–07.

²⁴ The best study of the sexual division of labor in telephony can be found in Venus Green, "The Impact of Technology upon Women's Work in the Telephone Industry, 1880–1980" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1990), esp. 58–63, 109–200. This dissertation is an important analysis of women and telephone technology, although it does not deal with the innovation process. Stephen H. Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth: Telephone Operators and Worker Militancy, 1878–1923* (Urbana, Ill., 1990), 41–49; and Michèle Martin, "Hello, Central?" *Gender, Technology and Culture in the Formation of Telephone Systems* (Montreal, 1991), 59, 63, 91–92, also discuss the origins of female telephone operators. Norwood's solid monograph, however, virtually ignores technology, and



The Courtland Street exchange, New York City, 1893, which had the nation's largest manual multiple switchboard. Courtesy of AT&T Archives.

Many historians have speculated about the link between the feminization of occupations such as telephone operator and management's drive to cut costs and control its labor force. Here we have to distinguish carefully between entrepreneurial strategies aimed at reaching new markets and labor strategies designed to increase worker effort and compliance. The nature of the operator's task reflected telephone managers' entrepreneurial strategy for differentiating telephone service from rival forms of communications such as the telegraph. Telegraph firms employed male operators, who received and transmitted coded information but who did not speak with customers. The job required mastery of Morse code, facility with the telegraph key, and a quick and neat pen. But telegraphy was not a switched form of communications, as was telephony. Telephone companies stressed the interactive quality of their service, which allowed users to speak directly with each other. Fast, accurate switching was vital to this more complex method of communications. Switching required new specialized forms of labor utilizing different skills.

Since manual technology required operators to speak with subscribers, if only briefly, telephone firms wanted employees who would project a comfortable and genteel image to their customers. Applicants for the job were expected to have at least a grammar school education. Policy in both the North and South was "whites only," and companies sought native-born workers, rejecting those with strong ethnic accents. By hiring employees of "good character," telephone firms were seeking workers who could deal with customers "on an equal plane," as one manager put it.²⁵ Telephones in the early twentieth century remained a luxury even for the middle class. A prime category of user—who made expensive and profitable long distance calls—was the businessman.

The job requirements quickly took on a gender, for telephone managers believed that women possessed the qualities they sought. Respectable deportment, accuracy, attention to detail, good hearing, and good speech were commonly held to be female more than male traits. They characterized traditional female occupations such as teaching and women's jobs in such industries as textiles and paper making. Astute companies were not above exploiting male solicitude for the weaker sex, reminding subscribers that operators were "entitled to the same consideration and courtesy that is extended to women in our everyday business and social activities and that we expect for our wives, sisters or daughters."²⁶

Martin's work is sometimes burdened by a crude Marxian approach. Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 22, 76, 131, discusses the three-way relationship between workers, managers, and customers.

²⁵ P. M. Grant, "The Selection and Training of Operators," *Southwestern Telephone News* (August 1908): 2, as quoted in Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 41. On the question of who fit what type of white-collar work, see Davies, *Woman's Place Is at the Typewriter*; and Lisa Fine, *The Souls of the Skyscraper: Female Clerical Workers in Chicago, 1870-1930* (Philadelphia, 1990), 51-75. Cindy Aron, *Ladies and Gentlemen of the Civil Service: Middle-Class Workers in the Gilded Age* (New York, 1987), notes how the language of domesticity helped women enter white-collar occupations after the Civil War but also limited their opportunities for advancement.

²⁶ Harvard University, Baker Library, Boston Chamber of Commerce Collection, C.13/folder 311-219, "Report of William H. O'Brien, Chief, Telephone Division, Massachusetts State Department of Public Utilities, on Telephone Service in Massachusetts," January 9, 1924. There is substantial evidence that employers were conscious of the uses of gender and the importance of

When dealing with cranky and irritable customers, women's purportedly more patient nature—formed, no doubt, from their maternal instincts—was seen to be especially valuable. Early trials with male operators did not pan out because young men had neither the discipline nor deportment desired. By 1900, over 80 percent of operators were single, white, native-born females.²⁷

These educated women from middle-class or aspiring working-class families were available in abundance. More women than men graduated from high school in the late nineteenth century. Educators deliberately shunted female graduates into what they believed were appropriate clerical and service occupations. Working-class and immigrant parents as well often encouraged their female children to attend vocational business schools and seek white-collar employment.²⁸ Job discrimination and prevailing attitudes about women's proper work further limited their options. In all, telephone companies had a substantial pool of labor on which to draw.

Although women soon flooded telephone exchanges, they did not become operators simply because they were "cheap hands." It is true that, in all industries, women's pay was lower than men's. But not all employers exploited the gender gap by replacing men with women. A good part of the wage differential resulted from the different tasks allotted to men and women and, to a lesser extent, the different industries that employed them rather than unequal pay for exactly the same work. Both manufacturing and services were rigidly sex segregated at this time. Patriarchal assumptions of what men and women could do, assumptions shared by male workers and male employers, frequently blocked women's access to better jobs in factories.²⁹ In white-collar work, "wage discrimination" mainly took the form of denying qualified women advancement up the career ladder. Starting salaries, however, were roughly equal, as was the case for operators in the early years when both men and women were employed. Telephone operating was one of those new white-collar jobs that offered women higher pay than factory work but that also locked them into a separate female job category.³⁰ (See Table 1.)

These patterns of sex segregation made the relationship between women and technology complex. Many women continued to toil in traditional feminine industries such as dressmaking and millinery, which largely excluded men. Others performed low-wage, unmechanized tasks in integrated sectors. In paper making and typesetting, for example, male workers and employers largely succeeded in defining technology as masculine and relegating women to pre-mechanized functions. But increasing numbers of women were entering new

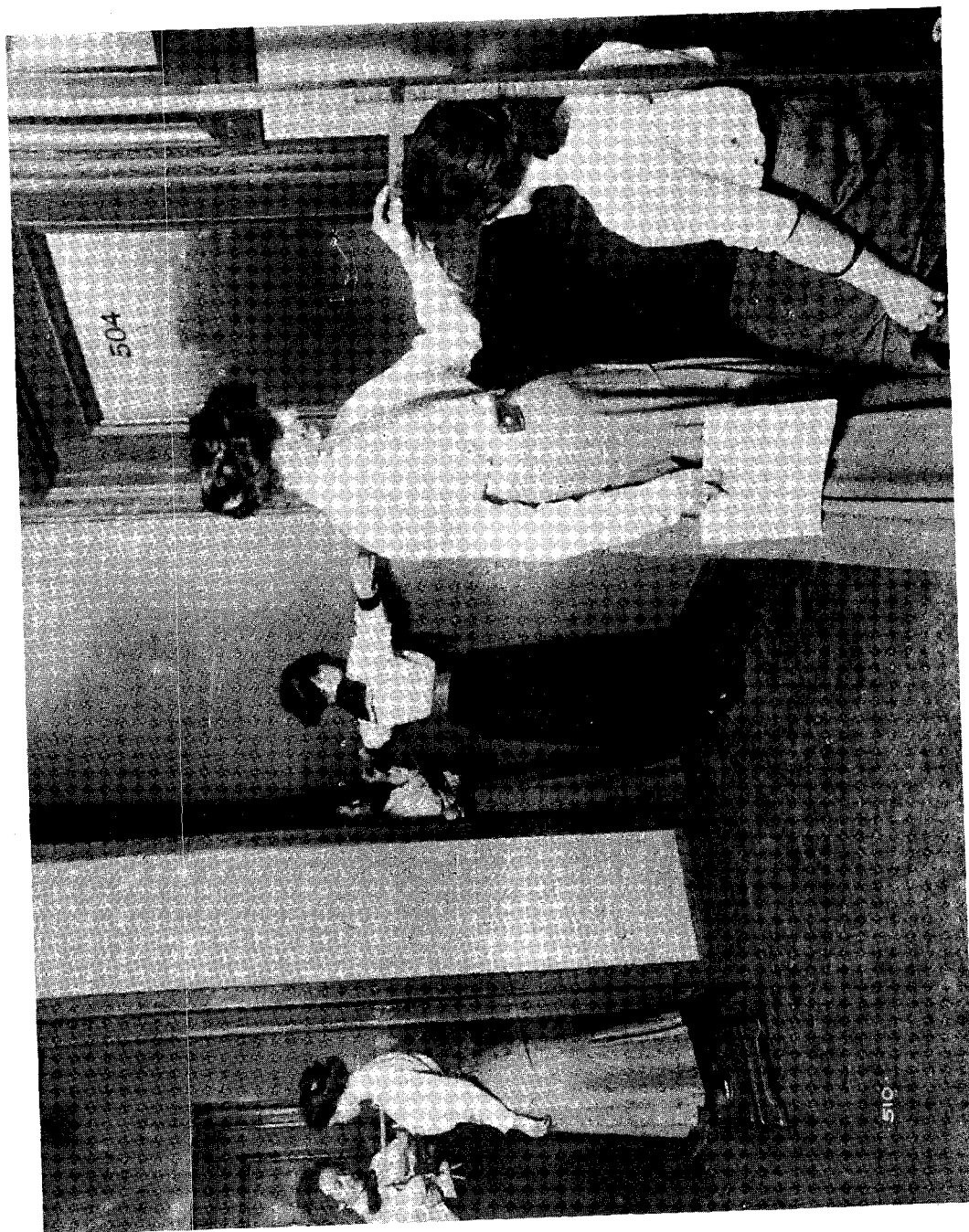
making a female labor force that served their ends. See Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 124–76; Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter*, 187–89; 209; McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine*, 348–53, 368–73.

²⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistics of Women at Work: 1900* (Washington, D.C., 1907), 34, as cited in Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work*, 190. Green, "Impact of Technology upon Women's Work," 143–44.

²⁸ Davies, *Woman's Place Is at the Typewriter*, 57–58, appendix 2; Ileen DeVault, *Sons and Daughters of Labor: Class and Clerical Work in Turn-of-the-Century Pittsburgh* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990); Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work*, 190, 197; Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter*, 275–90.

²⁹ Sonya Rose has argued that employers embraced these ideas in order to preserve the industrial peace and assuage critics of woman and child labor. Rose, *Limited Livelihoods*, 22–49.

³⁰ Claudia Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (New York, 1990); Green, "Impact of Technology upon Women's Work," 127.



Applicants for the position of telephone operator in Boston being weighed and measured. Courtesy of Boston Public Library, Print Department.

TABLE 1
Yearly Earnings in Selected Categories of Employment
(Current Dollars)

Year	Female Manuf. Workers	All Public Schoolteachers	Saleswomen in Urban Stores	All Operators
1900	256	328	n.a.	270-300
1910	329	492	350-375	375-435
1920	800	936	700-800	575-700

SOURCES: *Historical Statistics: From Colonial Times to 1970* (Washington, D.C., 1975), tables D182-232, D722-27, D779-93; Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap*, table 3.1; U.S. Department of Labor, *Summary of the Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1916); 216; Benson, *Counter Cultures*, appendix c; U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Telephones and Telegraphs, 1902* (Washington, D.C., 1902), table 45; ATT, *Bell System Statistical Manual*; ATT box 27, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Strike, 1917; Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 70.

industries or industries that were undergoing widespread changes, where the meaning of work and skill was being redefined. In some of these industries, technology was eliminating the need for skilled craft workers, long apprenticeships, and brute strength. Changes that rewarded brains rather than brawn assisted women, especially considering their greater educational attainments. In other cases, machines not yet claimed by men, such as the typewriter and the tabulator, became feminized. Market shifts also exploded traditional job categories. In cigar making, women were brought in with new technology to mass-produce inexpensive cigars for the common man. Under extraordinary conditions, such as a war, women even entered industries closely guarded by men's craft unions or handled technology defined as male, at least temporarily.³¹

Telecommunications provides an extreme example of how technology and innovation could contribute to the construction of new female occupations while at the same time confirming old ideas about female work.³² Women's contributions were crucial to the success of the complex technology of manual switching. While scanning ten thousand tiny jacks, keeping an eye open for lights indicating new calls, and sweeping the board of old connections, operators had to complete several hundred calls per hour during peak times. Months of practice were required before they mastered the "overlaps," or the knack of performing multiple tasks simultaneously. Managers recognized that "the attainment of service standards necessarily involves a good grade of well-trained operator."³³

³¹ Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter*, 178, 212, also concludes that women took new jobs created by economic and technological changes more than they took over men's jobs. See also Sharon H. Strom, "Machines Instead of Clerks: Technology and the Feminization of Bookkeeping, 1910-1950," in Heidi I. Hartmann, et al., eds., *Computer Chips and Paper Clips: Technology and Women's Employment*, Vol. 2 (Washington, D.C., 1987). On male resistance to female workers, see Patricia Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919* (Urbana, Ill., 1987), 209, 271-72, 302-26, 218-23; McGaw, *Most Wonderful Machine*, 335-74. See also Lazonick, *Competitive Advantage*, 88-93.

³² Ava Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited: Technology and Gender Definitions of Work in the Printing Industry, 1850-1920," in Wright, ed., *Women, Work, and Technology*, 58-83, provides a compelling example of technology's contributions to work and gender discourse. See also Patricia Cooper, "The Faces of Gender: Sex Segregation and Work Relations at Philco, 1928-38," in Ava Baron, ed., *Work Engendered: Toward a New History of American Labor* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1991), 320-50.

³³ ATT box 185 08 03, Traffic Conference, 1905, p. 38.

The good operator, however, became the female operator, a definition that carried with it many old assumptions about women's work. Operators were expected to be young and unmarried. They were restricted to repetitive tasks that could be monitored and controlled by male engineers. And they were not allowed to advance outside their own separate employment track.

In the telephone industry as elsewhere, women rather than men were seen as the ideal machine tenders.³⁴ New hires went through rigorous training and then a long probationary period, during which they were expected to advance up the wage scale or leave. In a manner reminiscent of the early Lowell textile mills, telephone companies encouraged operators to fill "scrapbooks" with material bearing on accuracy in work and personal improvement, awarding prizes for the best efforts.³⁵ The purpose of such policies was to create workers willing to perform their tasks hour in, hour out and to cooperate with their machines as well as their fellow workers. As Katherine Schmitt, Bell's first female supervisor, succinctly remarked, "the operator must be a paragon of perfection, a kind of human machine."³⁶

In some cases, assumptions such as these could be used by employers for their own benefit. Young, single, educated women were available in greater numbers than men and had fewer options for employment. Most would marry, and company policy forced them to leave their jobs when they did. As "temporarily permanent" workers, such women exhibited a lower rate of turnover than did young males. Low turnover was a highly valued attribute to telephone managers, who wanted loyal and skilled hands but did not want to pay the usual costs of getting them.³⁷ Perhaps most important was the belief that these women would accept the disciplined work routine necessary for efficient manual switching. Bad experiences with young male operators attest to this possibility. Companies appreciated the malleability of "girls fresh from the discipline of high school."³⁸ Lacking craft traditions and experience with unions, they were less likely than men to resist, protest, or fight the requirements of the job. Experience bore out these assumptions, since before 1920 operators were largely unsuccessful in organizing.³⁹

³⁴ Many more women than men worked under conditions characterized by scientific management and piece rates, although men were also becoming assembly line operatives at this time. Claudia Goldin, "Women's Employment and Technological Change: A Historical Perspective," in Hartmann, et al., eds., *Computer Chips and Paper Clips*.

³⁵ U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Telephones and Telegraphs, 1902* (Washington, D.C., 1902), 51.

³⁶ Quoted in Brenda Maddox, "Women and the Switchboard," in Ithiel de Sola Pool, ed., *The Social Impact of the Telephone* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 270.

³⁷ The term "temporarily permanent" I borrow from Strom, *Beyond the Typewriter*, 190.

³⁸ Julia O'Conner, quoted in Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 41.

³⁹ Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 86, 93–94, 134–35. By contrast, AT&T managers believed that European nations rushed to embrace automatic switching in part because telephone operators there were in the civil service and thus more powerful and less flexible than in the United States. Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of America's Wage-Earning Women in the United States* (New York, 1982), 75–107, 110–19, notes the limits on working women's labor organizations and the constraints faced by middle-class women. Baker, *Technology and Woman's Work*, 54, states that "white collar" work appealed to the class pretensions of young women. John B. Sharpless and John Rury, "The Political Economy of Women's Work, 1900–1920," *Social Science History*, 4 (August 1980): 317–46, argue that the youth, short duration of employment, and family obligations of most women workers in this period made their work experiences significantly different than men's. For alternative views, see

It is less clear in other respects that the gendering of work furthered telephone companies' strategies for controlling labor. Did, for example, barriers against married women and restrictions on women's upward mobility reduce labor costs? Even if, as noted, young single women conformed more readily to managerial initiatives, the choice to limit the operator force to unmarried women also reduced the eligible pool of labor and mandated the termination of the most skilled and best-trained workers. Operators could rise to the top rank of pay within five years. Many were receiving the maximum before they married and left. Unmarried women, moreover, were allowed to stay indefinitely. Bars to marriage may have served employers in the context of job restrictions. Experienced employees confined to dead-end jobs might well grow restless if allowed to stay. But there is no reason to believe that the telephone operator was by nature a dead-end job.⁴⁰ The best were promoted to the rank of chief operator, in charge of the women who kept the calls flowing. Even these employees, however, stayed on a parallel and inferior track to men. Fettering outstanding women in this fashion may have reflected management's acceptance of prevailing prejudices against women supervisors rather than its labor control strategy. As Claudia Goldin has argued, the costs to firms of such restrictions were small. If the idea of working under a woman alienated men, then it made sense, an employer might have reasoned, to bar women from supervisory roles. Employers may also have feared that women, particularly married women, would leave after they had been groomed, at the firm's expense, for higher positions. Such reasoning, however, speaks less to a concerted strategy for driving down wages than to the limits of managerial rationality—the inability to distinguish women who wanted to stay and advance even after marriage from those who accepted society's prevailing assumption that married women belonged in the home.⁴¹

Sometimes, discrimination actually worked against an employer's drive to cut costs. Telephone managers, for example, had rigid notions of who fell into the "right class" for employment. Companies sent "medical matrons" to visit applicants "to determine that the home surroundings are healthful and proper." As many as two out of every three of those who applied failed to meet the physical and educational qualifications.⁴² Employing women from families embracing middle-class values required certain special investments. In large cities, operating companies built dormitories for night operators, to counter the insinuations of

Carole Turbin, "Beyond Conventional Wisdom: Women's Wage Work, Household Economic Contribution and Labor Activism in a Mid-Nineteenth Century Working-Class Community," in Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton, eds., *To Toil the Livelong Day: America's Women at Work, 1780–1980* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987); Mary H. Blewett, *Men, Women, and Work: Class, Gender, and Protest in the New England Shoe Industry, 1780–1910* (Urbana, Ill., 1988). On the devaluing of female work, see DeVault, *Sons and Daughters of Labor*; and Fine, *Souls of the Skyscrapers*.

⁴⁰ The current chief executive officer of AT&T, Robert Allen, started in the traffic department of Illinois Bell as an operator supervisor.

⁴¹ Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap*, 118, 160–80. This pattern fits what Goldin terms "statistical discrimination," or treating individuals as though they conformed to the behavior and characteristics of the group.

⁴² ATT box 185 08 03, Traffic Conference, 1905, pp. 38–41; Maddox, "Women and the Switchboard," 271. The percentage of rejections is for 1930. Josephine Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency: A Study in Industry* (New York, 1912), 44–45.

prudish reformers and high-minded clergy, who painted lurid pictures of young women finishing their shift by stepping out of exchange offices into dark alleys in the middle of the night.⁴³ "The way to get the best class of operators," claimed one telephone manager, "was to offer every possible convenience and comfort."⁴⁴

Some of these amenities included libraries, reading circles, athletic clubs, evening classes, and, in more rural locales, worker-tended flower and vegetable gardens. Managers installed tastefully appointed rest rooms complete with armchairs, couches, magazines, newspapers, Victrolas, and pianos, which one historian has noted suggested the family parlor.⁴⁵ They enforced rules of decorum and appearance for workers whom the customer never saw, all to suggest that these women were of good character. Middle-class reformers applauded efforts to ameliorate working conditions, even if they reinforced stereotypes that implied women needed protection.⁴⁶ On-the-job amenities, the varied nature of the tasks, shorter and more flexible hours—at least, compared to factory jobs—and above all the steady yearly employment compensated for the low hourly wages. According to the Consumers' League, operator work was suitable for young ladies.⁴⁷ Such an evaluation must have heartened Bell managers, for it suggested that they had indeed designed a work environment that was perceived as appropriate for the type of employee they sought.

In selecting workers on a gendered basis, telephone companies reaped the benefits of a unique work culture that emerged when employment brought young women together on the job. Many operators had been recruited by family and friends already at work in telephone exchanges. Companies generally encouraged this policy, believing that it made new arrivals "think and work along the lines followed by operators who may be about her," creating a valuable "community of interest" among employees.⁴⁸ Although the actual process of completing calls fell to individual workers, cooperation was vital. On the multiple board, operators functioned in teams, with a slower worker positioned between two skilled hands. Operators also had to cooperate with each other on trunk calls and when training new recruits, who were an ever-present feature in an expanding industry that let

⁴³ ATT box 1146, Women Operators, night duty, 1891. See ATT box 2018, Labor Union Matters, 1910–11, 1913, 1915, for more examples of labor paternalism. Similar social and moral considerations made many companies adhere to a strict policy of single women only. See Maddox, "Women and the Switchboard," 267; also see Fine, *Souls of the Skyscrapers*, 57–61.

⁴⁴ ATT box 1353, Bathtubs for Operators, Wallace-Fish, May 1, 1905.

⁴⁵ Bureau of the Census, *Telephones and Telegraphs*, 1902, 51; *Telephony* (March 21, 1914): 25; Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 49; *Bell System Educational Conference* (New York, 1926), 63, copy in Baker Library, Harvard University.

⁴⁶ Ava Baron notes that concern about women and fatigue came at a time when male workers and reformers were worried about female competition for traditionally male jobs. In this case, however, there was no such competition. And women themselves had mixed feelings about reform. Waitresses, for example, liked the higher pay that came with night work, even though they disliked the hours. Baron, "Contested Terrain Revisited," 71; Dorothy Sue Cobble, "'Practical Women': Waitress Unionists and the Controversies over Gender Roles in the Food Service Industry, 1900–1980," *Labor History*, 29 (Winter 1988): 5–31.

⁴⁷ Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania, *Occupations for Philadelphia Girls: Telephone Operator* (Philadelphia, 1913).

⁴⁸ Bureau of the Census, *Telephones and Telegraphs*, 1902, 51. See also Federal Communications Commission, Special Telephone Investigation Docket 1, *Effects of Control upon Telephone Service and Rates* (Washington, D.C., 1937), 105–08.

workers go once they married.⁴⁹ It was from this corps as well that telephone companies drew their first line supervisors, the female chief operators who oversaw the work of switching.

Unlike other women workers in the age of mechanization, telephone operators were engaged with the latest technology of a complex technological system. Companies improved the switching process by incremental adjustments that substantially raised operator productivity. (See chart.) They invested in worker training and accommodations, although, of course, they also profited from the discrimination that limited women's job options. Telephone operating, however, was a new source of employment for women. By bringing together technology and women, telephone companies created a highly successful techno-labor system. As we shall see, this system enjoyed a strength and coherence that went beyond the functional dependence of its parts. Redesigning the labor process proved far more difficult than simple models of technological change would suppose. By turning to issues beyond cost and control, we can understand why this process was so stable and what caused it to change.

BY THE MID-1880s, BELL WAS WELL ON ITS WAY to building telephone systems in the nation's major urban centers. Secure with a virtual monopoly, the corporation embarked on another path that it would follow for more than half a century—construction of a national long distance network. Bell planned to link through long distance lines the nation's disparate local exchanges into a dense communications web. In pursuit of this goal, it chartered AT&T in 1885 as its long distance subsidiary. In 1900, AT&T replaced American Bell as the parent organization of the Bell System, whose properties consisted of regional operating companies throughout the United States, a substantial system of long lines, and Western Electric, manufacturer of telephones and equipment. AT&T President Theodore Vail elaborated and extended the corporation's strategy in 1907 by articulating the idea of universal service: the ability of any telephone subscriber to communicate with any other subscriber with minimal difficulty.⁵⁰

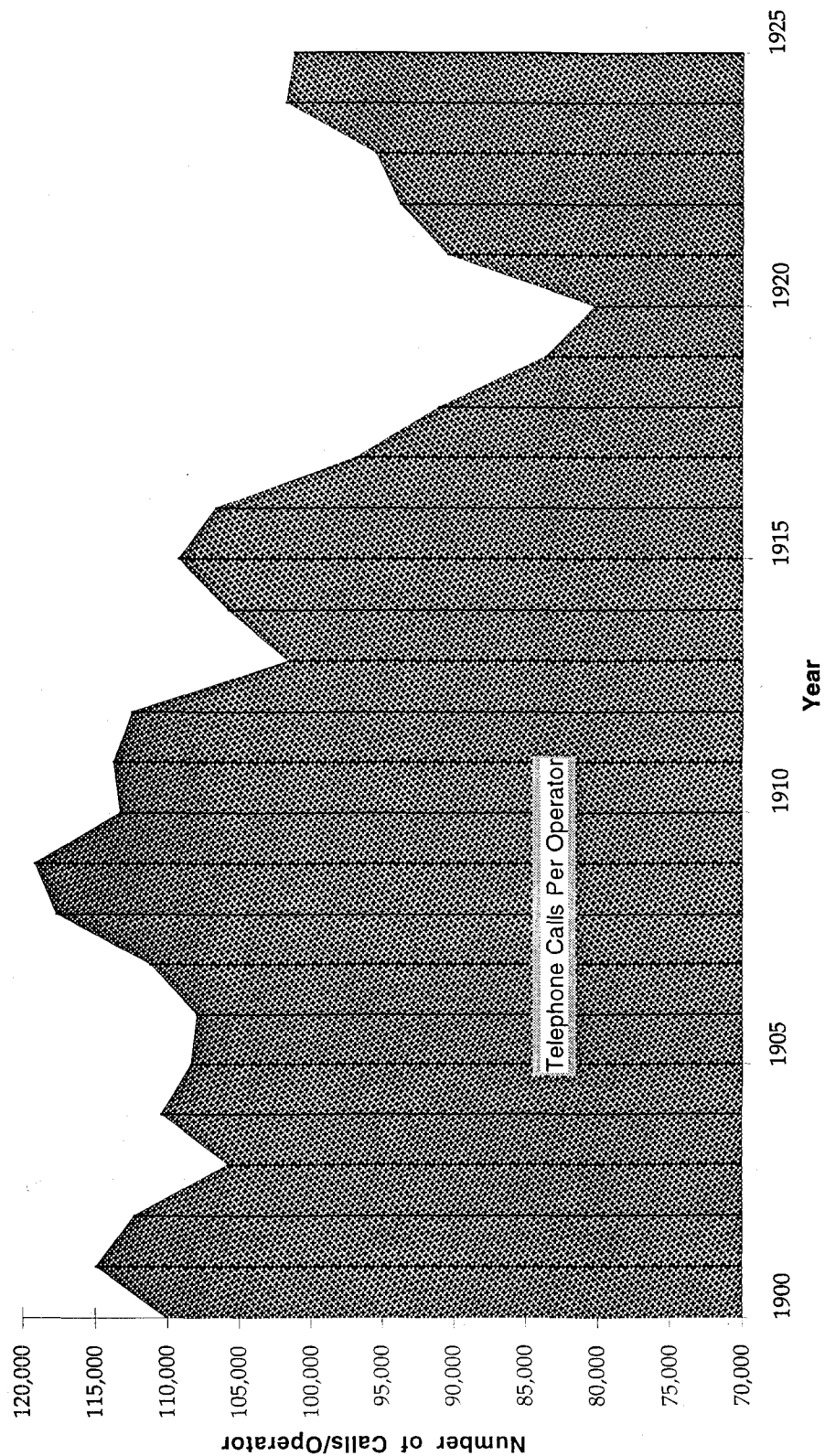
Although the new strategy followed in the footsteps of the old, it placed even more pressure on the switching bottleneck. The larger the total system, the more calls that flowed through a given point. Building an interconnected network, moreover, demanded a high degree of standardization, since each part interacted with the others. Accordingly, Bell centralized research, development, and manufacturing. It limited the range of options available to consumers, keeping

⁴⁹ The labor and culture of the operator is described especially well in Elizabeth Beardsley Butler, *Women and the Trades* (New York, 1911), 282–92; and in ATT box 185 08 03, Traffic Conference, 1905, pp. 38–48. On the importance of cooperation, see Green, "Impact of Technology upon Women's Work," 209–18.

⁵⁰ Robert Garnet, *The Telephone Enterprise: The Evolution of the Bell System's Horizontal Structure, 1876–1909* (Baltimore, Md., 1985), 77–89; John V. Langdale, "The Growth of Long-Distance Telephony in the Bell System, 1875–1907," *Journal of Historical Geography*, 4 (1978): 145–59; Gerald W. Brock, *The Telecommunications Industry: The Dynamics of Market Structure* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 26–147.

Sources: Bell System Statistical Manual, 503, 701
Historical Statistics, Table 351

Chart



research on a narrow path. Innovation focused on incremental rather than radical improvements in individual components such as switching.

Fixed firmly on its course, Bell ran into some heavy seas after 1894. The firm's telephone patents expired, and numerous new competitors entered the industry. No longer able to maintain monopoly prices, Bell saw its revenues plummet. As prices fell, telephones became more widely available. Even more people gained telephones for the first time when so-called independent firms rushed to serve towns and cities neglected during the monopoly years. Flourishing between 1898 and 1907, they took almost half the market from the senior firm.

Competition altered the mode of innovation in the industry. Upstart firms experimented with different combinations of equipment to produce novel services for new markets.⁵¹ Manufacturers offered for sale a wide array of telephonic devices to meet these demands. One new contribution was the automatic switch. In 1891, a Kansas City undertaker named Almon Strowger patented a device that switched telephone calls mechanically. Activated by impulses from the customer's telephone, the Strowger switch consisted of an arm that moved up to one of ten banks of contacts and then swept horizontally across the bank until it reached the desired line. In a society that had long believed labor-saving technology meant progress, many predicted that the day of the human operator was over. But events did not unfold so predictably. Invention was only the start of a long course of change.

Strowger was neither a capitalist faced with an intractable work force nor a rational engineer carefully weighing the price of labor and capital. He was a character. A peripatetic ne'er-do-well, Strowger had engaged in a number of ventures before settling in Kansas City. Invention, the creation of the first model of a new technology, remains a mysterious and poorly understood practice, and Strowger's story does little to clear up the picture. Exactly why he devoted himself to making a telephone switch is unknown, although one legend suggests a motivation related to labor problems. Apparently, Strowger believed that the local telephone operators were sending calls intended for his undertaking business to rivals. This dissatisfied consumer of telephone services made a dramatic and unexpected contribution to the art. He then decamped for Florida to live out the remainder of his life on his royalties.

Transforming this raw invention into a component of a giant technological system fell to the many telephone firms now competing sharply for business. An outsider to the industry, Strowger was ill equipped for the task. The newly competitive market, however, seemed to promise a great opportunity to promote his infant invention. But the largest firm of the industry, American Bell, greeted it with suspicion. Bell patent expert Thomas Lockwood asserted that "both experience and observation have united to show us that an operation so complex as that of uniting two telephone subscribers' lines . . . can never efficiently or satisfactorily be performed by automatic apparatus, dependent on the volition

⁵¹ Robert Bornholz and David Evans, "The Early History of Competition in the Telephone Industry," in David S. Evans, ed., *Breaking Up Bell: Essays on Industrial Organization and Regulation* (New York, 1983), 7-40; Neil H. Wasserman, *From Invention to Innovation: Long-Distance Telephone Transmission at the Turn of the Century* (Baltimore, Md., 1985), 131; Brock, *Telecommunications Industry*, 117.

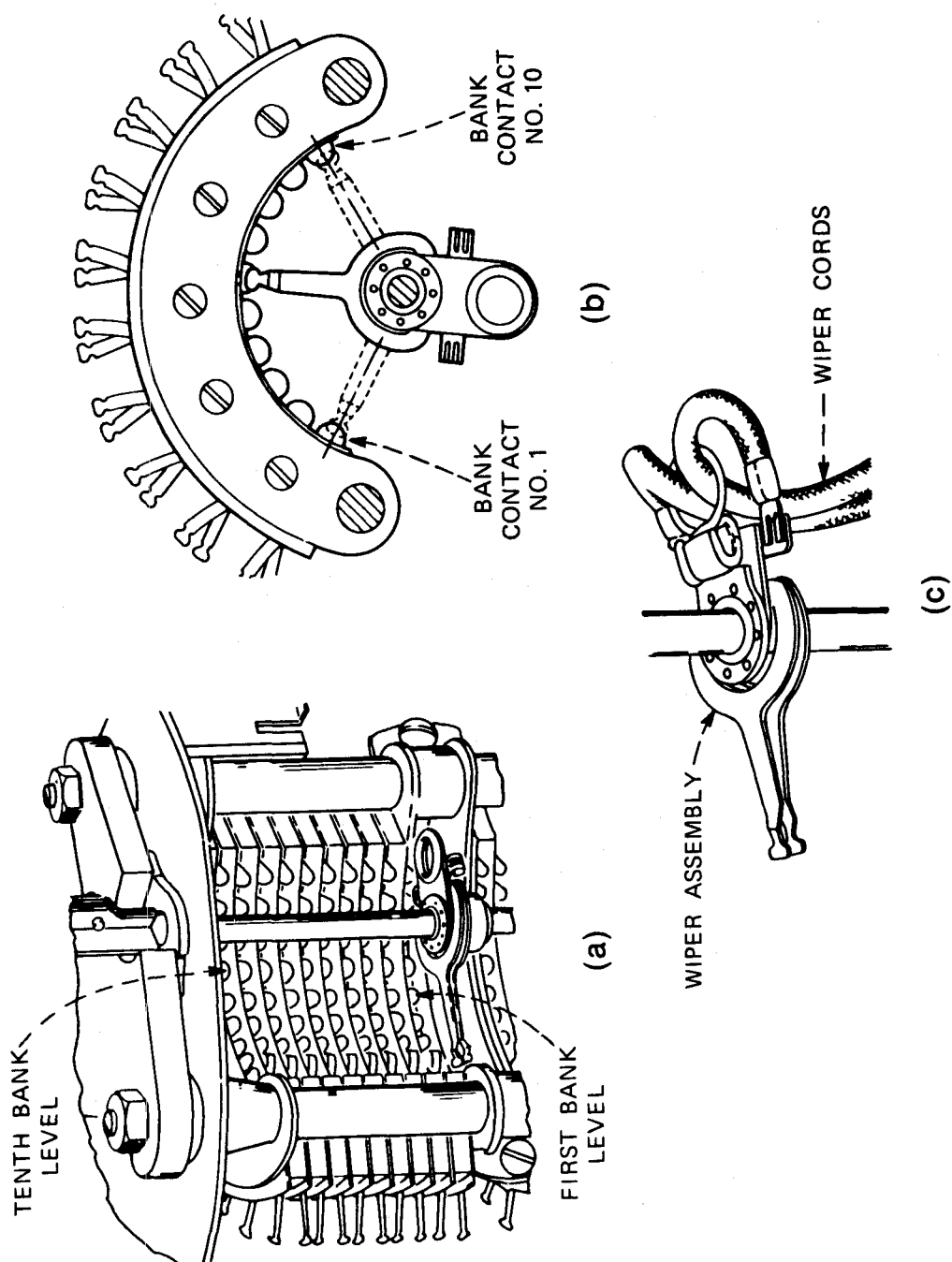


Diagram and details of the Strowger switch. Courtesy of AT&T Archives.

and intelligent action of the subscriber.”⁵² “The telephone girl has come to stay,” predicted another observer, more succinctly.⁵³ The Bell corporation declined to either purchase or license Strowger’s breakthrough.

Neither ignorance nor lack of invention can explain this decision. Bell was well aware not only of Strowger’s contrivance but of imitations and improvements launched by competitors. Indeed, in the years between 1896 and 1919, it made a series of laboratory investigations and field trials with the apparatus. It even developed an alternative model, the panel switch, based on a different physical principle. Panel switches were deployed in the 1920s, along with Strowger instruments. Before 1919, however, virtually no Bell telephone call was switched mechanically.

Nor did Bell have such cheap labor that mechanization was unprofitable. Although operators’ wages were clearly lower than those in comparable male occupations, it was the relative price of women and machines that mattered. Surprisingly, even before the wages of operators rose substantially, machines saved money. Had adoption of the new technology merely depended on factor prices, Bell clearly should have automated earlier than it did. In multi-exchange cities—places where more than one exchange was necessary to serve the local population—the net savings with automation were substantial. There, the switches reduced expenses between \$5 and \$8 per line at a time when total per line costs were around \$22. Under certain conditions, machines might be cost effective in smaller towns as well.⁵⁴ Using even the more conservative estimates, however, it is clear that there were significant missed opportunities for automation. In 1915, the total number of automated lines in the United States stood at 400,000. At a minimum, three times that number could have had automatic service.⁵⁵

Conceiving of technology as a system helps to explain why Bell resisted automation despite these potential savings. After invention of the Strowger switch, telephone companies had a choice: either invest in the new technology or continue to improve their existing techno-labor methods. Although costs and benefits are clear in hindsight, the alteration of a complex technical system to

⁵² ATT, box 1286, Strowger Automatic Exchange Switching, Lockwood-Hudson, November 4, 1891.

⁵³ ATT, box 1286, Strowger Automatic Exchange Switching, George Durant, quoted in *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, November 1, 1891. There were serious questions about who the real inventor of the device was. Strowger’s nephew claimed that his uncle had stolen the design from his own brother. ATT box 1286, Strowger Automatic Exchange Switching, Holt, Wheeler, Sidley-Fish, April 1, 1902; Hibbard-French, July 25, 1898; Swann-Hudson, November 27, 1898.

⁵⁴ ATT box 85 04 03 02, Automatic vs. Manual, Comparison of Costs, September 23, 1902; box 52, President’s Conference, 1919; box 85 04 01, Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell System, 1916.

⁵⁵ The assumption here is that cities with more than 10,000 subscribers had more than one exchange and so would have enjoyed the largest net savings from automation. Even taking a higher threshold figure of 25,000 lines, and eliminating the 1.5 million subscribers in the nation’s four largest cities—assumed too complex to automate at this time—yields between 1.3 and 2.5 million subscribers who could have been receiving automated service. American Telephone and Telegraph Company, *Bell Telephones in Principal Cities: January 1, 1918* (New York, 1918). Figures are estimates of total telephones in cities with at least 25,000 telephones as of January, 1918, projecting backward to 1915. These figures exclude non-AT&T telephones and hence underestimate the size of the unserved market.

make room for a radical new device involves much uncertainty about whether the change will yield sufficient returns to justify its expense.⁵⁶ Strowger's original invention was a crude device capable of serving only one hundred subscribers. To be of commercial value, it had to be vastly improved, ready to serve big city markets. Just getting accurate estimates of costs was difficult when the technology was still in evolution. Savings offered by mechanization also had to be weighed against the advantages of human operators. They served as a point of personal contact between subscribers and telephone companies, helped to locate trouble, and assisted users with an unfamiliar technology.

For a corporation dedicated to a competitive strategy that emphasized long distance service, standardization of components, and vertical and horizontal integration, the uncertainty of the new technology made it especially risky.⁵⁷ Bell engineers and managers had long focused their attention on the "critical problems" that threatened to block system growth. Manual technology embodied this substantial experience and expertise. Automatic switching, however, introduced an entirely new set of considerations. It served only for local telephone calls, offering no means of switching long distance calls. At the very least, Bell engineers observed, more work was needed on the link between manual long distance and automatic local switching. Modifying the device to fit the firm's strategy became more difficult, however, when Strowger sold his patent to a new manufacturing concern, the Automatic Electric Company. Bell firms would have to purchase or license the switches from a competing organization if they wanted to use them. Either move ran counter to the corporation's pursuit of vertical control and standardization of technology.

Given the risks of radical change, it seemed more expedient to continue investing in manual switching. Bell had greatly improved manual switching through the common battery telephone, an invention completely independent of Strowger's but devised at approximately the same time. Unlike old hand-crank magneto telephones, common battery models received electric current from a central source. Centralized power was not only simpler and cheaper, it also permitted new features at the switchboard. Lights now signaled operators to answer or disconnect calls, replacing noisy and confusing mechanical drops, which had to be reset by hand.⁵⁸ Switchboards were also wired for "automatic ringing," so that merely plugging the connecting line into the jack rang the telephone of the called party.

These and other improvements allowed the female labor force to handle the growth in telephone calls between 1900 and 1910 (see chart). Company engineers modified and redesigned the switching process to take full advantage of its new

⁵⁶ Some of these problems are discussed in Kim B. Clark, "The Interaction of Design Hierarchies and Market Concepts in Technological Evolution," *Research Policy*, 14 (1985): 235–51. Rebecca Henderson and Kim B. Clark, "Architectural Innovation: The Reconfiguration of Existing Product Technologies and the Failure of Established Firms," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 35 (1990): 9–30.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of this strategy, the problems it encountered during the competitive era, and the way in which AT&T eventually overcame those problems, see Kenneth Lipartito, *The Bell System and Regional Business: The Telephone in the South, 1877–1920* (Baltimore, Md., 1989); and David Weiman and Richard Levin, "Preying for Monopoly? The Case of Southern Bell Telephone Company, 1894–1912," *Journal of Political Economy*, 102 (1994): 103–26.

⁵⁸ Herbert Laws Webb, "Telephone Traffic," reprinted in *Telephony* (November 1905): 327–38.

potential for raising labor productivity. Information supplied by switchboard lights, for example, allowed them to track and monitor calling patterns more precisely and thereby establish peak and slack times. A new science of traffic management grew out of this knowledge. Engineers armed with statistics and probability theory planned switching systems to balance the "load," that is, to maintain adequate capacity for peak times while minimizing excess capacity during slack times.⁵⁹ Besides the flashing lights and new science of traffic management, they devised the distributing frame, which permitted rapid rewiring to redirect traffic so that operators were always fully engaged.⁶⁰ Finer divisions of labor also raised productivity. Telephone companies separated their operator force into "A" groups, who handled only incoming calls, and "B" groups, who made the final connections. Despite network growth, switching capacity expanded without resort to automation.

Companies also tried new methods of supervision to wrest greater productivity out of workers. When productivity dipped after 1910, they resorted to scientific management to increase output. Engineers plotted the most efficient operator movements, and supervisors watched operators' every move. Workers were expected to adhere rigidly to a script that specified both the words and proper enunciation for answering each call. By 1912, AT&T had put together a manual of required phraseology, one it believed was "so skillfully worded as to meet all operating situations with brevity and clearness of meaning necessary to the speed of the service."⁶¹ Improvements in the art of manual switching had, male engineers believed, made the process of connecting calls mainly a matter of machine-guided movements and carefully scripted responses from operators.

Such expectations were overly optimistic. Too much scientific management undermined operators' esprit de corps, "without which satisfactory service cannot be given."⁶² The repetitive motions of the job attacked the body, while labor policies sapped the spirit. As traffic increased in large urban exchanges, the pace of work became more demanding, "the pace that kills," according to one manager. One operator declared, "work on those high boards is a nerve-racking, physical strain," requiring so much stretching and reaching that she "suggested the addition of aeroplanes to the regular exchange equipment."⁶³ Government labor investigators found that over the eight and a half hour day, "constant employment of the muscles of the eye in different directions, consultant use of the optic nerve, and constant alertness of the auditory nerve" resulted in tremendous

⁵⁹ The information supplied via common battery telephones, and the use of this information to more effectively manage labor, was one of the key features of this new technology. ATT box 1122, Telephone Inventions, 1875-1922.

⁶⁰ ATT box 85 04 01 01, Papers Presented at a Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell Telephone System, December 11-15, 1916: Traffic; Bureau of the Census, *Telephones and Telegraphs*, 1902, 47.

⁶¹ Quoted in Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 35.

⁶² ATT box 1146, Operators, Wages Fluctuate with Quality of Service Rendered, 1902, Davis-Fish, September 20, 1902. On the limits of scientific management, see Daniel Nelson, *Frederick W. Taylor and the Rise of Scientific Management* (Madison, Wis., 1980); and Nelson, "Scientific Management and the Workplace, 1920-30," in Jacoby, ed., *Masters to Managers*, 74-89.

⁶³ Harvard University, Baker Library, Boston Chamber of Commerce Collection, C.13/folder 311-219, "Report of William H. O'Brien, Chief, Telephone Division, Massachusetts State Department of Public Utilities, on Telephone Service in Massachusetts," January 9, 1924.

pressure on the "mental constitution as well as the nervous system."⁶⁴ One physician feared that women who worked as telephone operators before marriage "break down nervously and have nervous children." Another speculated that the "intense nervous strain . . . might pass on to the next generation in a more striking way than even in the present generation."⁶⁵ Telephone operators thus became one of the first segments of the labor force to suffer from information technology-induced maladies.

In response, AT&T embraced the emerging employer paternalism of the early twentieth century. Formal programs replaced the informal methods of indoctrination of earlier years. Operators went to schools equipped with the same technology they would encounter in exchanges. To ameliorate ill effects of work, telephone firms took greater cognizance of the personal lives of their employees. Some instituted free lunches, because "previous experience indicated the operators brought in poor and insufficient lunches . . . and seemed content to live on cream puffs and chocolate eclairs."⁶⁶ Others provided sick benefits and funds for the relief of needy operators, a policy made universal in the Bell System in 1913. Worker training and cooperation were vital to company efforts to improve manual switching. "The gain in efficiency would have been much less than it is . . . [without] the adoption of systematic methods of instructing and training operators," noted one prominent telephone engineer.⁶⁷

The new policies did not eliminate all conflict from the labor process. Paternalism confronted a new generation of women ready to enjoy the life and leisure available in big cities. Urban working women had access to a new commercialized public culture that took them well beyond the traditional diversions centered on family and the home.⁶⁸ Such opportunities made them more assertive, more individualistic, and less willing to accept the paternalistic policies that surrounded telephone operating. Some of this independence spilled over into strikes, which hit San Francisco in 1907 and St. Louis in 1913. New England Bell narrowly averted a walkout in Boston by raising wages, but the experience started telephone operators there on the road to unionization.⁶⁹ Prime causes of labor unrest were the strenuous demands of the work and the rigid oversight that managers insisted was vital to manual switching. These practices clashed with the

⁶⁴ Caroline Crawford, "The Hello-Girls of Boston," *Life and Labor*, 2 (September 1912): 60, as quoted in Sidney H. Aronson, "Bell's Electric Toy: What's the Use? The Sociology of Early Telephone Usage," in Pool, ed., *Social Impact of the Telephone*, 34–35.

⁶⁵ Goldmark, *Fatigue and Efficiency*, 43–56, 544–47; Butler, *Women and the Trades*, 290.

⁶⁶ ATT box 2018, Labor Union Matters, 1910–11, 1913, 1915, Memo of Some Items Presented in Regard to the Chicago Traffic Department Situation, 1913; *Bell System Educational Conference* (New York, 1926), 63, copy in Baker Library, Harvard University; Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 51–52. The reference to diet suggests something of the youth culture of which operators were a part.

⁶⁷ Herbert Laws Webb, "Telephone Traffic," reprinted in *Telephony* (November 1905): 331; Green, "Impact of Technology upon Women's Work," 268–73. These welfare policies foreshadowed the company's famous Hawthorne studies of the 1920s, which originated a new management philosophy predicated on understanding the social world of the worker. See Richard Gillespie, *Manufacturing Knowledge: A History of the Hawthorne Experiments* (New York, 1991).

⁶⁸ Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 12–13; William Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1880–1925," *Journal of American History*, 71 (September 1984): 319–42; Kathy Peiss, "Gender Relations and Working Class Leisure: New York City, 1890–1920," in Groneman and Norton, eds., *To Toil the Livelong Day*, 98–111.

⁶⁹ Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 91–127.

interests and values of women workers. Operators resented prodding and monitoring by supervisors. Universally hated was the "split trick," which required workers to arrive in the morning for the first busy period, go off duty during the slack midday hours, and return for the evening rush. Costly to women who lived far from work, split tricks cut deeply into their leisure time and interfered with "their normal desires for social life and recreation."⁷⁰ Despite mounting tensions, companies continued the practice because it made efficient use of the work force.

The ups and downs of productivity indicated in the chart suggest that workers and management were in continual tension. Yet these conflicts did not push AT&T into automation. Instead, the company found other ways of combining work and technology to increase output. This alternative comported with its overall strategy. To meet the competition, the corporation had chosen to emphasize the size and quality of its telephone network. The emerging national "Bell System" contrasted with the more limited regional and local systems being developed by independent firms. Only by increasing switching capacity could the corporation achieve its goal of expanding telephone service nationally. Incremental improvements in existing technology seemed a less risky means of doing so than investing in a radical new mechanism. At the time, competition was driving down profits, which created financial pressures on the company to reduce all unnecessary capital expenditures.⁷¹

The position of top management on these matters was summed up concisely by Chief Engineer J. J. Carty in 1910. The system, he maintained, not any one component, should be the focus of concern.⁷² Improved switching, Carty went on, depended more on the overall design of the switching process than on any one machine. Not explicitly addressed to issues of labor, the statement nonetheless had implications for how AT&T should handle labor conflict. So long as it did not substantially interfere with the operational requirements of the system, it could be dealt with by incremental adjustments. Worker culture and resistance could be important issues, as we shall see. But unless managers perceived labor conflict as a critical problem of system growth or as a challenge to their basic strategy, they did not replace workers with machines.⁷³

For workers, the consequences of incremental change were mixed. Certainly, it was better not to lose one's job to automation. The relationship between work, technology, and output, however, can also be described along three other dimensions—effort, speed, and skill. Incremental improvements in the existing

⁷⁰ ATT box 185 08 03, Traffic Conference, 1905, p. 48; Consumers' League, *Occupations for Philadelphia Girls*, 38. Gary Cross and Peter R. Shergold, "'We Think We Are of the Oppressed': Gender, White Collar Work and Grievances of Late Nineteenth-Century Women," *Labor History*, 28 (Winter 1987): 23–53, note that leisure time was a highly valued attribute of white-collar work. Benson, *Counter Cultures*, 167, sees the clash between saleswomen's work culture and managerial designs. She argues that managers were on alien ground when they tried to manipulate gender. But these problems and conflicts, apparent as well with telephone operators, were treated as part of the normal managerial challenge and did not induce a radical rethinking of the labor process.

⁷¹ On the financial crisis of 1907 and the subsequent need to reduce capital expenditures, see Garnet, *Telephone Enterprise*, 128–54.

⁷² ATT box 85 04 01 03, J. J. Carty, "Telephone Service in America," 1910.

⁷³ For a similar discussion of how managers dealt with new technology, labor, and system development in another industry, see Steven Usselman, "Reconfiguring One System to Preserve Another: Signaling Technology and American Railroads, 1887–1914," unpublished manuscript.

techno-labor system somewhat reduced the effort it took to complete each call, although they substantially increased the speed at which operators were expected to work. Unlike full automation, they left skill largely unchanged. Operators had never been craft workers with a command of the mystery of production. They had never been able to plan the system, determine the routes, design the switchboards, or set their own hours and conditions of work. Yet, within the narrow realm of connecting calls, they enjoyed a certain autonomy.⁷⁴ Although the pressure for output led to greater task specialization, it also created new opportunities for workers by demanding new skills. Expansion of the long distance network, for example, required operators who connected toll calls to "build up" connections, cooperating with inward, through, and rate and route operators at several exchanges. Each of these positions had, in turn, its own skill requirements. Such expertise was learned in the company of other women operators and women supervisors drawn up from the operator ranks. Management set the terms and conditions of performance, but there remained an irreducible element of the labor process that depended on the female work culture. Some of the manager's brain stayed under the working girl's hat. AT&T's attempt to gain command over this bit of autonomous activity through scientific management did not fully succeed and sometimes receded. For example, the scripts were abandoned, and trainees were encouraged to develop their own style for communicating with customers. The company satisfied itself with improving the speed of connections, reducing effort, setting the standards for work, and manipulating the work culture to encourage loyalty.⁷⁵ Considerable power, to be sure, but not total. Workers remained crucial to the success of the telecommunications network.

With the industry's largest player content with manual switching methods, it fell to others to promote automation. Non-Bell firms turned to the Strowger switch as a means of challenging their corporate rival for control of the telephone market. Some of them saw it as a means of reducing costs and bringing service to new areas.⁷⁶ To new entrants without preexisting commitments to technology, savings

⁷⁴ Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work*, 190–202, exaggerates the shift in operator work patterns over time. Even though life in some of the early exchanges was easygoing, the rapid increase in exchange size demanded the division of operators' work into more systematic and specialized tasks. Like other workers, operators resented the speed-up, although they also appreciated new technology that reduced their expenditure of effort.

⁷⁵ Marion May Dilts, *The Telephone in a Changing World* (New York, 1941), 116. For an excellent description of the different types of local and long distance operators, see U.S. Department of Labor, *Typical Women's Jobs in the Telephone Industry*, Bulletin 207-A (Washington, D.C., 1946). Shoshana Zuboff, *In the Age of the Smart Machine: The Future of Work and Power* (New York, 1988), esp. 137–39, notes that technology can either be used to replace workers' skills and knowledge or to "infomate" work. In this case, by resisting automation, AT&T had to let operators retain at least part of the information content of their work.

⁷⁶ ATT box 85 04 03 02, Automatic vs. Manual Exchange; Fagen, *History of Engineering and Science*, 546. In La Porte, Indiana, it made its first installation. Bell had abandoned this market because it was too small, finding that "it is very difficult if not impossible to operate a telephone exchange of less than 50 subscribers." Automatic Electric, however, was convinced that in towns such as La Porte automatic switches could provide economical service for as few as 20 subscribers. They reduced costs between 8 percent and 16 percent in exchanges below 200 stations. ATT box 85 04 01 04, Automatic Exchange Switching Equipment, Gilliland-Vail, February 18, 1885. Evidence also indicates that in the small exchange market, locations with automatic switches earned higher returns than those that relied on manual switching. ATT box 1253, Automatic Exchange Switching, Beach-French, January 25, 1892. Such efforts were particularly important in the rural market, which Bell maintained

that the incumbent could afford to ignore mattered greatly. Even among these firms, however, labor costs did not wholly determine behavior. These companies tended to operate in smaller towns and cities, where switching capacity and labor conflict were not great problems. Market share was their prime concern, and automatic switching proved an effective marketing tool. Heartened by an impression that customers liked dialing, independents appealed to the belief that the mechanical was modern and efficient, the human quaint and slightly out-of-date.⁷⁷ Advertisements explained that machines kept their secrets and “never gossiped.” They did not require customers to speak with operators, who could be “surly” or “saucy” (and who often received the blame when calls went awry). As one sales brochure exclaimed, the day of the “cussless, waitless, out-of-orderless, girlless telephone” was now at hand. Although featuring the fantasy of workerless production, this appeal was aimed at customers, not managers. And as Bell’s own studies soon confirmed, given a choice, customers preferred dialing their own calls.⁷⁸

Despite creative campaigns, the independents made only limited headway with automation. By 1915, only about 4 percent of the market was served by mechanical switches. Some urban telephone concerns had prospered through automation—Los Angeles had the largest system, with 60,000 subscribers. Many independents, however, served places too small to reap substantial savings by eliminating workers.⁷⁹ Others had customers to whom “girlless” telephones were a mixed blessing. Though often decried as the town gossip, the telephone operator was also appreciated as a source of information. She located missing parties, took messages, provided wake-up calls, and gave out the correct time. With automatic switching, it was impossible to provide such services.⁸⁰

was too costly to serve. Farmers with telephones increased from virtually nil under the Bell monopoly to almost 30 percent by 1910. Claude S. Fischer, “The Revolution in Rural Telephony, 1900–1920,” *Journal of Social History*, 21 (Fall 1987): 5–26; Claude S. Fischer, “Technology’s Retreat: The Decline of Rural Telephony in the United States, 1920–1940,” *Social Science History*, 11 (Fall 1987): 295–327.

⁷⁷ For an in-depth discussion of these independents, see Lipartito, *Bell System and Regional Business*, 90–112; also see Richard Gabel, “The Early Competitive Era in Telephone Communications, 1893–1920,” *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 34 (Spring 1969): 342. AT&T continued to maintain that customers could not be trusted, and that people actually liked talking to operators, although its own studies contradicted both assertions. The evidence about consumer preferences was conflicting and unscientific, but it did appear that AT&T’s imperative of reducing customer participation in the operation of telephones to the bare minimum was unwarranted. For other marketing tactics, see ATT box 46 02 01 03, Allen-Fish, June 4, 1904; ATT box 46 02 01 02, Allen-Fish, December 3, 1903, June 23, 1903; ATT box 46 02 01 01, Allen-Fish, April 6, 1903; ATT box 85 04 03 02, Automatic vs. Manual Exchanges, Comparisons of Costs, September 23, 1902.

⁷⁸ ATT box 11 06 03 04, the Automatic Electric Company, 1902; ATT box 177 09 01 03, Independent Telephony, 1891–1935; ATT box 11 06 02 01, Tests of Strowger Automatic Telephone System at Dayton, Ohio. Note that this did not reflect prejudice against the Bell Company, as only 0.4 percent of those surveyed thought Bell was a “mean” company. On the many variations of telephone service developed outside the Bell System, see Carolyn Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New: Thinking about Electric Communication in the Late Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1988). Claude S. Fischer, “‘Touch Someone’: The Telephone Industry Discovers Sociability,” *Technology and Culture*, 29 (January 1987): 32–61; and Fischer, *America Calling: A Social History of the Telephone to 1940* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992).

⁷⁹ ATT box 1375, Effects of Competition on Development and Rates, 1909–1910. These firms tended to concentrate on places of less than 25,000 people—the small towns of the Midwest, South, and rural North.

⁸⁰ Marvin, *When Old Technologies Were New*, 209–14, 223–28.

The failure of automation to catch on was less a result of its technical and economic shortcomings than of structural weaknesses in markets and organizations. These institutional factors hampered the spread of this technology. Almost all the independent telephone enterprises were beset by organizational problems. Equipment manufacturers such as Automatic Electric were not integrated into the operating end of the business. Independent operating companies themselves remained largely separate and either uninterested in or incapable of effective cooperation. Unlike the vertically integrated Bell System, manufacturers and operating companies of the independent sector lacked the means to coordinate research, production, and operations. It was difficult for them to adjust technology to customers' needs or to upgrade local facilities so that they were compatible with new equipment.⁸¹

Most significant, independents did not achieve the integration needed to provide a telephone service competitive with AT&T's long distance network.⁸² Without this competitive asset, they were largely unable to penetrate the big city market, where the advantages of automatic switches were greatest. Divided among themselves, independent firms fell victim to AT&T's aggressive acquisitions policy. Between 1900 and 1913, the corporation bought up many rivals, while denying the remaining ones access to its growing network. As long distance communications became more important, remaining non-Bell firms were placed at a severe disadvantage. Their market share shrank steadily, and Bell was able to recapture its dominant position. With market dominance came the ability to shape telecommunications technology.⁸³ The fate of automatic switching rested largely in the hands of one giant corporation.

WHEN AT&T REGAINED CONTROL of the telephone market in 1913, it still showed little interest in automatic switching.⁸⁴ Yet, within a few years, the corporation reversed course and was deploying the machines in its exchanges. This change of

⁸¹ *Telephony*, February 21, 1914; David Gabel, "What Was the Loser Doing? A Reappraisal of the Role of the Visible Hand in the Telephone Industry," unpublished manuscript; ATT box 46 02 02 27, W. S. Allen Report on Telephone Competition. Indeed, if anything, the relationship between technical components was even more critical to these independents than to AT&T. Although they managed to build their own toll network, they lacked patents on important transmission technology such as the loading coil and vacuum tube, forcing them to depend heavily on quality construction at all levels of the system to maintain quality of service. See ATT box 1337, New York State Independent Telephone Association Convention, 1902; and ATT Box 177 10 01 01, Independent Telephony, Interstate, 1898–1908, for information on the construction of long distance lines by independents.

⁸² These problems are discussed in Kenneth Lipartito, "Component Innovation: The Case of Automatic Telephone Switching, 1890–1920," *Industrial and Corporate Change*, forthcoming. See also ATT box 1277, Independent Telephone Association of the United States, Organization, 1897–98; ATT box 177 10 01 01, Independent Telephony, Interstate, 1898–1909; ATT box 1337, New York State Independent Telephone Association Convention, 1902; ATT box 46 02 01 01, Allen-Fish, November 6, 1902, Allen-Fish, October 3, 1902; ATT box 1277, Independent Telephone Association of the United States, Hamilton-Rider, January 20, 1897; ATT box 1375, Independent Companies Interconnection with Bell System, 1909, Richardson-Vail, July 9, 1909; ATT box 46 02 01 01, Allen-Fish, October 3, 1902.

⁸³ Brock, *Telecommunications Industry*, 154–55; ATT box 1066, Bell System–Independent Company Relations, 1911–1912; Langdale, "Growth of Long Distance Telephony in the Bell System."

⁸⁴ ATT box 106 10 614 07, History of the Development of the Panel Machine Switching System.

heart reflected the intersection of technology, business strategy, and politics with new labor issues. After 1913, a series of developments threw automatic technology into a more favorable light. Years of speculation, experimentation, and field trials finally convinced skeptics that there were indeed places where automation saved money. In the conjectural realm of innovation, such knowledge was important. Nonetheless, like a big ship in the water, the corporation was turning slowly. It was still unclear precisely where and when to automate, how fast and how far to go. Strong internal dissension was still brewing over the technology. Crucial to erasing these doubts and determining policy was a growing perception that the manual techno-labor process was nearing a maximum. When the existing system seemed to be in crisis, the will to change was forthcoming.⁸⁵

Problems with manual switching first became apparent in the nation's largest cities. These were the strategic nodes of the national network and thus of particular concern. Bell engineers had long noted that there was a strong "community of interest" between places connected by telephone lines. In large cities, this community extended to the surrounding suburbs, forming dense networks of communications.⁸⁶ Growth of long distance service increased the scope of such networks, raising demand at local exchanges. Despite continual improvements in manual switchboards, calls flooded urban offices, straining equipment and operators. Operator productivity began to drop, as did speed of connection (see chart). AT&T admitted that of the eighteen largest cities, only two had what it would call good service.⁸⁷

System growth, the cornerstone of the Bell strategy, was falling victim to its own success. Bell companies were forced to continually build new exchanges as old ones reached the limit of manual switchboards. By 1920, New York City had nearly two hundred exchanges. Ninety percent of all calls in Manhattan terminated at an exchange other than the one of the calling party.⁸⁸ Requiring many more steps to complete, these trunk calls lowered switching speed and efficiency. Other efforts to expand the network were also eroding switching. In order to eliminate expensive trunk lines between every exchange, for example, companies opened tandem offices, which only switched calls between other exchanges.⁸⁹

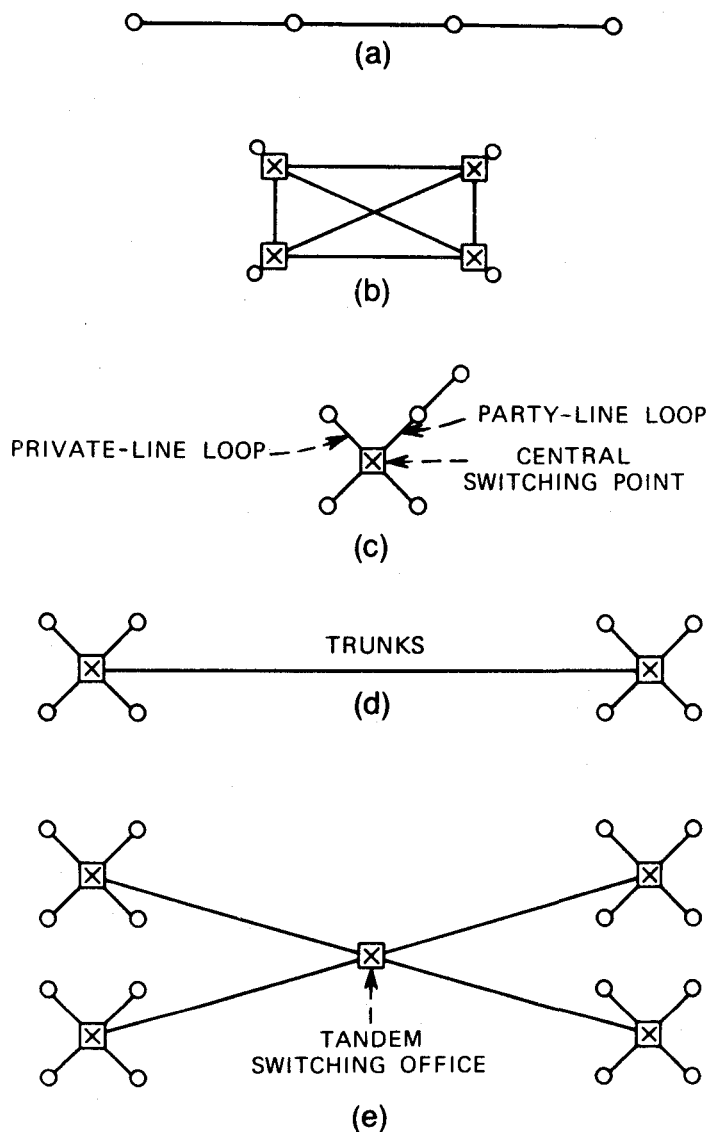
⁸⁵ ATT box 85 04 01 01, Papers Presented at a Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell Telephone System, December 11–15, 1916, presents the new cost estimates; ATT box 106 10 614 07, History of the Development of the Panel Machine Switching System, appendix a. On resistance, see ATT box 1, Automatic Exchange Switching Introduction,—unknown to Sunny, April 7, 1919; ATT box 37, Michigan State Telephone Company, Detroit Rate Case, Sunny-Welch, February 26, 1918; FCC, *Effects of Control upon Telephone Service*, 214.

⁸⁶ ATT box 25, Interstate Telephone and Telegraph Property Acquired by Central Union, 1917–1919.

⁸⁷ ATT box 85 04 01 01, Papers Presented at a Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell Telephone System, December 11–15, 1916. Another measure of productivity, operator load in traffic units per employee hour, showed a similar downward trend, falling from a high of 130 units in 1916 to a low of 110 in 1918. Each point drop meant a million dollars of increased costs per year. ATT box 185 04 01, Bell System General Commercial Conference, June 4–11, 1924, pp. 6, 58.

⁸⁸ ATT box 85 04 01 01, Papers Presented at a Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell Telephone System, December 11–15, 1916, Part II, Switching Systems, J. H. Gordon, "Results of Semi-Mechanical Operation in Newark."

⁸⁹ Fagen, *History of Engineering and Science*, 468–69, 505–06. On problems in tandem offices generally, see ATT box 85 04 01 01, Papers Presented at a Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell Telephone System, December 11–15, 1916, Part II, Switching Systems.



Different methods of connecting customers. A illustrates the party line, B the direct connections between each telephone, C the concept of the telephone exchange, D trunking between telephone exchanges, and E the use of tandem trunking. Courtesy of AT&T Archives.

Tandem points, however, added another layer of complexity to the switching process.

Even though virtually a monopolist, AT&T could not afford to meet this crisis by either allowing service to deteriorate or raising prices. Politics limited its room to maneuver. Under the threat of an antitrust suit, company president Theodore Vail had compromised with the remaining independent firms in 1913. Bell would serve as the senior partner and "manager" of the nation's telecommunications network, dominating the large urban areas and long distance transmission but

allowing non-Bell firms to operate on the periphery as “sub-licensees” and permitting them access to its toll lines. To seal the bargain, Vail launched a massive public relations campaign, portraying his firm as progressive and socially responsible. He emphasized the speed, quality, and availability of Bell service. He pronounced monopoly superior to competition in building the telephone network that the nation needed.⁹⁰ After such statements, for the company to appear technologically backward was to invite government intervention.

As switching capacity became a critical problem, automatic equipment appeared to offer a way of strengthening the weak link in the system.⁹¹ But several other matters still had to be settled. In the largest cities, it would be necessary to provide some means for automatic and manual exchanges to communicate, at least until all exchanges were changed over. There was also the looming danger of the wrong number. “Subscribers would be required to make so many movements of the dial,” wrote one Bell engineer, “that they could not be expected to keep in mind accurately the station designation from the time they looked in the directory until they completed the manipulation of the dial.”⁹² Corporate management had long believed that customers were bumbling amateurs; perhaps it was best after all to continue to rely on the expert skills of the trained technician, the operator.

For a time, AT&T tried to combine the best of both worlds, automatic and manual. “Semi-mechanical” switching equipment was designed for use in the nation’s largest cities, where the problems of numbering, customer accuracy, and interconnecting manual and non-manual offices were greatest. Subscribers would still speak with operators, who would put through the calls using automatic equipment. Semi-mechanical systems saved about \$2 per line less than full automation, and were a little slower, but they still raised productivity.⁹³

The semi-mechanical option might have prevailed except for two important developments. One was a simple but ingenious mnemonic device that obviated fears of feeble customer memories. Adding letters to the dial allowed the public to select the party they desired using an alphanumeric rather than fully numeric code. Manual exchanges were traditionally designated by names, which subscribers repeated to the operator when they made a call. A caller requested a party at the Pennsylvania exchange in Manhattan with a phrase such as “Pennsylvania 6–5000.” The new scheme preserved these old exchange names, the first two or

⁹⁰ ATT box 49, Bell System, Policy, Organization, Functions, T. N. Vail, “The Policy of the Bell System,” 1919; ATT box 1081, T. N. Vail Articles, 1909–1919, “Public Utilities and Public Policy.”

⁹¹ ATT box 85 04 01 01, Papers Presented at a Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell Telephone System, December 11–15, 1916. As it turned out, manufacturing improvements and scale economies lowered the cost of automatic switches throughout the 1920s. ATT Box 106 10 02 05, Chronology of Machine Switching Development.

⁹² ATT box 106 10 614 07, History of the Development of the Panel Machine Switching System, appendix a; ATT box 85 04 01 01, Papers Presented at a Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell Telephone System, December 11–15, 1916, Part II, Switching Systems.

⁹³ ATT box 106 10 614 07, History of the Development of the Panel Machine Switching System, Carty memo, September 11, 1917. An added bonus was that this system made it much easier to interconnect manual and automatic offices during the changeover period, since subscribers connected to manual offices could still use the old exchange names. By preserving the old names but adapting them for a switching system that used only numbers, the plan made it unnecessary to renumber an entire city once one exchange was automated.

three letters of which became the first two or three digits in the new automatic system. Thus in a fully automatic exchange, subscribers would dial Pennsylvania 6-5000 (736-5000), the mnemonic serving to assure accuracy in manipulating the dial.⁹⁴

The second new development was labor conflict. Changes taking place in the labor market suddenly increased the power of the formerly docile female operator corps. Operators began to demand more control over the labor process, and as they did they cut right to the heart of the old manual switching regime. Once labor issues jeopardized company strategy and system performance, questions of labor became paramount. These considerations encompassed but also extended beyond the wage issue to the relationship between worker and technology.

Up to 1916, AT&T had gone no further than recommending adoption of automatic switches for mid-sized, multi-office cities. For single exchange locales, it planned to keep manual methods. For the largest cities, it experimented with semi-mechanical arrangements. During World War I, however, labor problems arose that threatened manual switching and pushed AT&T to embrace automation more rapidly and more thoroughly than it otherwise would have. Between 1917 and 1920, a sudden jump in government demand for female clerks, plus generally high levels of employment, cut into the supply of operators.⁹⁵ The decrease in operators coincided with the increase in telephone demand brought on by system growth and led to rapid wage escalation. Wages as a percentage of total costs in the Bell System reached a high of 58 percent in 1920, when top operators in large cities were earning up to \$900 per year.⁹⁶

Despite higher wages, telephone operators were lured away by opportunities in the military and in booming wartime industries.⁹⁷ As Table 1 shows, earning in other female occupations had improved even more than had operators' wages. "The greater demand for women in the trades," one Bell executive wrote, "is making it difficult to secure enough operators."⁹⁸ By 1920, yearly operator turnover averaged 93 percent nationwide, rising to as much as 120 percent in some cities. If low by the standards of manufacturing, it was much greater than it had been before. Time in service for female telephone employees averaged only 2.9 years (compared to the 3.8-year average of the 1920s), which meant fewer experienced operators and a less skilled work force.⁹⁹ Lack of experienced

⁹⁴ Fagen, *History of Engineering and Science*, 579.

⁹⁵ Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 147-48, 219-24, discusses the impact of World War I and its aftermath on women, especially middle-class working women.

⁹⁶ ATT box 4, Chicago Telephone, Operators Wage Increase, 1918; ATT, Bell System Statistical Manual. See also ATT box 52, President's Conference, 1919, p. 40. Between 1916 and 1920, operator wages increased 250 percent over their average between 1913 and 1915. My interpretation of the important but secondary impact of wages and labor problems on the adoption of automatic switching accords with that of the Federal Communications Commission, which in 1937 investigated this issue. FCC, *Effects of Control upon Telephone Service*, 208-11.

⁹⁷ ATT box 37, Michigan State Telephone Company, Detroit Rate Case, 1916-18; also ATT box 11, Operators Wage Increases, Detroit, 1917.

⁹⁸ ATT box 85 04 01 01, Papers Presented at a Meeting of Technical Representatives of the Bell Telephone System, December 11-15, 1916; see also ATT box 52, President's Conference, 1919, pp. 28-29.

⁹⁹ ATT, Bell System Statistical Manual, 709. Note that by 1940, wages were down to 45 percent of total costs, and turnover was half of what it was in World War I.

TABLE 2
Labor Force and Telephone Operators

Year	Total Labor Force	Women Workers	% Women of TLF	Single Women Workers	% Tel. Op. Single Women Workers
1900	29,073	5,319	18	4,227	.44
1910	38,167	8,075	21	5,749	1.7
1920	41,614	8,549	20	6,427	2.9
1930	48,783	10,752	22	7,561	3.3

SOURCE: *Historical Statistics*, tables D26-28, D49-62.

personnel placed additional burdens on those who remained, particularly in the vulnerable urban exchanges. Problems pyramided, and absenteeism more than doubled. Further wage increases, Bell management believed, were not a solution.¹⁰⁰ When the government took over the telephone system as part of war mobilization, moreover, it clamped down on labor expenditures.¹⁰¹

The war years also brought to the surface some deeper labor issues. The strata of society that AT&T managers believed made the best operators constituted only about 5 percent of the population, less when those of "questionable character" were eliminated.¹⁰² "In most parts of the country," one manager noted, "we are requiring a larger and larger proportion of the available female labor."¹⁰³ In the nation's fifty-eight largest cities, about 8 percent of the female labor force was already employed as operators. In some places, it was as high as 20 percent. Even when the war ended, the group of women on which telephone companies traditionally drew was likely to have more and more options for employment, while the need for skilled operators to meet the requirements of a growing, increasingly complex telephone system continued to rise.¹⁰⁴ (See Table 2.)

In the tightening labor market, power shifted in favor of workers. Bell System employees grew restive and militant, ready to organize their own unions rather than take hand-outs from management. Recognizing their increasing economic leverage and supported by the generally strong position of labor during the brief war era, operators for the first time threatened to unionize in large numbers.¹⁰⁵ Sometimes, they joined up with male factory workers from Western Electric; at other times, they organized their own representative bodies. Operator strikes swept through towns and cities in New England, the Pacific Coast, and the

¹⁰⁰ Worried about setting a precedent, the company tried to use temporary bonuses to retain workers. ATT box 27, Bonus Payments, 1916, Wilson-Kingsbury, November 28, 1916; ATT box 11, New England Telephone and Telegraph Operators' Wage Schedules, 1918, Jones-Bethell, March 7, 1918.

¹⁰¹ ATT box 1, Labor Relations, 1922, Thayer-Wells, June 2, 1922.

¹⁰² Maddox, "Women and the Switchboard," 267-70. Even in 1925, President Walter Gifford warned that it would be difficult to find the necessary numbers of "trained girls." Walter Gifford, *Addresses, Papers and Interviews* (New York, 1928), 119.

¹⁰³ ATT box 106 10 614 07, History of the Development of the Panel Machine Switching System, appendix a.

¹⁰⁴ ATT box 67, Dial Telephones, Reasons for and Effects of Dial Operations on Employment in the Telephone Business, 1930-31. Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 226-49, notes the increasing opportunities for women in clerical and secretarial occupations.

¹⁰⁵ ATT box 2018, Labor Union Matters, 1910-11, 1913, 1915; Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work*, 207-12.

Southwest between 1917 and 1919. Government labor policy during the war contributed to the strife.¹⁰⁶ In some cases, federal mediators took the side of labor in order to avoid a breakdown in vital wartime communications.¹⁰⁷ In general, though, labor policy took a different tack than the accommodationist approach used in railroading. Postmaster-General Albert Burleson made no effort to hide his hostility to unions. His behavior precipitated a major operator strike in New England. In the aftermath, he was forced to modify his anti-labor stance.

The sudden expression of independence among the operators unsettled Bell management. As one member of the corporation observed, unions instilled in operators a "lack of respect for authority" and resulted in "independence of action by the individual."¹⁰⁸ Another was impressed by the spirit and loyalty among strikers in St. Louis, who "were almost a unit in their refusal to return, even though great pressure was brought to bear in order to break the ranks."¹⁰⁹ Both recognized that the same order and purpose that made for efficient switching could be turned against the company. Because manual switching required machine-like discipline, independence of mind endangered the entire telephone network. Strikes, stoppages, and slowdowns resulted in "a continual fight to maintain orderliness and efficiency of service."¹¹⁰ Service was the watchword of the re-monopolized industry. President Vail remarked, "The service which [the Bell System] furnishes is of the first importance in the business and family life of the nation . . . [it] must be prompt, reliable and accessible." In providing such service, Vail continued, "the importance of having an intelligent, interested, satisfied and loyal body of employees cannot be overestimated."¹¹¹

AT&T executives took a strategic view of the change in labor relations. The company could not afford such disruptions at this moment, when it was also politically vulnerable. Bills were floated in Congress to make government operation permanent and do what nearly every other industrialized nation had done—turn telecommunications over to a public agency.¹¹² Reviewing the effects of an operator walkout in Youngstown, Ohio, AT&T Vice-President Nathan Kingsbury concluded, "one thing is certain, we do not even wish to contemplate the

¹⁰⁶ On the war years, see Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work*, 212–32; Baker, *Technology and Women's Work*, 372–74; Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 156–208; also Jeffrey Haydu, "No Change in Existing Standards?" Production, Employee Representation and Government Policy in the United States, 1917–1919," *Journal of Social History*, 25 (Fall 1991): 45–64.

¹⁰⁷ ATT box 27, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Employees Strike, 1917, McFarland-Bethell, November 2, 1917. In some cases, union organizers approached telephone workers with the arguments that the government favored unionization in the railroad and express industries and that those workers had gained wage increases while unorganized telephone workers had not. ATT box 2, Government Control, Employee and Labor Matters, 1919, Brown-Thayer, June 10, 1919.

¹⁰⁸ ATT box 27, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Employees Strike, 1917.

¹⁰⁹ ATT box 2018, Labor Union Matters, 1910–11, 1913, 1915, Nims-Thayer, August 23, 1913.

¹¹⁰ ATT box 27, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph, Employees Strike, 1917.

¹¹¹ ATT box 2, Government Control, Employee and Labor Matters, 1918–1919, Vail-Moran, June 3, 1919.

¹¹² On the relationship between service and labor, see ATT box 52, President's Conference, 1919, Karl Waterson, "Service and Traffic Work." For more on AT&T's strategic shift and the possibility of government ownership, see U.S. Post Office Department, *Government Ownership of the Electrical Means of Communications* (Washington, D.C., 1914); "The Postilization of the Telephone," Hearing before the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads, U.S. House of Representatives, 23d Congress, 3d session, January 15, 1915.

possibility of another strike."¹¹³ Vail went even further, encouraging employees to form associations to air their grievances. He admitted that, during the war, "the Bell System lost some measure of that cooperation of the whole body of employees which previously existed."¹¹⁴

Kingsbury and Vail recognized that many of the sharpest conflicts would end with the war. The decision to institute automatic switching had been made before these conflicts emerged. Nonetheless, the experience between 1918 and 1919 had revealed some of the other weaknesses of the manual switching system. AT&T was particularly concerned about its shrinking pool of "appropriate" women. Having defined the job as women's work, the corporation did not believe it would be appealing to men, and it refused to recruit from the lower end of the socioeconomic scale.¹¹⁵ AT&T hired some immigrants, notably Irish women, whose accents, it felt, were not offensive to middle-class subscribers. But it did not employ working-class men, black women, or other immigrants.¹¹⁶ The increasing complexity of manual switching and the firm's emphasis on service made educated, well-trained, middle-class employees even more vital.¹¹⁷ AT&T had configured manual switching to rely on the skills, deportment, and dedication of a certain group of women, whose numbers were dwindling. Changing the hardware of the techno-labor process—something management could fully control—proved easier than changing the gender and culture of the work force, which it could only partially influence.¹¹⁸

THE SYSTEM NATURE OF TECHNOLOGY, or what I have termed the techno-labor system, means that even capitalists who are ever on the search for profits engage in a complex series of decisions before they determine to substitute capital for labor. One cannot assume that the effects of technology—skill-destroying or

¹¹³ ATT box 47, Labor Situation, 1919, Kingsbury-Bloom, August 6, 1919; Frieda Rozen, "Technical Advance and Increasing Militancy: Flight Attendant Unions in the Jet Age," in Wright, ed., *Women, Work, and Technology*, 220–38, offers an interesting example of how changes in technology and regulation combined to increase labor's power in the airline industry.

¹¹⁴ ATT box 2, Government Control, Employee and Labor Matters, 1918–1919, Vail-Moran, June 3, 1919.

¹¹⁵ Green, "Impact of Technology upon Women's Work," 453–668; Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 44–45. As historians of clerical work have noted, once women entered this occupation, their activities were differentiated from those of male clerical workers and given much lower status, in part to appease male workers. Fine, *Souls of the Skyscrapers*, 78, 85–102, 187.

¹¹⁶ Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth*, 42, notes the racism and anti-Semitism that prevented blacks and Jews from working as operators at this time. Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, 140, sees this crowding by class, race, and ethnicity as common, with middle-class white native-born women directed into the higher paying jobs.

¹¹⁷ On the problems of switching complexity and available labor supplies, see ATT box 106 10 614 07, History of the Development of the Panel Machine Switching System. The corporation also failed to consider the simple expedient of eliminating the policy against married women as a way of increasing its labor supply, a failure that is difficult to understand.

¹¹⁸ It remains an open question whether there were alternatives to the replacement of operators by automatic technology. Previous decisions to define its labor force on the basis of particular social criteria made it difficult for AT&T to consider any alternative but automatic switching when faced with a threat to the prevailing technology. The experiences of other nations, which embraced automatic switching more rapidly than the United States, suggest that the machine has a strong appeal to those who believe that order, efficiency, and productivity flow from inanimate processes.

labor-saving—also explain its origins and path of development. In telecommunications, firms could choose from several methods to deal with labor. Different firms made different choices at different times. Some took the plunge into automatic switching without experiencing any labor problems; others, such as AT&T, continued to invest in manual switching. Only the convergence of a number of factors—strategic managerial objectives, system bottlenecks, government telecommunications policy, and shifts in the labor market—led to the automation of telephone operating.

Driving this decision was the strategy of Bell managers, who wanted to create an extensive, interconnected system of technology. That strategy served important competitive ends, and it also had a political dimension. Questions of technical components such as switches were evaluated in light of these concerns. Engineers focused on the overall performance of the system as defined by strategic goals. The long lag between invention and diffusion of automatic switching reflected their belief that the system could still perform adequately through incremental adjustments of technology and labor management. Only when a combination of events and new research indicated that the old techno-labor system had reached its capacity did the company undertake the substantial investment necessary to integrate a radical new component. The decision was about more than saving money. It allowed AT&T to fulfill its strategic objectives and deflected public criticism of its service at a moment when it was politically vulnerable.

Labor issues were distinctly secondary to questions of strategy, structure, and system in determining the path of technological change. Telephone companies benefited from the sexual division of labor and from discrimination that limited the opportunities of women workers. Even at prevailing wage rates, however, switching machines offered savings. Yet, in the face of automatic technology, management chose to invest in worker training and workplace amenities. AT&T continued to rely on the contributions of female workers and their unique work culture to convert high fixed costs into low unit costs, a transformation crucial to the success of any large-scale business enterprise. Women and the switchboard exhibited a persistence that cannot be explained by focusing solely on labor costs.

Although conceiving of technology as a system provides crucial insight into how automation takes place, it does not mean that worker culture or labor conflict were unimportant. The socially constructed system itself embraced a socially constructed labor force. AT&T had selected, trained, and adapted a particular group of women to its technological system. Gendered assumptions about women's work structured this labor process, and the language of gender was integral to both business and technology—the “Hello Girls” of the Bell System and the “girlless” telephones of its competitors. But these assumptions and this language also limited the ability of firms to respond to changing conditions. During World War I, the value of the old manual switching system diminished as managers lost control over the work force. Labor conflict grew strong enough to topple a technological system already teetering from accumulating problems and the exhaustion of potential for incremental improvement. In general, only when power struggles, strikes, or work site protests substantially harm the

operation of systems or challenge company strategies do they shift managerial behavior.¹¹⁹

As this case has shown, technology does not dictate one and only one outcome, for workers or for managers. Numerous interests intersect in the construction of large technical systems. Changes in technology have multiple causes. This process cannot be understood if business and technology remain unexamined or are reduced to expressions of a single interest. Always balancing the managerial desire to use technology to control workers and increase effort are other considerations, such as the technological culture of the firm and the larger issues of system and strategy. An examination of the systematic interrelationships between business strategies, technical artifacts, and worker culture illuminates the process of technological innovation. With such knowledge, it becomes easier to understand the complex transformations that have structured the lives of men and women over the past century.

¹¹⁹ This perspective accords with the observations of Nathan Rosenberg, who has noted that a significant threat to management such as unionization or loss of a vital labor supply is much more important in influencing technological change than are factor prices. Rosenberg, *Perspectives on Technology*, 117. See also Noble, *Forces of Production*, 155–58. After the war, AT&T automated in a planned, deliberate fashion, as it always claimed it would. The growth of demand for the telephone actually increased the overall demand for operators until their numbers peaked in the early 1960s. See U.S. Department of Labor, *The Change from Manual to Dial Operation in the Telephone Industry*, Bulletin No. 110 (Washington, D.C., 1933).

“To Educate Women into Rebellion”: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the Creation of a Transatlantic Network of Radical Suffragists

SANDRA STANLEY HOLTON

IN THE 1880S AND EARLY 1890s, Elizabeth Cady Stanton made three extended visits from the United States to Britain and Europe. During this decade, she spent in all some five years living in England, where her daughter, Harriot Stanton Blatch, had married. In this time, she renewed and extended friendships first made during a wedding tour in 1840, and she and her daughter became central figures in a transatlantic friendship network. This was a network that in Britain drew substantially on a kinship circle of women connected with the Brights, a radical reforming Quaker family among whom was the statesman, John Bright. Women of the Bright circle had helped in the formation of every major society and campaign on which the organized women's movement in Britain had been built in the late 1860s.¹

The Bright circle also provided an important locus of radical suffragism in Britain. At the time of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's return to Britain in the 1880s, however, a moderate current of suffrage opinion dominated the movement there, one whose viewpoint until recently has also informed prevailing understandings of British suffragism during the nineteenth century.² Because the more moderate

I would like to thank the University of Adelaide and the Australian Research Council for awarding me research fellowships in 1990 and 1992, allowing me the freedom to undertake the research presented here, and also the Australian Academy of the Humanities, the Australian Research Council, the Ian Potter Foundation, and the University of Adelaide, each of which during this period provided support for the necessary travel. Earlier versions of this article were presented at the 1992 conference of the Australian and New Zealand American Studies Association in Adelaide, and the “Suffrage and Beyond” conference in Wellington in 1993, held to mark the centennial of the enfranchisement of women in New Zealand.

¹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton was in England from October 1882 to November 1883, from November 1886 to March 1888, and from March 1890 to August 1891. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More: Reminiscences, 1815–1897* (1898; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), chaps. 12, 16, 27, recounts these visits; and see also *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, as Revealed in Her Letters Diary and Reminiscences*, Theodore Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch, eds., 2 vols. (New York, 1922), 2: 196–213, 233–50, 262–79, which reproduces extracts from her diary for these periods. I look at some other aspects of her friendship with the Bright circle in my essay “From Anti-Slavery to Suffrage Militancy: The Bright Circle, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the British Women's Movement,” in *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, Melanie Nolan and Caroline Daley, eds. (Auckland, forthcoming).

² I have deliberately not applied the term “conservative” here to denote opposition to the Radical-Liberal approach to suffrage. Although there were prominent British suffragists who might rightly be so described, for example, Emily Davies and Frances Power Cobbe, the conflicts discussed in this article were fiercest among liberal suffragists, and so I adopt the terms “radical” and “moderate” to indicate points on a continuum of advanced opinion, while “Radical-Liberal” is used

leadership also provided the early chronicles of the movement, these contain little evidence of either this friendship network or the alternative radical perspective on suffrage that it represented.³ The memoirs of American suffragists, together with the correspondence between members of this network, more of which has recently come to light, provide, in contrast, suggestive evidence on both its extent and nature.⁴

An examination of such evidence together with a reconstruction of this network serves to advance our understanding of radical suffragism in a number of ways. To begin with, it brings into focus clearly for the first time an alternative suffrage leadership among Radical-Liberal circles in Britain in the latter part of the nineteenth century and so broadens our picture of the varieties within suffragism, as well as some of the intellectual and social roots, hitherto neglected, of those varieties.⁵ In particular, it points to a continuing transatlantic legacy from the abolition movement in terms of a Garrisonian conception of the reformer's role.

to indicate affiliation to a particular current within liberal opinion. For a detailed comparison of some leading conservative and liberal suffragists, see Barbara Caine, *Victorian Feminists* (New York, 1991).

³ Millicent Garrett Fawcett, "England," in *The Woman Question in Europe*, Theodore Stanton, ed. (New York, 1884), 1–29; Helen Blackburn, *Women's Suffrage: A Record of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the British Isles, with Biographical Sketches of Miss Becker* (London, 1902); and "Great Britain: Efforts for the Parliamentary Franchise," in Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 4 (1886; rpt. edn., New York, 1970), 1012–25; Millicent Garrett Fawcett, *Women's Suffrage: A Short History of a Great Movement* (London [1912]). Occasional references to members of the Bright circle as individuals are to be found in each of these standard histories, especially those who maintained good relations with the moderate leaders, such as Priscilla Bright McLaren and Lillias Ashworth Hallett, but Bertha Mason, *The Story of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London, 1912), suggests more clearly their existence as a coherent circle that provided significant leadership to the movement at various times. More recently, Patricia Hollis, *Ladies Elect: Women in English Local Government, 1865–1914* (Oxford, 1987); and Philippa Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment* (Oxford, 1990), both note the existence of this circle of women reformers.

⁴ E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*; T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*; Ida Husted Harper, *Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony*, 3 vols. (Indianapolis, 1898–1908); Harriot Stanton Blatch and Alma Lutz, *Challenging Years: The Memoirs of Harriot Stanton Blatch* (New York, 1940). Most of the correspondence between Elizabeth Cady Stanton and members of the Bright circle drawn on here is in the form of transcripts bound together as "Elizabeth Cady Stanton Correspondence" in the Mabel Smith Douglass Library, Douglass and Smith Colleges, the State University of New Jersey, Rutgers (hereafter, ECSC), and I am grateful to the library for allowing me to quote from and cite this collection and to Keith Jones for background information concerning it. Patricia Holland of the Elizabeth Cady Stanton–Susan B. Anthony microfilm project originally located this material for me and provided the photocopies from which I worked. I am also grateful to Patricia Holland for reading an earlier version of this article and alerting me to some errors. My attention was first drawn to this topic when researching the Millfield Papers, in the private Clark family archive, C. and J. Clark, Street, Somerset, UK (hereafter, MP), where letters from Elizabeth Cady Stanton to some of her British network came to light, copies of which have since been deposited with the microfilm project. I am grateful to Richard Clark for permission to research in and draw upon this collection and to Jean Brook of the Museum and Archives, C. and J. Clark, for her help in this work.

⁵ Radicals formed a loose grouping on the left of the Liberal Party between the 1860s and 1890s, held together by their commitment to the ideas of John Stuart Mill. They had some significant links with popular radicalism, especially with republicans and freethinkers, and were a notable presence within the early organizations of the British women's movement, although, again, their presence as a distinct, coherent current of opinion has been largely ignored. See Sandra Stanley Holton, "Free Love and Victorian Feminism: The Divers Matrimonials of Elizabeth Wolstenholme and Ben Elmy," *Victorian Studies*, 37 (Winter 1994): 1–25. For background on the Radicals, see Roy Jenkins, *Sir Charles Dilke: A Victorian Tragedy* (London, 1958); Edward Royle, *Radicals, Secularists and Republicans: Popular Free-Thought in Britain, 1866–1915* (Manchester, 1980); Eugenio F. Biagini, *Liberty, Retrenchment, and Reform: Popular Liberalism in the Age of Gladstone, 1860–1880* (Cambridge, 1992).

It suggests, also, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's part in keeping alive that legacy among British suffragists. In emphasizing the need "to educate women into rebellion," she sought to foster an uncompromising and confrontational approach to the emancipation of her sex. She consistently advised her British colleagues against pragmatic retreats determined by what was thought achievable in terms of franchise reform. Instead, she advised a broadened formulation of the demand for the vote, one more consistent with the conception of the citizenship of women she shared with radical suffragists in Britain.

Central to this conception was the ending of coverture, the doctrine that subsumed the legal personality of wives under that of their husbands. In recent years, Carole Pateman has argued that marriage in modern Western societies forms part of a sexual contract fundamental to the subordination of women in civil society. Although the analysis of marriage offered by the nineteenth-century women's movement lacked the coherence and power of modern accounts, radical suffragism did share many of its concerns. The robbing of women upon marriage of both their property and their rights over their own bodies made impossible the autonomous self-development of the individual, which for Radical-Liberal suffragists was an essential part of true citizenship. The position of the married woman provided for them, therefore, the fullest measure of women's subordination, and the end of coverture was given an importance equal to enfranchisement in their efforts to secure the citizenship of women. Hence the inclusion of married women in the demand for the vote became almost an article of faith for Radical-Liberal suffragists in Britain.⁶ It was this that set them at odds with the national suffrage leadership. There, a more moderate stance was adopted, one that sought to concentrate only on breaking down the sexual exclusiveness of the franchise laws as the first essential step to citizenship and that saw the ending of coverture as subordinate to that goal. From such a perspective, single women would form the vanguard for their sex, while married women might be excluded from the demand if their exclusion increased the likelihood of gaining the franchise for some women. From this perspective, too, the Radical-Liberal approach endangered the cause, for it challenged the prevailing sexual order in ways that more moderate suffragists thought impolitic.⁷

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's first and most forceful intervention in the British movement concerned this question, and her intervention was subsequently linked to the formation of a new suffrage society in 1889, the Women's Franchise

⁶ Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), esp. ix, 3–6, and chaps. 5–6; compare with the accounts of nineteenth-century analyses of marriage in Levine, *Feminist Lives*, chap. 3; Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1860–1914* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), chap. 3. Lee Holcombe, *Wives and Property: Reform of the Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth Century England* (Toronto, 1983); Mary Lyndon Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage and the Law in Victorian England 1850–1895* (Princeton, 1989); and Holton, "Free Love," all emphasize the importance of the question of coverture for the nineteenth-century suffrage movement.

⁷ Because all the early histories were written from the moderate perspective, the works of Helen Blackburn, Millicent Garrett Fawcett, or Bertha Mason, for example (see n. 2), offer no detailed analysis of this major source of discord among British suffragists and occasionally may even mislead; for example, Fawcett, "England," 5, gives the impression that the suffrage movement in Britain held continuously to the simple equal rights formulation supported by J. S. Mill, although in fact from 1874 the national leadership repeatedly retreated to a more limited formulation that explicitly excluded married women.

League. A focus on her friendship network, then, draws attention also to a previously neglected body. The league gave expression to the radical suffragism that had been promoted by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Harriot Stanton Blatch over the preceding few years and provided a clear continuation of the Garrisonian legacy within the British movement. More specifically, the league was determined to maintain the inclusion of married women in the suffrage demand, and the story of the league's formation clarifies the nature of the tensions and splits that occurred in the British movement in 1888–1889. These splits were understandably glossed over in early histories of the movement, which were to some extent also campaign literature, in which the disclosure of old controversies would not have been helpful.⁸ But the effect of such neglect has been to marginalize, when it does not conceal, a continuous radical current that left a significant legacy for the twentieth-century movement in both Britain and the United States.

From the 1890s on, the Women's Franchise League promoted a fresh conception of women's claims to citizenship based on their labor, both paid and unpaid. Harriot Stanton Blatch helped develop this approach and subsequently took it back to the United States. The methods and orientation of the Women's Franchise League also prefigured new directions taken by the British movement in the early twentieth century, notably in the links it attempted to build with the labor and socialist movements.⁹ Further, the league provided Emmeline Pankhurst with her apprenticeship as a suffrage leader. Aspects of the league's history suggest, then, certain continuities between nineteenth-century radical suffragism and the militancy of the twentieth-century movement, at least in its initial forms, continuities that the current conceptualizations of suffrage history do not acknowledge.

Ellen Carol DuBois has recently described the women's movement as "a self-consciously transnational popular political movement." She has also questioned existing characterizations of nineteenth-century suffrage movements as generally "conservative," pointing to the valuable links that were forged in Britain, the United States, and elsewhere between the middle-class women's movement and socialist and labor movements.¹⁰ An examination of the activities

⁸ It is noteworthy that E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, chap. 14, devotes a whole chapter to marriage in relation to women's rights, while the early histories of the British movement by Blackburn, Fawcett, and Mason (see n. 2), written from the perspective of the moderate leadership, completely ignore the Women's Franchise League, and subsequent historians have in general made at most a passing reference to its existence. E. Sylvia Pankhurst gives it the greatest prominence in her autobiographical work *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals* (1931; rpt. edn., London, 1977), when discussing the role of her parents in the nineteenth-century movement. The most substantial recent account is David Rubinstein, *Before the Suffragettes: Women's Emancipation in the 1890s* (Brighton, 1986), 143–45, which focuses on its first few years and somewhat underestimates the actual lifetime of the league.

⁹ This aspect of the twentieth-century suffrage campaign is discussed in more detail in Sandra Stanley Holton, *Feminism and Democracy: Women's Suffrage and Reform Politics in Britain 1900–1918* (Cambridge, 1986).

¹⁰ Ellen Carol DuBois, "Woman Suffrage and the Left: An Internationalist Socialist-Feminist Perspective," *New Left Review*, 186 (1991): 20–45, esp. 20, 22. DuBois explores other aspects of these links between the British and American movements in "Working Class Women, Class Relations, and Suffrage Militance: Harriot Stanton Blatch and the New York Woman Suffrage Movement, 1894–1909," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*, Ellen Carol DuBois and

of the Women's Franchise League, and the transatlantic current of radical suffragism on which it drew, offers further confirmation for such arguments. But, more than this, it helps clarify the social-political basis for such links in a long-established and vigorous radical current within the middle-class women's movement. It suggests also an ideological basis for such a relation in a fresh formulation of the claim for citizenship that emphasized a communion of middle-class and working-class women in their shared labor, both productive and reproductive. Finally, it demonstrates the complex exchange of ideas and approaches that occurred among radical suffragists in Britain and the United States.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON's connections to the groups out of which was to grow the radical wing of the British women's movement went back to 1840. The World Anti-Slavery Convention met that year in London, and one of the American delegates was Henry Stanton, whom she had just married. After the convention, the couple took a tour of Britain and came to know some of the most prominent reform families of the day, especially among the Quakers, who were often their hosts.¹¹ It was in this way that Elizabeth Cady Stanton formed some of the friendships she revived when she returned to Britain for a series of visits in the 1880s. Contact between reformers in Britain and the United States had increased in the intervening years, encouraging a further exchange of radical ideas between the two continents. It was in these circles that William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass gradually began to find adherents among British abolitionists, for example. Very often, these friendships carried over into subsequent generations, with the children of Garrison visiting and playing host to the children and grandchildren of friends made by their parents while in Britain many decades earlier.¹²

The Priestmans of Newcastle were one of the Quaker families with whom the Stantons stayed while touring Britain, a family active at this time in both the temperance and abolition movements. Their eldest daughter, Elizabeth Priestman, had recently married a young Quaker radical from Rochdale, John Bright, whose part in the campaign against church rates had already brought him to the

Vicki L. Ruiz, eds. (New York, 1990), 176–94; and DuBois, "Spanning Two Centuries: The Autobiography of Nora Stanton Barney," *History Workshop*, 22 (1986): 131–52.

¹¹ This visit was also especially significant for the formation of an organized movement for women's rights in America, since it marked the beginning of the friendship between Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, which resulted in the Seneca Falls convention of 1848. See Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1 (1881; rpt. edn., New York, 1976), 50. Kathryn Kish Sklar, "'Women Who Speak for an Entire Nation': American and British Women Compared at the World Anti-Slavery Convention, London 1840," *Pacific Historical Review*, 59 (1990): 453–99, provides an illuminating comparison of the effect of this event on the formation of a women's movement in both countries. DuBois, "Woman Suffrage," 25, suggests that a radicalizing influence on Elizabeth Cady Stanton was her introduction to Chartism during her first visit to Britain.

¹² See, for example, Mary Priestman to Anna Maria Priestman, October 15, 1846; Alice Clark to Priscilla Bright McLaren, August 2, 1897, July 11, 1901, and to the Priestman sisters, May 19, 1907, and August 30, 1910, Boxes 14 and 75 respectively, MP. Priscilla Bright McLaren and a close friend of the Priestman sisters, Mary Estlin, were also among the early supporters of Garrison in Britain. See Duncan Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists 1833–61* (Baton Rouge, La., 1981), 48, 178–79.

fore in local politics. Even though Elizabeth Priestman died from consumption shortly thereafter, the links between the two families survived, most notably through the care of her baby daughter, Helen Priestman Bright. The aunts in the Priestman and Bright families shared the young child's care, as her father joined the anti-Corn Law campaign then under way, a campaign on which he based his subsequent political career as "tribune of the people." The Anti-Corn Law campaign also provided many middle-class women, including John Bright's sisters and sisters-in-law, with their first experience of politics.¹³

John Bright himself was never a reliable supporter of women's rights, and on occasion he openly declared his opposition to women's suffrage. But his first marriage helped form a Quaker sisterhood that played an important role in the women's movement in Britain.¹⁴ This circle of female kin included his sisters Priscilla Bright McLaren and Margaret Bright Lucas, sister-in-law Ursula Mellor Bright (married to Jacob, younger brother of John), and Margaret Tanner, Mary Priestman, and Anna Maria Priestman (all sisters of Elizabeth Priestman), together with their daughters, stepdaughters, daughters-in-law, and nieces, among whom were Helen Priestman Bright Clark, Agnes McLaren, Eva McLaren, Laura McLaren, Liliash Ashworth Hallett, Anne Cross, and Kate Thomasson.¹⁵ As in the United States, Quaker women such as these played a noteworthy role in Britain in both the Garrisonian wing of the abolition movement and the formation of an organized

¹³ George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The Life of John Bright* (London, 1913), 34–43; John Travis Mills, *John Bright and the Quakers*, 2 vols. (London, 1935), 1: 383–94; Keith Robbins, *John Bright* (London, 1979), 19–27. The importance of the Anti-Corn Law League as a training ground for women's rights campaigners is a commonplace in the British literature; see, for example, Ray Strachey, *The Cause: A Short History of the Women's Movement in Great Britain* (1928; rpt. edn., London, 1978), 32, although it has yet to receive detailed investigation.

¹⁴ Although the importance of Quaker women is routinely acknowledged in the standard histories of the British women's movement, it has not received the same detailed analysis given to the American case. It is likely that there are some major points of difference between the two countries. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, for one, found English Quakers far more conservative than their American counterparts, especially in comparison with Hicksite Quakers such as Lucretia Mott, who was received with notable reserve by leading British Quakers in 1840 but met with a sympathetic response among British Unitarians; see E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 82–86; *James and Lucretia Mott: Life and Letters*, Anna Davis Halliwell, ed. (Boston, 1884), 170–79, 187–90; *Mary Howitt: An Autobiography*, Margaret Howitt, ed. (1889; London, 1891), 151–52. On the attitude of the London Yearly Meeting to the Hicksites, see Edwin B. Bronner, *"The Other Branch": London Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites 1827–1912* (London, 1975). The Chartist Quaker and suffragist Anne Knight provides a notable exception to this picture; see Gail Malmgreen, "Anne Knight and the Radical Subculture," *Quaker History*, 71 (1982): 11. For a more general account of British Quakers in this period, see Elizabeth Allo Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (Oxford, 1970). Compare with the role of Hicksite women in radicalizing the American women's rights movement detailed in Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822–1872* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984); and "Feminist Friends: Agrarian Quakers and the Emergence of Woman's Rights in America," *Feminist Studies*, 12 (1986): 27–49; Blanche Glassman Hersh, *The Slavery of Sex: Feminist-Abolitionists in America* (Urbana, Ill., 1978), 131–32, 145–48.

¹⁵ Ursula Mellor Bright herself was not a Quaker, and the advanced liberal outlook of her husband, Jacob Bright, led him to resign from the Society of Friends. Priscilla Bright McLaren was disowned for not marrying according to the practices of the Quakers, but this judgment was rescinded after the death of her husband. In naming the women of this circle, I follow the form that the individual concerned appears to have preferred. Some chose, like their American friends, to combine their single name with their husband's name, Helen Priestman Bright Clark even retaining also her mother's single name, while others did not follow this practice. Ursula Mellor Bright tended to use the polite form of the day, "Mrs Jacob Bright," in public, while usually signing herself Ursula M. Bright in letters.

women's movement during the 1860s. The Bright circle became an influential presence in a radical current within the women's movement in Britain, one that adopted a Garrisonian approach to campaigning.

DuBois has suggested that the Garrisonian conception of the task of reformers as "the agitation of public sentiment" was one of the abolition movement's main contributions to the cause of women's suffrage. She has also argued that Elizabeth Cady Stanton was the suffrage leader who transferred to the women's movement the consistently uncompromising stance of the Garrisonians with regard to ultimate ends. The question of the means by which such ends were to be achieved, in contrast, was work that should be left to politicians. For the reformer, there could be no retreat from principle or reduction of ultimate goals.¹⁶ And this was certainly also the essence of the advice Stanton gave to British colleagues on a number of occasions.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's diary for her first return to Britain in 1882-1883 indicates a progression from the home of one member of the Bright kinship circle to another. The interests of these women, as of Radical-Liberal suffragists more generally, encompassed women's education, married women's property rights, entry to the medical profession, repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, the women's temperance movement, and, of course, women's suffrage. One or more of them had been involved in the founding of each of the first major suffrage societies in Manchester, London, Edinburgh, and Bristol. They were linked by kinship with numerous male politicians and reformers. At one point, for example, Priscilla Bright McLaren was declared "the best represented woman in the Kingdom," having six of her closest male kin in the House of Commons.¹⁷

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's first return was also the occasion of the marriage of Harriot Stanton to an Englishman, and one of her aims, evidently, was to find mentors for her daughter within the women's movement in Britain. She wrote to Anna Maria Priestman, telling of her daughter and declaring, "I hope much of her in the future as wifehood and motherhood rightly considered are a means of development." Toward the end of this stay in England, Stanton wrote again to the Priestman sisters, this time with a more direct request: "I want you all to know the daughter I leave behind me, and help her to earnest work, in all the great reforms for the development of humanity."¹⁸

Life in Basingstoke, the provincial market town outside London where Harriot Stanton Blatch now had her home, was clearly a strain for both mother and daughter. Elizabeth Cady Stanton told Anna Maria Priestman that they found it "a very benighted conservative town . . . in fact we find ourselves quite alone in all our radical ideas, on many points." Only among the most advanced circles in Britain did they find a recognition of their own sense of national identity as American radical republicans. And these British circles, in turn, had long looked

¹⁶ Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America 1848-1869* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978), 39.

¹⁷ Blackburn, *Women's Suffrage: A Record*, 64, notes that in the 1886 Parliament she had a husband, two sons, two brothers, and a nephew in the House of Commons; T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*, 2: 196-213; E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 352-75.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Miss Priestman, January 30, postmark 1883; Elizabeth Cady Stanton to "Dear Widow and Spinsters," October 30 [1883], Box 23, MP.

to their relationship with American revolutionaries and reformers to confirm their own identity as radicals. But many of the institutions and conventions that for British reformers were simply an accustomed part of the political context in which they had to work proved trying for their American friends. On her first visit to the House of Commons, for example, Elizabeth Cady Stanton recorded that women were restricted to a "high perch" in the topmost gallery behind a wire grille. In consequence, she remembered, she and her feather-bedecked companions had appeared to her son, in the freedom of other observation galleries, like exotic caged birds.¹⁹

At times, different national manners and conventions put the British and American suffragists somewhat at odds. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's forceful anti-clericalism and radical theology could occasion unease among her hosts, since British radicals, even among these Quaker women, were used to greater respect for the authority of the church. When Stanton began work on her last great project, the *Woman's Bible*, several of her friends among the Bright circle responded cautiously at first, although a number of its members subsequently became part of the international committee through which she sought to establish the legitimacy of her task.²⁰

The monarchy presented perhaps the most alien aspect of British society. Elizabeth Cady Stanton noted wryly, for example: "The Queen is referred to tenderly in most of the speeches although she has never done anything to merit the approbation of the advocates of suffrage for women." She and Harriot Stanton Blatch refused to contribute to a fund for the queen's Golden Jubilee in 1887, expressing their disapproval of a rich woman who would take the pennies of the poor to build yet more monstrous memorials to her dead husband. Such sentiments would undoubtedly have been shared by many of her friends among the Radical-Liberal suffragists, at least some of whom had republican sympathies. Even the more cautious members of this circle, such as Priscilla Bright McLaren, apologized for the backwardness of her British colleagues and the conservatism of British public opinion and national institutions. "I do not think it is possible for you, with your wide unprejudiced views, thoroughly to comprehend our position here . . . we should be running our heads against a wall were we to go in all at once for all the rights you advocate." It was for this reason, she argued, that British

¹⁹ Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Miss Priestman, January 30, postmark 1883, Box 23, MP; E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 361. Among the leadership of the early women's movement in Britain, both Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parkes, for example, were raised within that current of British radicalism that had supported the American Revolution. Their forebears had been among those who incorporated into their radicalism a notion of the "freeborn" Briton, a "patriot" identity that only began to be captured from the 1860s on by an imperialistic jingoism of the Right. See Hugh Cunningham, "The Language of Patriotism," in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of the British National Identity*, Raphael Samuel, ed., 3 vols. (London, 1989), 1: 57–89; E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990), 120–25.

²⁰ E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 372, 397; see T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*, 2: 206–07, for an account of Elizabeth Cady Stanton's visit to Helen Priestman Bright Clark, when it was feared that she "had shocked all the saints and clergy" in expressing to a local clergyman her forthright views on the meaning of the Bible; Ursula Bright to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, September 18 [1886?]; Priscilla Bright McLaren to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, November 12, 1886, both ECSC, Douglass Library; see also Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Anna Maria Priestman, November 8 [1886], and to Mary Priestman, October 21, 1895, both Box 23, MP. The latter mentions Ursula Bright and her niece Kate Thomasson in connection with the *Woman's Bible*.

suffragists had to proceed more slowly. "You must forgive me, dear, noble, clear-minded friend, if I cannot knock down at once all our Old World fences. We must creep under them, or climb over them as best we can."²¹

Other British suffragists, however, exhibited no such ambivalence toward their own national heritage. Indeed, figures such as Millicent Garrett Fawcett, with whom Elizabeth Cady Stanton also enjoyed friendly relations, occasionally displayed a sense of superiority deriving at least in part from her national identity as a Briton. She consistently exhibited an unbending, not to say parochial, adherence to British constitutional forms as models of moderation and stability from which she evidently believed the rest of the world could learn much. She took the opportunity for smug national self-congratulation, for example, when asked to contribute to Theodore Stanton's 1884 collection of essays on the women's movement in Europe, emphasizing "practical good sense and moderation" as the distinguishing feature of the British women's movement. She also expressed on occasion her resistance to links between the suffrage movements in Britain and America, refusing to accept the office of president of the International Congress of Women in 1888 with the remark, it was "quite impossible that English women and American women should have anything in common, the conditions of their lives and the purposes of their respective societies being so different."²²

In some British suffrage circles, then, her American identity might lend Elizabeth Cady Stanton additional credibility, while in others it was, no doubt, something to be excused. Social styles evidently were very different, too. Elizabeth Cady Stanton felt it necessary, after a visit to the Priestman sisters, to apologize in case she and her daughter "overflowed too freely when with you." She explained, "our visit to you was like water to the weary traveller crossing a vast desert," after life in Basingstoke, where "there is not one with whom we can commune with freedom and pleasure, none with whom we can have the least interchange of thought." Elizabeth Cady Stanton commented gratefully, "It is rare one finds three women on the shady side of sixty so bright, so liberal, so ready for new thought on all subjects."²³

Her initial return to Britain led her to send "many urgent letters" to her close friend and colleague in America, Susan B. Anthony, calling on her, too, to lend her force to the British movement. Stanton's return to Britain in 1882 had occurred at a critical time for the suffrage demand there. A campaign was under way for a further Reform Bill, primarily aimed at extending the franchise to male agricultural workers but also providing an occasion to press once again women's claim to the vote. Susan B. Anthony heard the call and joined Stanton in London in February 1883, where both addressed a major meeting of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. Priscilla Bright McLaren traveled from Scotland especially for the event, and afterward Susan B. Anthony recorded: "Everybody is delighted

²¹ E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 398; Priscilla Bright McLaren to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, July 17, 1883, ECSC, Douglass Library.

²² Quoted in David Rubinstein, *A Different World for Women: The Life of Millicent Garrett Fawcett* (Columbus, Ohio, 1991), 202; see also Fawcett, "England," 4.

²³ Elizabeth Cady Stanton to "Saint Margaret [Tanner], Saint Anna [Maria Priestman], Saint Mary [Priestman]," October 13 [1890], Box 23, MP.

... Even the timid ones expressed satisfaction. Mrs Stanton gave them the rankest of radical sentiments, but all so cushioned they didn't hurt."²⁴

THE CENTRAL SUFFRAGE LEADERSHIP remained cautious nonetheless, and the disunity this provoked among her British colleagues provided another trial for Elizabeth Cady Stanton during this visit. At the heart of the discord was the question of whether or not to include married women in the demand for the vote. The issue was of far greater consequence in Britain than America, for two reasons. First, in America, adult male suffrage had been achieved, at least in principle, after abolition. But the franchise in Britain remained property-based, a factor that rendered the British context of suffrage campaigning very different. Second, the doctrine of coverture remained more firmly entrenched in Britain than in the United States, where its erosion in state legislatures had begun in the 1830s.²⁵ The property basis of the franchise in Britain thus placed single women and married women each in a distinct relation to the existing franchise laws.

Jane Rendall has recently analyzed the several differing liberal conceptions of citizenship on which British suffragists drew in arguing their case. In many ways, this range of views was a strength, and Rendall's analysis indicates the inadequacy of any characterization of suffragism simply in terms of classic liberal individualism. But these different conceptions formed a bitter and longstanding source of conflict among suffragists in Britain. Those whose conception of citizenship was grounded on older radical notions of "independence" based on property holding and tax paying preferred a formulation that would secure the franchise for those unmarried and widowed women who might meet the criteria of independence. The doctrine of coverture, of course, deprived married women of such independence. Upon marriage, a woman lost not only her property in goods but, equally significant, her property in her own body. Radical-Liberal suffragists appealed to a conception of citizenship derived largely from the work of John Stuart Mill, which emphasized the right to moral autonomy and self-development of every individual as the proper basis for a political system.²⁶ As a consequence, the married woman represented for Radical-Liberal suffragists the fullest expression of the subordination of their sex. There could be no achievement of real citizenship for women that failed to redress the wrongs of the married woman. The one depended on the other.

The question of whether or not to exclude married women from the demand had divided British suffragists since the formation of the earliest suffrage

²⁴ Harper, *Susan B. Anthony*, 2: 546, 565; see also 2: 553–79, which recounts how during this visit Susan B. Anthony also formed an extensive friendship network in Britain among leading suffragists there.

²⁵ Joan Hoff, *Law, Gender, and Injustice: A Legal History of U.S. Women* (New York, 1991), 121–35, and Appendix One, which explains that although the end of coverture began much earlier in the United States, it was nonetheless a complex and uneven process that took a century to complete.

²⁶ Jane Rendall, "Citizenship, Culture and Civilization: The Languages of British Suffragists, 1866–1874," in Nolan and Daley, *Suffrage and Beyond*. In particular, Rendall shows the significance for suffragism of a new emphasis on social altruism within late nineteenth-century liberalism. Pateman, *Sexual Contract*, 51–59, 108–12, 156–82, 191–92, 202–03, explores the meaning of the loss of property in their own persons by married women.

committees in the mid-1860s, and it continued to divide them until the last years of the nineteenth century.²⁷ The dominance of the Radical-Liberals in the earliest provincial suffrage societies, and the influence of John Stuart Mill himself, had ensured the defeat of initial attempts to exclude married women from the demand in the first years of campaigning in the late 1860s. A compromise equal-rights formulation of the demand was accepted that neither specifically included nor excluded married women, although the common-law doctrine of coverture meant that married women were effectively, albeit tacitly, excluded by such wording. Couching their demand simply in terms of formal sexual equality, suffragists aimed to appease conservative opinion without offering any sanction to the doctrine of coverture. Given the nature of this compromise, Radical-Liberal suffragists also placed considerable importance on a parallel campaign for married women's property rights as a principal aspect of coverture.

This issue became even more crucial from the mid-1870s on when Lydia Becker, reluctantly and under pressure from Conservative parliamentary suffragists, whose party was in power, agreed to the explicit exclusion of married women from the demand.²⁸ Anna Maria Priestman endorsed a view of the matter general among Radical-Liberal suffragists: "Why people should be so unmerciful to such an oppressed group I cannot think."²⁹ The policy of the umbrella organization that united the various suffrage bodies, the National Society for Women's Suffrage (NSWS), went back and forth on this issue over the next few years, as the Radical-Liberal position was alternatively reasserted and attacked. For this reason, changing the legal status of married women took on an added urgency for Radical-Liberal suffragists. From 1875 on, Ursula Bright, together with Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, stepped up the campaign for reform of the Married Women's Property Act.³⁰ They did so in clear opposition to the views of Lydia Becker, who now urged not only the exclusion of married women from the

²⁷ For more detail on the various disputes among suffragists in these early years, see Barbara Caine, "John Stuart Mill and the English Women's Movement," *Historical Studies*, 18 (1978): 52-67; and "Feminism, Suffrage and the Nineteenth Century English Women's Movement," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 5 (1982): 537-50; Andrew Rosen, "Emily Davies and the Women's Movement, 1862-67," *Journal of British Studies*, 19 (1979): 101-21; A. P. W. Robson, "The Founding of the National Society for Women's Suffrage 1866-1867," *Canadian Journal of History*, 8 (1973): 1-22.

²⁸ Lydia Becker's role in the British suffrage movement still awaits historical assessment, but see Joan Parker, "Lydia Becker: Pioneer Orator of the Women's Movement," *Manchester Region History Review*, 5 (1991): 13-20. Blackburn, *Women's Suffrage: A Record*, 23-43, provides an uncritical portrait by a close colleague, while Pankhurst, *Suffragette Movement*, 34-52, gives a more equivocal account. To begin with, Lydia Becker was an ally of the Radical-Liberal suffragists, supporting Jacob and Ursula Bright, for example, in their dispute with John Stuart Mill and his stepdaughter, Helen Taylor, over combining suffrage campaigning with agitation for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, the legislation that had introduced the compulsory medical surveillance of prostitutes. Even though he also opposed this legislation, Mill was hostile to the determination of those he called the "Bright and Becker set" to mix the two issues. See Caine, "John Stuart Mill," 60.

²⁹ A. Grenfell to Anna Maria Priestman, and sent on to Mary Priestman, May 3, 1874, Box 17, MP.

³⁰ Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, a Manchester headmistress, played a leading role in every major women's rights campaign in this period; see Ellis Ethelmer, "A Woman Emancipator: A Biographical Sketch," *Westminster Review*, 145 (1894): 424-28; Pankhurst, *Suffragette Movement*, 31-34; Dora Montefiore, *From a Victorian to a Modern* (London, 1927), 42-43, for short portraits. DuBois, "Woman Suffrage," 27, places Elmy alongside Elizabeth Cady Stanton as one of the few figures who maintained the "radical suffragist tradition" within the women's movement. Shanley, *Feminism, Marriage and the Law*, provides an extensive and stimulating analysis of the interconnection of these various campaigns in the activities of figures such as Elmy.

franchise demand but also a suspension of such efforts to end coverture.³¹ Support for such defiance was forthcoming from many among the Bright circle, as well as among provincial Radical-Liberal suffragist opinion more generally, especially in the regions of Manchester, Liverpool, and Bristol, and among those also committed to the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

Some in these circles also had close links with the free-thought and republican movements of this period and the Owenite legacy on which these movements to some extent drew. Their radicalism occasionally extended to a preference for free unions over marriage—Elizabeth Wolstenholme and Ben Elmy, for example, were only persuaded to a legal marriage in the interests of the women's movement in 1874, when she was some six months pregnant. There is also evidence that Emmeline Goulden offered Richard Pankhurst a similar free union before they married a few years later. Others, such as Alice Cliff Scatcherd, showed their contempt for prevailing conceptions of marriage by refusing to wear a ring or to attend any wedding service in the established church because of the vow of obedience it extracted from women. Priscilla Bright McLaren did bring herself to attend the Anglican wedding of a niece, although she left it loudly protesting, "Well, Annie went in a free woman and has come out a slave!" and afterward poured out her feelings of indignation to the clergyman.³²

The efforts of Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy and Ursula Bright met with success at last in the passage of the Married Women's Property Act of 1882, but ironically this advance only sowed the seeds for further discord. Even though the measure extended the capacity of married women to hold property, it had been so amended in the House of Commons that it left in place the doctrine of coverture. It remained uncertain, therefore, whether married women would or would not qualify to vote under an equal rights measure, for the legal standing of married women remained ambiguously different from that of single women. This situation provoked renewed controversy over the question in the summer of 1883, and it was at this point that Elizabeth Cady Stanton made her first direct intervention in the British movement. At a major London suffrage rally, shortly after the success of Stanton's joint appearance with Susan B. Anthony, one of the leading suffragist members of Parliament denied all intention of seeking to enfranchise women under coverture. Ursula Bright and her supporters had arranged for a call to include married women to come from among the platform party and asked Elizabeth Cady Stanton to join them in this act of defiance. But such opposition was overruled from the chair. The manner in which married women were dismissed from the claim gave rise to "strong protests," for such proceedings had "carried the matter too far even for the most timid." The supporters of Ursula Bright arranged a meeting of the dissidents and called on

³¹ Lydia Becker to "Dearest" [Elizabeth Wolstenholme, whose own annotations identify her as the recipient], March 1, 1874, E. Sylvia Pankhurst Archives, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam (hereafter, ESPA). I am grateful to the institute for providing me with photocopies from this archive.

³² Reported in Mary Priestman to Helen Priestman Bright Clark, September 16, 1877, Box 14, MP. See Pateman, *Sexual Contract*, 181–82, for a fuller discussion of the significance of this vow. On the Elmys' marriage, see Holton, "Free Love"; on that of the Pankhursts, see Pankhurst, *Suffragette Movement*, 55.

Stanton to confer with them. The meeting resulted in "a great ferment," for she advised them to continue to demand the vote for all women, married and single.³³

Elizabeth Cady Stanton not only advised the dissidents but also sought to strengthen the resolve of those among her friends whom she believed were wavering on the issue. Her diary records:

I have written a letter to Mrs McLaren and Mrs Lucas, which I ask them to read to the Brights and Thomassons, on the wisdom of broadening their platform. I impress on them the fact that to get the suffrage for spinsters is all very well, but their work is to elevate the position of women at all points, and that in calling to every form of injustice and laying bare every inequality they take the shortest way to educate women into rebellion and self-assertion, and men into consideration of women's rights and wrongs. That the married women of this movement in England consent to the assumption that they are through marriage, practically represented and protected, supported and sheltered from all the adverse winds of life, is the strongest evidence of their own need for emancipation.

She wrote to prevent her friends from taking the path of political pragmatism and abandoning principles she believed fundamental to women's emancipation. Priscilla Bright McLaren responded: "I abhor the idea of degrading marriage as much as my sister Ursula Bright by any positive prohibition of a right because of marriage." But she also firmly expressed the view that "the women of our country are not prepared for some of the things you advise us to put upon our flag . . . The real practical reformer must be willing to climb step by step."³⁴

Ursula Bright, for her part, evidently took heart from Elizabeth Cady Stanton's advice, adopting an even more intransigent position on the issue. No longer was it sufficient, in her view, to resist the explicit exclusion of married women from the suffrage demand. From then on, she also argued for their *explicit inclusion*. This position appeared extreme even to many Radical-Liberal suffragists, who sought to uphold an equal rights formulation that simply ignored the differing civil status of single and married women. Ursula Bright was never, it seems, a very easy colleague to work with. The women of the Bright circle, who might express an amused tolerance for her idiosyncracies among themselves, felt that she was sometimes disruptively high-handed and provocative. Certainly, she appears to have been most effective when a big fish in a small pond, as was the case with the Married Women's Property Committee and subsequently with the Women's Franchise League. This is not to deny her achievements, especially in helping to secure significant advances in the position of married women. But it does suggest that her conception of the reformer's role was more akin to that of Elizabeth Cady Stanton than was the case, for example, with Priscilla Bright McLaren.³⁵

³³ From Susan B. Anthony's firsthand account, quoted in Harper, *Susan B. Anthony*, 2: 567–68, which also makes it clear that she herself stayed aloof from the controversy and believed her old friend's involvement in it to be misjudged: "I contend it is not in good taste for either of us to counsel public opposition to the bill before Parliament"; Ursula Bright to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, July 2 [1883], ECSC, Douglass Library.

³⁴ T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*, 2: 208–09; Priscilla Bright McLaren to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, July 17, 1883, ECSC, Douglass Library. For a concise analysis of the issues involved in this controversy, see Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy's article on Woodall's Bill in the serial *Personal Rights Journal*, March 15, 1886.

³⁵ Mrs. Jacob Bright, "Letter of Mrs Jacob Bright . . ." (n.d. [circa 1883]); for the response of other Radical-Liberal suffragists, see, for example, Alice Scatcherd to Anna Maria Priestman, Novem-

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's association with Ursula Bright in this controversy appears also to have affected the reception of another proposal she and Susan B. Anthony first put before British suffragists in 1883. After the travels of each around Europe in the previous year or so, they believed the time was right for the formation of an international suffrage organization to facilitate the sharing of ideas and experience. Lydia Becker and those around her, however, remained skeptical. Helen Blackburn, Lydia Becker's close colleague as secretary of the National Society for Women's Suffrage, wrote to Anna Maria Priestman that while it was in itself "an excellent idea," caution was advisable, for it had been taken up by "some injudicious people." It is clear from other correspondence among British suffragists that Ursula Bright was considered to be among the injudicious; moreover, there were fears she planned to use this new initiative to take over the leadership of the British movement.³⁶

The Bright circle, not surprisingly, proved the most receptive to the plan, and Priscilla Bright McLaren, Margaret Bright Lucas, and Ursula Bright took up the challenge during their farewell meetings with the American suffragists in November 1883. They agreed to establish an international organization based in the United States, with corresponding committees in other countries. Out of this came an international conference of suffragists in Washington in 1888, arranged to coincide with the fortieth anniversary of the Seneca Falls convention, which had marked the formal beginnings of a women's rights movement in America. It is noteworthy that the more moderate leadership of the suffrage movement in Britain consistently failed to accord such international initiatives the same significance as their Radical-Liberal counterparts in these years. Possibly, the international context was more important to the radicals precisely because of their marginal standing in their own country; it served as a valued endorsement of their distinct identity as the radical section of their particular national movement.³⁷

ber 11, 1882, Box 22, MP; and compare with the leadership's view, as expressed in Helen Blackburn to Anna Maria Priestman, August 19, 1886, Box 19, MP, which refers to "our extremist friends" whom she hopes may be persuaded to "a wiser direction." On the increasingly bitter feelings among suffragists at this time, see Margaret Bright Lucas to Anna Maria Priestman, January 10, 1884, and Priscilla Bright McLaren to Helen Priestman Bright Clark, January 19, 1884, which refers to the "cat and dog work" between Ursula Bright and Lydia Becker, Boxes 23 and 36 respectively, MP. Priscilla Bright McLaren, as so often, attempted to play a conciliatory role within the movement, maintaining her friendships with Lydia Becker and Millicent Garrett Fawcett and remaining an important channel of communication between the Radical-Liberal suffragists and the moderate leadership; see, for example, her letter to Helen Priestman Bright Clark, March 13, 1884, Box 36, MP.

³⁶ Helen Blackburn to Anna Maria Priestman, November 15, 1883, Box 19, MP; Priscilla Bright McLaren to Helen Priestman Bright Clark, February 2, 1884, Box 36, MP, reporting a letter from Lydia Becker that presented the proposal as indicative of a growing split in the British movement and commenting, "I am not quite sure that Aunt Urlic [Ursula Bright] may not be using this as an annoyance—but there is no real proof yet." It is possible that there was also some jealousy of the Americans' leadership in this initiative. Priscilla Bright McLaren in this same letter, like a number of other British suffragists, remarked privately on Lydia Becker's envy of any prominence achieved by other figures in the movement.

³⁷ Only the American chronicles tell the story of this international initiative, and the histories produced by the British movement remained parochial, although Blackburn, *Women's Suffrage: A Record*, does include a "Supplementary Chapter on Colonial Progress." Anthony and Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4: 124–42, credits the idea to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, but she herself subsequently acknowledged that her original conception of "intellectual cooperation" among suffragists around the world had not been fully realized through the International Council of Women that grew out of

BY THE TIME OF ELIZABETH CADY STANTON'S NEXT VISIT, from 1886 to early 1888, the tensions and conflicts among British suffragists had intensified even further. The failure to secure the inclusion of women in the 1884 Reform Act left the movement demoralized, and this demoralization was increased by the general political turmoil in Britain in these years. In 1886, for instance, the Liberal Party split over Prime Minister Gladstone's policy of home rule for Ireland.

Among the Bright circle, Ursula and Jacob Bright remained staunch Gladstonians committed to Irish home rule, as did the Clarks and the members of Parliament who were sons of Priscilla Bright McLaren, Charles and Walter. Priscilla Bright McLaren herself, though sympathetic to the grievances of Ireland, did not believe that home rule would provide any peaceful or long-lasting solution and so associated for a time more closely with women Liberal Unionist organizations, as did her niece, Liliash Ashworth Hallett.

These years were also ones of moral panic, a panic that in turn served to promote a "social purity" response to moral reform in the passage of repressive legislation and in oppressive policing practices. It was a panic prompted initially by the sensationalist exposé of child prostitution by W. T. Stead, a crusading journalist. This campaign had brought forth the National Vigilance Association, in which some of the moderate suffragist leadership figured prominently, while Radical suffragists resisted the repressive policies it advocated.³⁸ Such tensions were exacerbated by the involvement of the Radical Sir Charles Dilke and the Irish Nationalist leader Charles Parnell as correspondents in two notorious divorce cases in this period.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's diary makes clear her sympathy for Irish protesters in their struggles with the authorities and also with the disgraced politicians Dilke and Parnell. Ursula Bright and her closest colleagues, including the Pankhursts and Harriot Stanton Blatch, were also supportive of Dilke and Parnell during divorce hearings. Similarly, Elizabeth Cady Stanton expressed a certain skepticism about the motives of social purity advocates such as Stead.

But if this was a period of turmoil, it was also a time when radicals began to feel more optimistic about achieving substantial social change in Britain. Stanton recorded signs during this visit that women were increasingly ready to fight "even here in slow old England." She was impressed with the younger generation coming into the movement and warned, "[O]f one thing men may be assured . . .

this initiative. The members of this body soon found the suffrage issue too contentious to pursue. Nonetheless, she maintained that it had met another of her aims in achieving suffragist "power over popular thought," E. Stanton, *Eighty Years* 412–14. It should also be noted that Theodore Stanton's editor's introduction to *The Woman Question*, v–vi, suggests that the adoption of a leadership stance toward movements in other parts of Europe was based on some shared sense of ethnic superiority among Anglo-American suffragists.

³⁸ The old Vigilance Association with which many Radical-Liberal suffragists had long been closely linked now became the Personal Rights Association, and it took a critical stand on many of the repressive policies and activities for which the National Vigilance Association was known. See Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, 1992), 22–24, 82–83, 102–05; Lucy Bland, "'Purifying' the Public World: Feminist Vigilantes in Late Victorian England," *Women's History Review*, 1 (1992): 397–412; Deborah Gorham, "'The Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' Re-examined: Child Prostitution and the Idea of Childhood in Late-Victorian England," *Victorian Studies*, 21 (1978): 357–79, 366–68.

the next generation will not argue the question of women's rights with the infinite patience we have displayed this half century." Priscilla Bright McLaren shared these hopes: "We see everywhere women rising to a much higher moral and intellectual stature than twenty years ago."³⁹

Even so, the national leadership of the British movement continued to resist the pressure from its radical wing for a more assertive stance. And, once again, Stanton found herself at odds with this leadership over plans for the international conference, which was to meet in Washington the next year. She recorded "a very unpleasant interview" with Lydia Becker and others among the more moderate suffragists over their continuing refusal to cooperate in the venture. She turned to Priscilla Bright McLaren and Anna Maria Priestman, who helped her organize a British delegation.⁴⁰ This proved to be an oddly assorted group that included the Radical-Liberal suffragist Alice Scatcherd, the social purity campaigner Mrs. Ormiston Chant, and Mrs. Ashton (May) Dilke.

The inclusion of May Dilke was the cause of yet further controversy, for she had become implicated in some of the scandal surrounding her brother-in-law, Charles Dilke, when he had been cited as correspondent in her sister's divorce case. The unorthodox sexual history of several members of May Dilke's family, as well as suggestions about her own irregular life since being widowed, became the subject of speculation and gossip. Helen Taylor, Mill's stepdaughter and another leading figure in Radical politics, used the presence of May Dilke as grounds to withdraw from participation in the international conference, in connection with which she had been scheduled to address a Senate Committee on Women's Suffrage. Both Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Priscilla Bright McLaren pressed Helen Taylor to adopt a more generous view of the matter, with no success. Stanton showed her solidarity by traveling back to the United States for the conference in the company of May Dilke.⁴¹

In the year that followed, the tensions within the British movement could no longer be held in check by the national leadership. At the end of 1888, a section that included a number of the Bright circle successfully moved to alter the rules of the National Society for Women's Suffrage. This alteration allowed for the affiliation of other women's organizations that included women's suffrage among their objects. In the view of those who opposed this change, it opened the way for the suffrage movement to be taken over by the women's auxiliaries of the Liberal Party.⁴² Certainly, some of the main proponents of change were leading Liberal

³⁹ T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*, 2: 235, 270; Priscilla Bright McLaren to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, November 17, 1887, ECSC, Douglass Library; E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 399, 422-23.

⁴⁰ E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 408; Elizabeth Cady Stanton to the Priestman sisters, February 21 and 26, 1888, Box 23, MP.

⁴¹ See Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Helen Taylor, March 6 [1888], and Priscilla Bright McLaren to Helen Taylor, January 21, 1888, vols. 12 and 13 respectively, the Mill-Taylor Papers, Archives of the British Library of Political and Economic Sciences, the London School of Economics, to which my thanks for allowing me to read in these papers; Helen Taylor to Susan B. Anthony, March 7, 1888, HM10610, Harper Collection, Huntington Library, Los Angeles, with thanks to the Huntington Library for permission to draw on this and other correspondence in its Western Historical Manuscripts collection; E. Stanton, *Eighty Years*, 410, which provides also a sympathetic portrait of May Dilke.

⁴² The previous few years had seen a rapid formation of Women's Liberal Associations, first founded in Bristol in 1881 by Anna Maria Priestman at least in part out of her frustration with the

suffragists, including Priscilla Bright McLaren's son Walter and his wife, Eva McLaren, while many of the leading opponents were Liberal Unionists, such as Millicent Garrett Fawcett and Lillias Ashworth Hallett. These last two joined with Lydia Becker in establishing an alternative society that maintained the old rules of the NSWS.⁴³

Lydia Becker's account of this split suggests that the exclusion of married women from the suffrage demand had also been an issue dividing the two groups, and she designated her opponents the "left-wing" and "extreme section" of the movement. It shortly became evident, however, that the leadership of the "new rules" society was itself divided over the issue. Its solution was to support bills that explicitly excluded married women as well as those formulated in terms of equal rights. But it refused to support measures that explicitly included married women. When a group of Radical-Liberal suffragists, including Richard Pankhurst, failed to commit the "new rules" society to oppose any suffrage measure that explicitly excluded married women, these dissidents decided at last on the formation of their own suffrage organization.⁴⁴ Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, as often in the past, took the lead in this new initiative, with the help of Alice Scatcherd and Harriet McIlquham.⁴⁵

Harriot Stanton Blatch linked the formation of the Women's Franchise League to her mother's intervention in the British movement some six years before when she had argued for the inclusion of married women in the suffrage demand.

national suffrage leadership. This rapid growth, however, reflected the growing importance of women as election workers, following the passage of the Corrupt Practices Act of 1883. In 1887, the associations were brought together in the Women's Liberal Federation (WLF), for control of which suffragists waged a long struggle. See Sandra Stanley Holton, "The Strange Death of Liberal Feminism: Anna Maria Priestman and the Origins of the Women's Liberal Federation," paper delivered to the "Wollstonecraft 200" conference, University of Sussex, December 1992. For further discussion of the WLF, see Leslie Walker, "Party Political Women: A Comparative Study of the Liberal Women and the Primrose League, 1890-1914," in *Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914*, Jane Rendall, ed. (Oxford, 1987), 165-91; Claire Hirshfield, "Fractured Faith: Liberal Party Women and the Suffrage Issue in Britain, 1892-1914," *Gender and History*, 2 (1990): 173-97.

⁴³ The "new rules" society called itself the Central National Society for Women's Suffrage (CNSWS), while the new "old rules" organization somewhat confusingly called itself the Central Committee of the National Society for Women's Suffrage (CCNSWS). Each was sometimes also more conveniently referred to by the address of its central offices, as, respectively, the "Parliament Street" society and the "Great College Street" society.

⁴⁴ Lydia Becker's editorial in *Women's Suffrage Journal*, 20 (1889): 48, describes the split and argues that the married women's claim for the vote was an "uncalled for and gratuitous obstruction" to the main demand. *Personal Rights Journal*, April 1889, records the dissidents' intervention at the first annual meeting of the CNSWS, an episode again generally ignored in the standard histories of the suffrage movement for this period.

⁴⁵ Women's Franchise League, "Report of Proceedings at the Inaugural Meeting, London July 25th 1889" (London [1889]), 3, 6, in the Fawcett Library, London Guildhall University, gives Richard Pankhurst's generous recognition of these others' role in its formation. Sylvia Pankhurst's account in *Suffragette Movement*, 95, serves to emphasize the role of her parents at the expense of those who actually undertook this task, while Harriot Stanton Blatch in *Challenging Years*, 73, emphasizes the role of Ursula Bright, recalling that "Mrs Pankhurst and I, burdened as we were by young children and domestic cares, were the admiring neophytes of the circle." Ursula and Jacob Bright, in fact, initially kept aloof from the new society for reasons that remain unclear; see Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy to Harriet McIlquham, May 9, 1889, June 5, 1890; September 19, 1904, September 27, 1904, Additional Manuscripts 47449 and 47454, the Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy Papers, British Library (hereafter, EWEP), with my thanks to the British Library for permission to quote from this correspondence.

Undoubtedly, the formation of this new suffrage organization had arisen out of continuing disputes over this question among British suffragists. It is clear, too, that the league drew on the friendship network formed by her mother's friends and colleagues for its early support. Harriot Stanton Blatch herself took a leading role in the new society, while her mother and Isabella Beecher Hooker both became corresponding members during the year after its formation.⁴⁶

Although the league's leadership drew on a second generation of suffragists, it still presented itself as a continuation of the Garrisonian approach to reform. William Lloyd Garrison, Jr., was among the main speakers at its inaugural meeting. He struck a note that harked back directly to his father's role in the abolition movement, in an insistence that reformers had a very different role from politicians: they must hold to the principle that underlay their cause and not allow themselves to be diverted by any considerations of "policy." He also presented the purpose of the new league as one that held to "moral force" in order "to declare the whole gospel of suffrage without let or hindrance." A similar attitude if more anecdotal tone is evident in Harriot Stanton Blatch's contribution to these proceedings: "The first thing I want to do is to make a little personal declaration, that is, that for the first time in a suffrage meeting in England I feel at home." She recalled her mother's experiences of addressing meetings in Britain, which were always preceded by such warnings as, "'Now, Mrs Stanton, please do not speak on the Bible question, and please do not touch on the matter of divorce, and, above all things, do not touch on the question of Married Women's Suffrage.' Well, my mother said that at last she felt, with her crown of white hair, like the Jungfrau, rising cold and frigid into the sky, never allowed to melt and show her real heart." A different approach was evidently intended by this breakaway organization.⁴⁷

The history of the league over the next few years suggests that the Garrisonian legacy to the British suffrage movement found its fullest expression here. Political pragmatism was consistently eschewed in favor of principle, especially in the

⁴⁶ T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*, 2: 288 n. 4. Elizabeth Cady Stanton's endorsement of the league and involvement in its business in 1890 is evident also in the "Programme for the Women's Franchise League International Conference, 16-17 July 1890," proof copy in Harriet McIlquham Papers, Fawcett Library, London Guildhall University. My thanks for permission to draw on its collections and more particularly to David Doughan for providing photocopies of some of the printed material cited above and below. The conference was apparently conceived as a successor to a similar event in Paris the previous year and to the original Washington meeting in 1888. Little information on these events appears to have survived, but see *Personal Rights Journal*, July 1890. Elizabeth Cady Stanton was also during this period exchanging ideas on methods of activism with Alice Scatcherd, with whom Harriot Stanton Blatch was working closely in the Women's Liberal Federation as well as in the Women's Franchise League; see Alice Scatcherd to Elizabeth Cady Stanton (fragment), enclosed in Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Alice Clark, October 20, 1890, Box 75, MP. Similarly, Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy spent the summer of 1890 in Basingstoke with the two American suffragists as she tried, unsuccessfully, to retain her role in the league's leadership; Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy to Harriet McIlquham, October 27, 1890, Additional Manuscripts 47449, EWEP.

⁴⁷ Women's Franchise League, "Inaugural Proceedings," 25-26. Among the league's early leaders were also Clementia and P. A. Taylor, whose radicalism went back to the 1840s Anti-Corn Law League and abolition, and whose home, Aubrey House, where the first women's suffrage petition had been pasted up in 1866, had also provided the gathering place for Radical-Liberal circles in London in that period. Also included were Josephine Butler, who had led the campaign against the Contagious Diseases Acts from 1870 until repeal in 1886, and Emmeline Pankhurst and Florence Fenwick Miller, from among a second generation of radical suffragists.

matter of including married women in the suffrage demand. Attention was constantly drawn to the complex of institutions that limited British freedoms, including that longstanding radical bugbear, aristocratic privilege. Hence abolition of the House of Lords also became part of the league's platform. In the work of the league, we also find a commitment to expanding the campaign for suffrage beyond the ranks of middle-class reform and to engaging popular radical support. Elizabeth Cady Stanton continued to encourage such challenges to the approach of the moderate leadership of the British movement. She insisted, for example, on the value of anything that gained the public's attention, whether that attention be good or bad, and emphasized the importance of press coverage for the suffrage demand.⁴⁸

The platform of the Women's Franchise League was an expansive one from the beginning and radical by the standards of the existing suffrage societies. The exclusion of married women from the suffrage demand was, as we have seen, the main spur to its formation, and Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy drafted a more extensive suffrage measure for the league to promote. The Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, brought before the House of Commons in 1889 and 1890, included a clause that "no woman shall be subject to legal incapacity in voting . . . by reason of coverture." But the league also sought to address the inequality of women before the law more generally, for its members shared the view of Alice Scatcherd when she told the inaugural meeting, "I, for one, am perfectly tired of joining societies which fight only for a little bit, a little shred, a little fragment of freedom."⁴⁹

BY THE TIME OF ELIZABETH CADY STANTON's last visit to Britain in 1890, she was firmly aligned with the most intransigent of the Radical-Liberal suffragists around the Women's Franchise League. Lydia Becker had recently died, and Ursula Bright had moved into the league's leadership. In Elizabeth Cady Stanton's assessment, Bright now unquestionably stood "at the helm of the woman suffrage movement on this side of the ocean." But the league itself was experiencing some internal division at least in part as a consequence of Ursula Bright's presence, a division that soon led to the expulsion of Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy. Elmy feared that the Brights had been brought into the league by the Pankhursts to ease the way for the disgraced Radical Charles Dilke to gain control of it as part of a plan to rebuild his career on a combination of women's and labor issues. Elmy wished, instead, to keep the new organization clear of any divided loyalties that might result from such affiliations.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ For example, she encouraged the efforts of Alice Clark in this respect; Elizabeth Cady Stanton to Alice Clark, October 20 [1890], Box 75, MP.

⁴⁹ Women's Franchise League, "Report of Meeting in Support of 'The Women's Disabilities Bill'" (London [1889]), M50/2/32/3, Manchester Public Library Archive. I thank the City of Manchester Arts and Leisure Council for permission to draw on this material; Women's Franchise League, "Inaugural Proceedings," 22, Fawcett Library, London Guildhall University. For a further account of the league's platform, see Florence Fenwick Miller, "On the Programme of the Women's Franchise League" (London, 1890), also Fawcett Library, London Guildhall University.

⁵⁰ T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*, 2: 262; Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy to Harriet McIlquham, May 26, 1890, June 5, 1890, October 27, 1906, Additional Manuscripts 47449 and 47455, EWEF. Her letters at this time also indicate tensions with Alice Scatcherd and Florence

After the first annual meeting, however, Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy was replaced as secretary and resigned from the league.⁵¹ The following year, Harriot Stanton Blatch became the league's joint honorary secretary with Ursula Bright. The records that remain of the league's activities under its new leadership suggest that it continued to conceive of itself principally as the voice of radical suffragism, committed to a more advanced platform than the more moderate societies, deliberately linking itself to the international women's movement, especially to the movement in the United States, and pursuing new sources of support for the suffrage demand in the emerging labor and socialist movements. This last it did mainly by providing speakers on women's suffrage for radical clubs, progressive clubs, and branches of the Women's Cooperative Guild.⁵² But from this time on, it also exhibited the Liberal Party loyalties of its leadership, and the Women's Liberal Federation now became a focus for many of its activities.⁵³

There are no membership records extant, and the few details provided of league finances in the only surviving minute book suggest that Alice Scatcherd and, to a lesser extent, Ursula Bright were its financial mainstays.⁵⁴ A generous reading of its records would be that it attracted a membership of a few hundred. The central executive committee does not appear to have kept in very close touch with local branches established in London and the region of Leeds. Indeed, the work of the league in the Leeds area seems to have run virtually autonomously under the direction of Alice Scatcherd, while individual members of the executive committee on several occasions undertook activities in the name of the league for

Fenwick Miller over her position as paid secretary. Pankhurst, *Suffragette Movement*, 96, presents a different interpretation, which is misleading both in terms of the timing of these events and in wrongly suggesting a change of position on the inclusion of married women in the suffrage demand by Elmy.

⁵¹ Minutes, July 25, 1890, Women's Franchise League, in the Special Collections Department, Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Illinois (hereafter, WFL Minutes). I am grateful to R. Russell Maylone, Curator, for providing me with a microfilm copy of this minute book, and for permission to draw on this source here. Elmy's departure from the league was followed shortly afterward by the resignation of McIlquham, and the two together subsequently formed the Women's Emancipation Union, which continued to support the women's suffrage bill Elmy herself had drafted for the league but which, in a noteworthy addition, also campaigned for the legal recognition of rape in marriage. See "Women's Emancipation Union: An Association of Workers to Secure the Political, Sexual, and Economic Independence of Women" (Congleton, November 1891). Anna Maria Priestman was among those who gave her support to this new organization. For accounts of the WEU, see Rubinstein, *Before the Suffragettes*, 144–45; Lucy Bland, "The Married Woman, the 'New Woman' and the Feminist: Sexual Politics of the 1890s," in Rendall, *Equal or Different*, 141–64.

⁵² WFL Minutes, April 23 and May 29, 1891; also November 24, 1890, January 2, 1891, February 2, 1891, March 18, 1891, December 4, 1891, April 25, 1893, May 18, 1893, March 16, 1894, June 9, 1894, for examples of its international links and orientation toward radical and working-class organizations. Other sources for the activities of the league include a few pamphlets, which survive in the archives of the Manchester Public Library and in the Fawcett Library, London Guildhall University; also, some letters of Ursula Bright to Emmeline Pankhurst, in ESPA, and occasional irregular reports and correspondence in the *Personal Rights Journal*, the *Women's Gazette and Weekly News*, the *Women's Herald*, the *Women's Penny Paper*, and the *Women's Signal*. The last provides the only documentary source I have been able to identify for the league's final years.

⁵³ For example, WFL Minutes, September 15, 1890, February 2, 1891, February 3, 1892, May 18, 1892, June 9, 1894.

⁵⁴ WFL Minutes, February 2, 1891, March 18, 1891 (which suggests that its income for the previous year was a little over £350), May 4, 1891, November 11, 1891, [April 12] 1894; and see also Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy to Harriet McIlquham, October 27, 1889, Additional Manuscripts 47449, EWEP.

which they only subsequently sought its endorsement.⁵⁵ But such indicators cannot provide a proper measure of the success or significance of the league.

An uncompromising and confrontational activism was what gave the league both its identity and its rationale. It saw itself as the conscience of Radical-Liberal suffragism, constantly keeping its perspective before audiences within both the women's movement and popular radical circles, though without seeking to become a mass movement in itself. This was the character of the league as presented, for example, by Ursula Bright when describing its work to an international audience at the World Congress of Representative Women organized during the Chicago World Fair of 1893. She emphasized the Women's Franchise League's special commitment "in plain language to ask for votes for married women" with the declaration that "the legal position of the wife in England is a scandal to civilization." Ursula Bright also laid claim to "a much broader and bolder" approach than "the ordinary suffrage societies." The platform she outlined was indeed an extensive one: equal political rights and duties; equal educational opportunities; equal wages for equal work; equal access to paid, honorary, or elected public office; equality under family law; equality in the rights and liabilities of contract.⁵⁶

Undoubtedly, though, the league's work also evidenced an unwavering loyalty to Gladstone and to a Liberal Party that had repeatedly thwarted the suffrage demand. In this same address, Ursula Bright offered a somewhat lame explanation for this situation, pointing to the league's altruistic dedication to the cause of Irish home rule and seeking to direct her audience's attention to the "timid counsels" that would exclude married women from the claim, counsels she blamed on the "narrow prejudices of Tories or second-hand Liberals." Bright was attempting to address indirectly those critics of the league who would dismiss it simply as a women's auxiliary of the Gladstonian Liberals. While she demonstrated effectively that her suffrage organization was committed to a broader conception of women's citizenship, she failed convincingly to answer the charges of the league's subordination to Liberal Party faction fighting. Perhaps the better to establish the radical credentials of the league, she also noted in her conclusion: "The leaders of the working men are almost to a man on our side."⁵⁷

This link with the labor movement was central to the approach to suffrage campaigning for a number of the league's leaders. By this time, the league was also looking for support, for example, from the campaign for the eight-hour day, and much of its work was directed toward organizing working-class support for the suffrage demand. At its inaugural meeting, Alice Scatcherd had argued: "There are only two great questions presently before the public. These are the labour question and the women's question. And when we come to consider these questions really they are united; for it is largely on the economic condition of

⁵⁵ WFL Minutes, September 15, 1890, February 2, 1891, March 18, 1891, April 23, 1893. In keeping with a Garrisonian tendency to a loose and unhierarchical organization, the role of chair of the executive meetings rotated among its members, whose attendance could also be very irregular.

⁵⁶ Mrs. Jacob Bright, "The Origins and Objects of the Women's Franchise League of Great Britain and Ireland," *The World Congress of Representative Women*, May Wright Sewall, ed. (Chicago, 1894), 415-20, esp. 416, 418.

⁵⁷ Bright, "Origins," 416, 417, 420.

woman that her freedom in the future will depend." She was giving expression to a new perspective on women's rights that proved especially influential in the work of the league, one based on a fresh conception of women's citizenship.⁵⁸

This new perspective began to emerge in radical suffragist argument in the early 1880s, and it based claims to citizenship on the labor of women, operating also on a broad understanding of labor that included every kind of women's work, in reproduction and sexual labor as well as the workplace, in unpaid as well as paid labor.⁵⁹ Harriot Stanton Blatch described this perspective as an "economic" approach to the issue, an approach that was to give special attention to the need of working women for the vote. It appealed especially strongly to Radical-Liberal suffragists and clearly informed much of the work of the Women's Franchise League.⁶⁰ This new "economic" perspective within the women's movement sometimes also linked women's rights to a critique of social relations under capitalism and emphasized the need to unite industrial women workers with middle-class women in the campaign for the vote. Here, Fabians such as Harriot Stanton Blatch were an important influence. Explaining her women's rights commitment to Beatrice and Sidney Webb, for example, Blatch argued: "Women are the source of the race. Its supreme moulders. To do that work efficiently, they must be politically and economically independent beyond all call. Free they cannot be under capitalism: the capitalistic system and feminism are at war."⁶¹

Perhaps the most notorious episode in the league's history occurred in 1892, when some of its members intervened at a public meeting in support of a new suffrage bill coming before Parliament. The league maintained, incorrectly, that this measure effectively served to exclude married women. Not content with attacking the provisions of the bill, some league members, led by the socialist Herbert Burrows, stormed the stage. The incident caused considerable unease among some members of the league, even though Burrows and his supporters claimed that it was they, in fact, who had been the initial victims of violence at the hands of Ben Elmy, husband of Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy. Some resignations

⁵⁸ Women's Franchise League, "Inaugural Proceedings," 22.

⁵⁹ For example, May Dilke's response to the Anti-Suffragists "Appeal," *Nineteenth Century*, 26 (1889): 97–103, mobilizes just such a conception of citizenship to counter the militaristic account of citizenship often used as an argument against votes for women. She asserted, for example, that women in childbirth put their lives at risk equally with men called on to do battle, insisting that the maintenance of society rested not on warfare but on labor in all its forms. Although much of women's labor went unpaid, it was "quite as fundamental a part of civilized life as the paid labour of men." Moreover, she argued, women were also increasingly entering the paid work force and therefore needed their own voice in the making of laws that controlled the paid labor market.

⁶⁰ This perspective is evident also in Richard Haldane, "Some Economic Aspects of Women's Suffrage," *Contemporary Review*, 58 (1890): 830–38. Haldane was at this time a rising young Liberal politician and in 1889 and 1890 introduced into Parliament the Women's Franchise League's Women's Disabilities Removal Bill.

⁶¹ Recalled in Blatch and Lutz, *Challenging Years*, 79. See also Anthony and Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 4: 310–11, which gives the text of part of her paper "Woman and the Economic Factor" presented to the National-American Convention in Washington in 1898. Compare also Diane Kirkby's discussion of "industrial feminism" in the United States in the early twentieth century, *Alice Henry: The Power of Pen and Voice; The Life of an Australian-American Labour Reformer* (Cambridge, 1991), which also examines the international exchange of ideas among suffragists, most especially through the WTUL.

followed, and Burrows was asked to provide the league's executive with his own account in writing, something that was apparently never forthcoming.⁶²

The bill in question, though less than an equal rights measure, deliberately avoided any explicit reference to coverture or to married women. It would have given the parliamentary vote to all female local government electors; some married women were already voting under such franchises. It was, then, a further compromise with conservative opinion. But it was one that many Radical-Liberal suffragists such as Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy were ready to accept precisely because it reinforced the breach in coverture already established with regard to the local government franchise. The league's rejection of it provides further evidence of its ultra-radical stance on this issue. Harriot Stanton Blatch, for one, believed that the league's opposition to such a compromise was unreasonable and resigned from its executive committee in consequence.⁶³

The league's most important legacy for the twentieth-century movement, somewhat ironically, was the part it played in securing a critical amendment to the Local Government Act of 1894. This law admitted married women with the appropriate qualifications to local government franchises on the same basis as single women. At long last, the question of coverture in relation to the suffrage demand was effectively dead.⁶⁴ Married women's equal eligibility with single women for the vote had finally been clearly established. Although the old guard of the suffrage leadership continued to dispute the question for a little while longer, the way was clear for an unequivocal demand for equal rights for all women in the parliamentary franchise and for a reunification of the suffrage movement within the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which followed in 1897. The Women's Franchise League had helped achieve, therefore, a situation in which its own existence was no longer necessary—perhaps the most significant achievement for which any such radical reform organization might hope.⁶⁵

⁶² WFL Minutes, May 2, 1892, August 5, 1892, September 28, 1892, October 19, 1892. Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy's account of the affair differs significantly from that of the league demonstrators and is to be found in her letter to Harriet McIlquham, May 18, 1892, Additional Manuscripts 47449, EWEP.

⁶³ WFL Minutes, May 23, 1892; and compare with the discussion of a subsequent compromise in Elizabeth Wolstenholme Elmy, "Women's Suffrage," *Shafts*, April 1897.

⁶⁴ See Pankhurst, *Suffragette Movement*, 116–18, for a fuller discussion of this event and its meaning. Walter McLaren, son of Priscilla Bright McLaren, was the member of Parliament who secured government agreement to this amendment after tense and complex negotiations, while Ursula Bright and her supporters exerted pressure to ensure that the government did not back down on its agreement. See Walter McLaren to Millicent Garrett Fawcett, November 26, 1893, December 2, 1893, January 8, 1894, January 11, 1894, January 13, 1894, Manchester Public Library Archives, M50/2/1/206–210; Ursula Bright to Emmeline Pankhurst, November 25, 27, and 28, 1893, ESPA.

⁶⁵ Pankhurst, *Suffragette Movement*, 120, suggests that after the success of the Local Government Act in 1894, Ursula Bright drifted away from politics to theosophy, while the Pankhursts were increasingly drawn into socialist politics and away from their former Liberal circles. Reports in the *Women's Signal*, May 27, June 3, January 7, 1897, however, provide evidence that Alice Scatcherd kept the league alive at this time and that it participated in the consultations that preceded the eventual reunification of the movement within the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. It continued, too, to find occasion for the expression of the Radical-Liberal perspective, organizing its own Jubilee address to Queen Victoria of "representative women," among whom members of the Bright circle were much in evidence. This called for "one royal word of sympathy" for—"one expression of gracious confidence" regarding—equal civil rights for women, while Millicent Garrett

LOOKING BACK, HARRIOT STANTON BLATCH saw the origins of militancy in both Britain and the United States in the work of the Women's Franchise League during the 1890s.⁶⁶ Such a claim appears startling in terms of standard accounts of the British suffrage movement in the nineteenth century, accounts that generally emphasize its moderation, even conservatism. It is startling also in terms of current understandings of suffrage militancy, which is still discussed in terms of the extreme violence of militant demonstrations in the 1912–1914 period.⁶⁷ Space does not permit a detailed discussion of this claim. It is worth noting, however, that already in the 1890s some Radical-Liberal suffragists were promoting new tactics, most notably tax resistance, that later became a feature of early militancy.⁶⁸ The origins and nature of militancy remain in need of more detailed analysis. Yet it seems likely, in view of the evidence presented above, that some significant continuities did exist between nineteenth-century radical suffragism and twentieth-century militancy, and that our present conceptualization of militancy is inadequate inasmuch as it neglects such continuities.⁶⁹

Elizabeth Cady Stanton herself foresaw that radical suffragism might well take a different course, as those educated in the Garrisonian and Quaker traditions of reform were increasingly replaced by new generations on whom they were an ever-weakening influence. In 1889, she warned that her generation had been “bred in the pacific school of the old Abolitionists, dominated by the non-resistance ideas of Garrison, and where the presence of so many Quakers spread

Fawcett organized an altogether more respectful address from the CNSWS. *Women's Signal*, April 15 and July 1, 1897.

⁶⁶ Blatch and Lutz, *Challenging Years*, 73. Another account of this period, Montefiore, *From a Victorian*, 41, similarly recalled “continuous signs that a breaking away of more urgent spirits was imminent,” singling out the Union of Practical Suffragists for special mention. This body had been formed by Anna Maria Priestman in 1896 to work within the Women's Liberal Federation and encourage a stronger commitment to women's suffrage. Its executive committee included Ursula Bright and Harriot Stanton Blatch, as well as Mary Priestman and Eva McLaren from among the Bright circle; see Union of Practical Suffragists, “Leaflet No XII” (n.d. [circa 1898]); and *Women's Signal*, May 27, 1897, for a report of its first annual meeting.

⁶⁷ The classic example of this approach remains George Dangerfield's extremely influential account in *The Strange Death of Liberal England* (London, 1935); see also Andrew Rosen, *Rise Up Women! The Militant Campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union, 1903–1914* (London, 1974). More recent alternative approaches to suffrage militancy are to be found in Brian Harrison, “The Act of Militancy,” in his *Peaceable Kingdom: Stability and Change in Modern Britain* (Oxford, 1982); Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women 1850–1920* (Chicago, 1985), esp. chap. 7; Liz Stanley with Ann Morley, *The Life and Death of Emily Wilding Davison* (London, 1989); Sandra Stanley Holton, “‘In Sorrowful Wrath’: Suffrage Militancy and the Romantic Feminism of Emmeline Pankhurst,” in *British Feminism in the Twentieth Century*, Harold L. Smith, ed. (Aldershot, 1990), 7–24.

⁶⁸ See, for example, Dora Montefiore's letter on tax resistance in *Women's Signal*, June 17, 1897, together with the editor's response, August 5, 1897. Her account in *From a Victorian*, 72–83, makes such tactics central to early conceptions of militancy and suggests that the subsequent rejection of the tactics of civil disobedience was one of the sources of the first splits among the early leadership of the Women's Social and Political Union.

⁶⁹ Mutual endorsement and exchange of views evidently remained important to these transatlantic friends in Elizabeth Cady Stanton's declining years. When Helen Priestman Bright Clark visited her in New York in 1900, she was again characteristically advised not to be “too afraid of overstepping the conventionalities.” T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*, 2: 351. The Bright circle also arranged for an address from thirty of its members on the occasion of their American friend's eightieth birthday; see *New York Tribune*, November 12, 1895; and see also the Women's Franchise League's address to the NAWSA convention 1891, reported in *Woman's Journal*, March 14, 1891.

about an atmosphere of brotherly love. But we are passing away, and the new American woman is coming to the front. *Cave Canis*." The year before, at the first international gathering of suffragists in Washington in 1888, she had issued an even more explicit warning: "It requires no prophet to foretell the revolution ahead when women strike hands with Nihilists, Socialists, Communists, and Anarchists, in defence of the most enlarged liberties of the people."⁷⁰ In this way, Elizabeth Cady Stanton had "prophesied and in anticipation, welcomed the militant suffrage movement."⁷¹ She did not live to see twentieth-century militancy begin to hit its stride in both Britain and the United States. But when an Australian suffragist, Muriel Matters, chained herself to the grille in the Ladies Gallery of the House of Commons, and that grille at last came down, it is surely not too fanciful to hear the ghost of her American predecessor chuckling overhead.

⁷⁰ Quoted in Gail Parker, "Introduction," to E. Stanton, *Eighty Years* (1898; rpt. edn., New York, 1971), xix; and DuBois, "Woman Suffrage," 28.

⁷¹ T. Stanton and Blatch, *E. C. Stanton*, 1: xviii.

Atrocity, War Crime, and Treason in the English Civil War

BARBARA DONAGAN

THE REPUTATION OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR is unusually benign. Its literature of atrocity is minor and low key compared with the horrifying accounts and repellent illustrations of events of the Thirty Years' War and the Irish Rebellion of 1641. Yet England knew atrocities, as well as marginally permissible cruelties, and not only those committed against the Irish. They also occurred on home ground against the home-grown. These atrocities have attracted slight attention, other than for anecdotal purposes, although they raise the question of what kind of war England's was, as wars go. This question has only recently begun to engage historians.¹ Past inattention may perhaps be explained by the belief that, as all wars are bad, discrimination is irrelevant; or that the war was English and moderate, and besides served virtuous historicist ends of democracy, liberalism, and toleration; or that military history is a matter of marches and battles, dramatic but marginal to mainstream historical studies.

Seventeenth-century English men and women saw things more comparatively, and they were less sanguine that a fortunate exceptionalism would protect them from war's worst excesses. They were acutely conscious of war in contemporary Europe and as aware of its rules, practice, and theories as of its social dangers and atrocities. They believed that preservation from the "sea of blood . . . [and] fury of fire" that they perceived in Germany required careful observance of the norms of war.²

Wars may differ in ways that greatly affect the speed or slowness with which postwar reconciliation or acceptance of status quo is achieved. One factor is the degree to which the enemy is believed to have observed or transgressed the codes of war and to have been guilty of atrocities and war crimes: not merely the unorganized, random outrages committed in all wars by troops out of control but,

I am grateful to the Henry E. Huntington Library and the British Academy for an exchange fellowship in 1990 that supported research in England. I am also grateful to Geoffrey Parker, Blair Worden, the editor of the *AHR* and its anonymous readers for helpful criticism of an earlier version of this article.

¹ See Ian Roy's pioneering article, "England Turned Germany? The Aftermath of the Civil War in Its European Context," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 28 (1978): 127–44. The question is explored in Charles Carlton, *Going to the Wars: The Experience of the British Civil Wars 1638–1651* (London, 1992). See also Ronan Bennett, "War and Disorder: Policing the Soldierly in Civil War Yorkshire," in *War and Government in Britain, 1598–1650*, Mark Charles Fissel, ed. (Manchester, 1991), 254–55, 264–65; Barbara Donagan, "Codes and Conduct in the English Civil War," *Past and Present*, 118 (February 1988): 65–95.

² J. Philolaus, *A Serious Aviso to the Good People of this Nation, Concerning that Sort of Men, called Levellers* (London, 1649), 3. I owe this quotation to Steven Zwicker.

more important, institutionalized, officially sanctioned acts of policy. In our own day, the Geneva Conventions prohibit such acts, and the Nuremberg trials wrestled with the legal and moral difficulties of defining offenses and condemned offenders.³ Recent proposals for a permanent international body to try war crimes, stemming from the civil war in Bosnia, are only the latest recognition that rules are broken and the latest attempt to find a way to enforce them.

What follows is neither a comparative study of conduct in the wars of early modern Europe nor a study of evolution from Lieber's Code and "General Orders No. 100" of the American Civil War to the Hague Conventions of 1899 and 1907 and the Geneva Conventions. It is instead a study of the conduct of Englishmen toward each other in their wars during the 1640s. Although theirs was a narrow and local conflict, it must also be seen in the context of European theory and practice of war, for England was not insular in its military culture. Like the rest of Europe, it struggled to observe and enforce uncoded, unwritten rules and conventions that would set limits to personal and property damage (although the limits do not always appear particularly humane). Soldiers and civilians alike sought to contain the forces of social disruption and chaos that seemed always to menace the thin skin of ordered society and in war threatened to burst free. The degree of success in maintaining the standards of conduct to which both sides subscribed, the severity of punishment or reprisal for failure, these, like the social, personal, and economic factors that modified behavior in war and encouraged selective amnesia in peace, helped to shape the politics of Interregnum and Restoration. After the war ended, the way in which former enemies perceived each other's past conduct had much to do with the ease or discomfort with which they were able to live as neighbors and to act as members of the same polity.

Englishmen of the mid-seventeenth century confronted difficulties with which we are still familiar: allocation of war guilt, the nature of charges, proper jurisdiction and constitution of courts, and appropriate punishments. Long before Nuremberg, English theorists tackled the "Nuremberg defense" of acting under orders, for they saw the need to act according to conscience on the one hand and the social and military imperatives of obedience on the other. They, too, knew the value of a scapegoat "other" who could be demonized and made responsible for the worst cruelties (and by implication mitigate the guilt of more useful or attractive enemies).

Despite historians' recent arguments that we should reject an Anglocentric perspective and instead consider British wars that encompassed three kingdoms and a principality,⁴ I shall confine my discussion to war in England in the 1640s. To assimilate conflicts of different kinds to a single category impedes understand-

³ For continuing debate on the legitimacy and effectiveness of international tribunals and on definitions of war crimes, see the responses to Telford Taylor, *The Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials: A Personal Memoir* (New York, 1992), in, for example, Geoffrey Best, "Between Hot and Cold War," *Times Literary Supplement* (August 27, 1993); István Deák, "Misjudgment at Nuremberg," *New York Review of Books* (October 7, 1993), and subsequent correspondence (November 4, 1993); see also Alan Donagan, "Victors' Justice," *London Review of Books* (February 16–29, 1984); Robert Conot, "In a World Beset by Violence, Who Should Face War-Crimes Charges?" *Los Angeles Times* (March 7, 1993).

⁴ See Conrad Russell, *The Fall of the British Monarchies 1637–1642* (Oxford, 1991), vii, on "genuinely British history"; J. S. Morrill, *The Nature of the English Revolution* (London, 1993), 246, 259–65.

ing of the wars being conducted in the British Isles. For the English were conducting three kinds of war, of which only one was unequivocally civil. Despite the union of the two crowns in 1603, Scotland remained a separate kingdom, and its soldiers normally merited the treatment due to foreign foes. The complicated struggles in Ireland can best be described as colonial wars that engaged fluctuating forces of liberation and faction. Such distinctions cannot be neat or exclusive, but neither are they purely scholastic, for codes of conduct differed according to the kind of war being fought. Against a Christian foreign enemy, the laws of war, posited on hostilities between sovereign states, were straightforwardly applicable. In a colonial war, especially one with strong racist, religious, and retributive elements, many argued that the laws of war were abrogated, since barbarian or heretic "others" or outsiders did not merit the protections due to the civilized and Christian.⁵ In a civil war, laws of war came into conflict with laws of peace that punished taking arms against authority as treason. When fighting began in 1642, the status of the conflict as war was not self-evident. The history of the English civil war is in part a history of why it was fought as a foreign war and of lapses from that mode.

Four issues will be addressed here. The first is how the rules of foreign war came to be accepted as applicable, the second, the nature of those rules, with special attention, as illustration, to those for surrender. Third, the problem of failure to observe codes will be approached through some of the conflict's more unsettling events, which raise issues of atrocity and war crime. Finally, I will argue that a change between the first and second civil wars marked a decline from the mutually observed professional codes that moderated relations between enemies before 1648. Certain subsidiary themes that cannot be explored here underlie this discussion. One is the extent of pre-war military education among Englishmen, which has been greatly underestimated. When the war began, many soldiers on both sides were already educated in the theory and practice of modern war; their codes of conduct were assimilated by new recruits.⁶ Another is English legalism and sensitivity to challenges to traditional jurisdiction, which informed anxious attention to the questions of who should decide what constituted an offense in war, who should punish, and what the relation of military to civil power should be. And a third is the overwhelming importance—not only in military affairs—of keeping faith, of the reliability of the given word, which derived from the

⁵ Compare the evolution of Spanish views on treatment of denizens of the New World as described in Silvio Zavala, *The Political Philosophy of the Conquest of America*, Teener Hall, trans. (Mexico City, 1953), chaps. 2–3; and see *The Rights and Obligations of Indians and Spaniards in the New World according to Francisco de Vitoria*, reconstructed by Luciano Pereña Vicente (Salamanca, 1992), for a useful abstract of Francisco de Vitoria's formulation of Indian rights and his view that war against barbarian and pagan Indians should meet the criteria for just wars and observe normal rules of conduct. Contrast the alternative tradition: for example, Giñes de Sepulveda in 1547 on "fitting and . . . salutary" dominion over "barbarians . . . savages who hardly merit the name of human creatures"; and Benito de Peñalosa y Mondragón in 1629. Zavala, *Political Philosophy*, 53, 57. Seventeenth-century English attitudes to the Irish largely belong in the latter tradition. I am grateful to Michael Perceval Maxwell and Mary Gregor for leading me to Zavala and the Vicente redaction of Vitoria respectively.

⁶ I have discussed these points in the papers "Halcyon Days and the Literature of War: England's Military Education before 1642" (forthcoming, *Past and Present*) and "Learning War: The Profession of Arms and Pre-Civil War England."

utilitarian value of dependable promises as well as from the religious quality of the oath.⁷

WHY, IN A CIVIL WAR, were the rules of foreign war observed? The obvious answer, of course, is utilitarian: it did not pay to do otherwise, to set the stage for a war of reprisal, of *lex talionis*. If the resolution to the problem seems obvious now, it was less so in 1642.⁸ In the early messy months of the war, both sides exercised restraint; but, late in the year, the Royalists indicted three captured Parliamentary captains, one of them the future Leveller John Lilburne, for treason. Instead of granting the protections due to prisoners of war, the Royalists proposed to try them at Oxford by the processes of civilian law before Sir Robert Heath, justice of the King's Bench; conviction would be speedily followed by execution. Only Lilburne's dramatic last-ditch appeal to Parliament saved them. The House of Commons mustered all its legal talent, and within two days a joint declaration by Lords and Commons confronted the charge of treason and, more to the immediate point, warned of consequences. If the Royalists proceeded from indictment to trial, or if these officers or any other agents of Parliament were harmed, not only would judge and officials be held liable but exact reprisal would follow: "the like Punishment shall be inflicted, by Death or otherwise, upon such Prisoners as have been, or shall be, taken by the Forces raised by Authority of both Houses of Parliament."⁹

Meanwhile, at some time early in the war, the king's secretary recorded "a serious Debate in Council" in which it was argued that exchange of prisoners—that is, countenancing a practice governed by conventions of war between nations—"tacitely impl[ie]d the Justice of the War," thus granting it the status of war rather than rebellion. The king, out of concern for his imprisoned followers, agreed to exchanges, but his secretary observed, "He might by the known and ancient Laws of the Kingdom have executed such as He took in Arms as Traytors and Rebels."¹⁰ The principle of beneficial mutual restraint was clearly at work; and, by December 1642, Parliament, in what Lilburne later called "that declaration of Lex Talionis," had spelled out the consequences of abandoning it.¹¹

⁷ See, for example, Richard Zouche, *Iuris et iudicii feccialis, sive, iuris inter gentes, et quaestionum de eodem explicatio*, Thomas Erskine Holland, ed., James Leslie Brierly, trans., 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1911), 2: 174.

⁸ See *A Catalogue of the Names of the Dukes, Marquesses, Earles and Lords, that have absented themselves from the Parliament, and are now with His Majesty* (n.p., 1642), 16, on "those who have been declared Traytors" by Parliament; and compare *Military Orders and Articles, Established by his Majesty* (Oxford, 1642), 1, on the Royalist designation of Parliament's troops as "disloyall and Rebellious Subjects." (This rare early edition of Royalist articles is in the library of Lincoln College, Oxford.)

⁹ *Journals of the House of Lords* (hereafter, *LJ*), 5: 497; *Journals of the House of Commons* (hereafter, *CJ*), 2: 891–92; Pauline Gregg, *Free-born John: A Biography of John Lilburne* (London, 1961), 101–03; Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1702–04), 3: 391.

¹⁰ Sir Edward Walker, *Historical Discourses* (London, 1705), 247–48. Walker's dating is vague; he refers to "good Subjects . . . barbarously clapt on Shipboard," but although Royalist prisoners still languished on hulks in the summer of 1643, his account seems to predate that time. Bodleian Library, Oxford (hereafter, Bodl. Libr.), MS Tanner, 62/1B, fol. 248.

¹¹ Thomas Bayley Howell, *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason*, 33 vols. (London, 1811–26), 4: cols. 1303–04.

Restraint had prevailed, but both sides had established a reserve claim to the legal right to regard the enemy as traitors to a civil state, even as they refrained from implementing treason's penalties.

Many found this restraint onerous and misguided. Furthermore, what constituted treason and therefore merited punishment was a matter of partisan judgment. Sir Edward Walker, the king's secretary, argued that Parliament could only execute those taken in arms as traitors "by an arbitrary power" or by an intrinsically ridiculous claim to prosecute for statutory treason. Parliamentarians for their part argued that the king's soldiers were engaged "in the Act of War against the Parliament, which, by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, is Rebellion and High treason against the King and Kingdom."¹² The distinction between civil and military guilt also presented problems that were to dog future debates over pardon, indemnity, and oblivion.¹³ Despite difficulties, however, the principle had been made explicit: the laws of war rather than the laws of the civil state were applicable, and Englishmen confronted each other as "lawful enemies."¹⁴ In the first civil war and its aftermath, the codes of war on the whole prevailed over the law of treason. Yet warning had been given of the inherent danger of civil war; each side had defined the other as traitorous, and a shadow of the state's more ruthless law hovered over relations between victor and defeated. Its presence was acknowledged in 1642; it grew darker in 1648.

THE CODES OF WAR OFFERED POSITIVE PROTECTIONS of persons and property, both civilian and soldier, and negative prohibitions against certain kinds of conduct. They comprehended both crimes against humanity and crimes that infringed the laws of war. The present argument begins with the conduct of soldiers, for although the codes of war and just war theory were not unrelated, they impinged little on each other, and we are here concerned with *ius in bello*, not *ius ad bellum*. Then as now, it was agreed that war should not be undertaken except for a just cause; but, then as now, it was rarely difficult to prove that one's cause was just. Further, the legitimacy of the institution of war was rarely challenged; pacifism was a marginal issue in mid-seventeenth-century England, although neutralism was widespread. William Gouge, an influential Puritan minister, in part anticipated Carl von Clausewitz when he wrote, "Warre is a kind of execution of publique justice; and a means of maintaining right." The "iniquity of men," he added, "causeth a necessity of warre," and although it was often "abused," yet

¹² Walker, *Historical Discourses*, 248; *LJ*, 5: 497. On the adaptable nature of treason charges, see Conrad Russell, "The Theory of Treason in the Trial of Strafford," *English Historical Review*, 80 (January 1965): 32–33; and John Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason: An Introduction* (London, 1979), 228–35.

¹³ For mingling of soldiers and civilians, see, for example, the propositions of Uxbridge and Newcastle (1644 and 1646), which excluded officials, clergy, and soldiers from pardon. These indiscriminate categories reflect a groping toward a political concept of war guilt. *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1628–1660*, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, ed. (Oxford, 1889), 197, 215–16.

¹⁴ Zouche, *Iuris et iudicii feialis*, 2: 37–38: "lawful enemies are those to whom are due all the rights of war" (unlike traitors, including rebels and deserters, and unlike robbers, including brigands and pirates). See also Alberico Gentili, *De iure belli libri tres*, J. C. Rolfe, trans., Coleman Phillipson, intro., 2 vols. (1612; Oxford, 1933), 2: 15, 22–26.

there was a "just and right use of warre."¹⁵ The codes of war addressed the tension between its just and right use and its abuse.

Norms of conduct in war derived authority from three different sources: from standards of religion and morality, sometimes described as the law of nature; from the laws of war, internationally recognized professional conventions; and from army regulations. The resulting complex of rules was familiar in seventeenth-century England.¹⁶ First, religion and morality alike—and Protestant England recognized both the teaching of the church fathers and of more recent Catholic authorities such as Francisco Suárez—forbade cruelty for its own sake, deplored blood lust, and decreed that certain categories of persons—the weak, the defenseless, and the holy—should be protected. Hence the outrage at breaches of the protections (which were admittedly not absolute) due to women, children, ministers, the old, the sick, and the dead.¹⁷ Second, the laws of war formalized these protections along with much else in military conduct, covering such matters as conventions of surrender, plunder, and parole. They remained as yet unwritten, with the exception of occasional protocols between opponents on particular matters, but they were nonetheless internationally recognized and widely if not infallibly observed.¹⁸ They relied on assurance that faith would be mutually kept, and they provided a comprehensive contractual etiquette of conduct between enemies whose personal and professional honor was impugned by any accusation of breach of their rules. In the absence of other sanctions, honor, morality, and not least reciprocal utility supported them.¹⁹ Third, and more mundanely, articles or ordinances of war, the disciplinary regulations that governed each army, were largely concerned with practical matters—no sleeping on watch, no running away—but they also incorporated moral rules and "laws of war," as in prohibitions of rape and killing prisoners. This category of written army ordinances was the only one with formal legal and punitive machinery, for offenders against articles of war could be tried by court-martial.

¹⁵ William Gouge, *The Churches Conquest over the Sword*, in *Gods Three Arrows: Plague, Famine, Sword*, 2d edn. (London, 1631), 214; and see Barbara Donagan, "Did Ministers Matter? War and Religion in England, 1642–1649," *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (April 1994): 129–33. See Gentili, *De iure belli*, 2: chap. 5; and Zouche, *Iuris et iudicii feialis*, 2: 112.

¹⁶ See, for example, Theodor Meron, "Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth and the Law of War," *American Journal of International Law*, 86 (January 1992): 1–45; Donagan, "Codes and Conduct." For the authoritative account of the preceding period, from which the rules of the seventeenth century directly descended, see Maurice H. Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1965).

¹⁷ For the evolution of the idea of protection, see Julius Goebel, Jr., *Felony and Misdemeanor: A Study in the History of Criminal Law* (1937; Philadelphia, 1976), chap. 5. Also see Gouge, *Churches Conquest*, 295. To the objection that the Israelites had on occasion killed all their enemies, including women and the old, Gouge replied, "Extraordinary cases are not exemplary." The people so dealt with "were by God devoted to utter destruction," either because his chosen people were destined to inherit their land or because they implacably hated and wronged his children. Exceptional cases did not invalidate rules, although they justified the failure to apply them. Such arguments of instrumentality in God's cause, of "implacability" or intransigent defiance, and of *lex talionis*, were prevalent in the civil war but hardly confined to it.

¹⁸ For example, the Dutch-Spanish protocol on prisoners of 1602, renewed in 1622. Henry Hexham, *The Principles of the Art Militarie* (London, 1637), containing *An Appendix* (Delft, 1637), 3–8.

¹⁹ See Meron, "Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth," 38, on prisoners' "right to life" and the contractual element in this law of war; and Gentili on the "implied contract . . . between the captor and the captive": the prisoner "seems in person to make a bargain with the enemy for his life." *De iure belli*, 2: 216.

One class of guide to the perplexed is notably absent from this list. This was, after all, a great age in the history of international law and the related law of war and peace. Yet, although Juan de Ayala and Hugo Grotius were known in England, and although their views were reflected and developed there by the Italian Protestant Alberico Gentili and the English Richard Zouche, both of whom held the chair of civil law at Oxford, it is difficult to perceive the influence of their academic teaching on practice or normative theory in the civil war. It was not that those with pre-war military education or the newly minted soldiers of the 1640s lacked a theoretical and literate interest in war, for early seventeenth-century England produced and consumed a large military literature. Comprehensive in subject matter and catholic in authority, it covered the minutiae of infantry drill and the large campaigns of Gustavus Adolphus; its exemplars ranged from King David and Caesar to Maurice of Nassau, and its authorities from Augustine and Xenophon to Francesco Guicciardini and the duc de Rohan.²⁰ Though hardly parochial, this was a vernacular literature. It was designed for those with a present professional interest in war, for citizen-soldiers at home, for potential soldiers or curious civilians, and for a population deeply interested in the fortunes of Protestantism in continental Europe. It told them how war was conducted, practically and morally, and in so doing prepared them for their own war. The English in fact did not need the new high theory, set out in Latin treatises, of Gentili and Grotius for guidance. The precepts and distinctions offered by the modern theorists on grounds for a just war, or treatment of prisoners, or division of spoils did not differ substantively from those of traditional and religious mentors such as the ministers William Gouge or Richard Bernard or from the rules culled from military manuals and popular narratives. Despite the prestige of the new theorists, their impact on the popular educated audience was as yet limited. Zouche's Latin synthesis of Grotius and Gentili, published in 1650, probably reflected views already familiar to his Oxford pupils, but they did not shape conduct in Oxford's years as Royalist capital and garrison. Grotius was much admired, but his fame was religious as well as legal, and his work on war and peace was not published in English until 1654.²¹ Gustavus Adolphus is said to have carried a copy of Grotius in his saddlebag; we should perhaps look for the influence of the new theorists of international law in attempts to model practice on

²⁰ For the longstanding cosmopolitanism of English writers on war, see Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of armes* (London, 1593).

²¹ The new theorists' Latin works appeared in some of the more omnivorous libraries, and they were sought after by members of court, legal and religious elites. See Sutcliffe, *Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of armes*, 11, 14, for a somewhat grudging recognition of Ayala as "a great man among the Spaniards." Sir Robert Harley owned a copy of Ayala in Latin (title unspecified), British Library (hereafter, BL) Additional MS (hereafter, Add. MS) 70,001, fol. 16; and see Zouche, *Iuris et iudicii feialis*, 1: v, 2: viii. On Grotius's reputation and English connections, see, for example, Matthew Gibson, *A View of the Ancient and Present State of the Churches of Door, Home-Lacy, and Hempsted; Endow'd by ... Viscount Scudamore* (London, 1727), 77–94, 98–105; *Chirk Castle Accounts, A.D. 1605–1666*, W. M. Myddelton, comp. (St. Albans, 1908), 54 (for Sir Thomas Myddelton's purchases of political and religious works by Grotius in 1655). Interestingly, Grotius, Gentili, and other theorists are absent (unless in untitled manuscripts) from the large library of the earls of Huntingdon, although military works and accounts of European affairs are amply represented. I am very grateful to James Knowles for allowing me to see his reconstruction of this library from the Hastings MSS in the Huntington Library; see Henry E. Huntington (hereafter, HEH) Hastings (hereafter, HA) Inventories Box 1, item 13; HAF[inancial] 12, items 10, 19; HAF 13, items 38, 46.

that of the "New Starr of the North," the great Protestant hero of the age, rather than in direct impact of their teaching and writing.²²

Traditional sources of the codes of war sufficed to provide impressive regulation of cruelty and violence designed to protect civilians and soldiers alike. Yet the rules also incorporated careful distinctions, notably on the differing degrees of culpability assigned to actions in hot and cold blood. And their permissive dark side doubtless contributed to survival of the system. For nearly every military "crime" against enemies or civilians, there was a situation in which otherwise prohibited behavior became permissible or excesses became excusable. If a besieged town refused to surrender, was stormed, and fell, it was legitimate if not admirable to sack and plunder the town and even kill its civilians.²³ Reprisal offered a particularly useful justification for appalling actions, matching atrocity for atrocity. And it was characteristic to blame the victims for the cruelties their enemies were forced to commit against them. Towns that refused to surrender brought their fate on themselves. As one commander wrote, "[L]et the blame of that cruelty on both sides lie upon those that force it to be done."²⁴

Despite such useful and flexible exceptions to protective rules, there was a strong sense of when actions that might in theory be allowable were in practice cruel and excessive.²⁵ So actions that might be condoned if committed in hot blood became inexcusable in cold blood, a distinction that survives in law and war. Protection extended even to "vile [and] . . . wretched" enemies. Edward Symmons, a Royalist preacher, told Prince Rupert's troops that conscience and reputation required that they

neither do, nor . . . suffer to be done, in coole blood, to the most impious Rebels, any thing that savours of immodesty, Barbarousnesse, or inhumanity . . . To be an houre or 2 in hacking and torturing a woefull wretch, or in takeing away that miserable life, which might be concluded in a moment, or to wreake ones fury upon a dead Carkasse, is a most barbarous, cowardly and impious thing . . . 'tis plainly Diabolically to insult over men in misery.²⁶

²² On Gustavus Adolphus and Grotius's influence on him, see Alexander Gil, *The New Starr of the North, Shining upon the Victorious King of Sweden* (London, 1632); Michael Roberts, *Gustavus Adolphus*, 2d edn. (London, 1992), 68, 154; Hedley Bull, "The Importance of Grotius in the Study of International Relations," and Georg Schwarzenberger, "The Grotius Factor in International Law and Relations: A Functional Approach," in *Hugo Grotius and International Relations*, Hedley Bull, et al., eds. (1990; Oxford, 1992), 75, 301.

²³ For such an exception, see *The Essential Portions of Nicholas Upton's De Studio Militari, Before 1446, Translated by John Blount, Fellow of All Souls (c. 1500)*, F. P. Barnard, ed. (Oxford, 1931), 28: "a man must kepe his promys also wyth hys enemy; but that ys to be understonde when hys enemy doth so lykewyse wyth hym, or els nott." See also Gouge, *Churches Conquest*, 278–79, on duties of courtesy, humanity, charity, mercy, and kindness; but note pp. 295–96: "common Humanity" also recognized occasions for killing and torture.

²⁴ William Salt Library, Stafford, Salt MS 493, Lewis Chadwick to Sir Francis Ottley, April 18 [1644]; Joshua Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva* (London, 1647), 11. Sir Thomas Fairfax warned that God sometimes hardened "hearts . . . to their own destruction." John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State . . .*, 8 vols. (London, 1659–1701), 6: 105. The "blame the victim" argument remains creatively useful: compare reports during the Gulf War that cruise missiles hit a non-military site in Baghdad and killed civilians only because they were diverted from their intended target by defenders' anti-aircraft fire (Baghdad, January 1993).

²⁵ Gentili quoted Justinian: "Not everything which is lawful is honourable." Gentili, *De iure belli*, 2: 211.

²⁶ Edw[ard] Symmons, *A Military Sermon* (Oxford, 1644), 35.



German atrocities. P. Vincent, *The Lamentations of Germany* (London, 1638), 15, courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Laws and exhortation were one thing, practice another. Everyone knew that troops were often beyond the control of their officers and that soldiers, like civilians, engaged in mob actions that exceeded official policy. Henry V's warning to Harfleur foreshadowed the civil war:

We may as bootless spend our vain command
 Upon th'enraged soldiers in their spoil
 As send precepts to the leviathan
 To come ashore.²⁷

In the 1640s, commanders of both sides beat and slashed at their men in unavailing attempts to enforce proper conduct toward defeated enemies.²⁸

The civil wars saw notorious atrocities that went beyond such "hot-blooded" breaches of the rules. By world standards, admittedly, they were small-scale horrors, but England knew atrocities nasty enough to evoke echoes of Germany. Even in the first war, less bitter than the second, massacres of soldiers who had surrendered or of women after the battle of Naseby, the hanging—with sadistic preliminaries—of civilians in Dorset, the more prolonged sadism and appalling conditions inflicted on prisoners at Oxford, the treatment of Irish men and women, all endanger any conception of a kinder, gentler war. Nevertheless, a rickety equilibrium was maintained in the conduct of enemies to each other and to civilians. War crimes did not become policy, atrocities were individual and sporadic, and reprisal was precariously contained.

To a notable degree, observance of the laws of war was self-regulated by soldiers themselves, who exhorted each other not only to be "Humane," "honest," and "Christian" but to observe "customary" and "civil and soldierly correspondence" and to maintain "the honour and reputation of gentlemen and soldiers."²⁹ England's pre-war military education laid the foundation of knowledge of international professional norms. The fashioned self that emerged from this conditioning was a professional as well as religious, moral, and social entity. Conduct between enemies was governed by professional and personal standards without the intervention of the state.³⁰

The potential for conflict between the claims of profession and state was explicitly recognized. When York fell to Parliament in July 1644, the commanders "explained" the articles of surrender: "[T]he Generals of the Armies have

²⁷ William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, III: 3.24–27; and see 1–43, for Henry's use of the "blame the victim" argument. For civil war echoes, see, for example, surrender negotiations at Chester when both sides invoked "the fury of . . . enraged soldiers," or the call to Wimborne to surrender before "the enraged soldiers . . . be in blood." BL Add. MS 11,332, fol. 92v; Bodl. Libr. MS Tanner 62/1B, fol. 171.

²⁸ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 5: 267; *Diary of the Marches of the Royal Army during the Great Civil War; Kept by Richard Symonds*, Charles Edward Long, ed. (London, 1859), 66–67; Walker, *Historical Discourses*, 79–80, 247; *Calendar of State Papers Domestic 1644* (hereafter, *CSPD*), 502; Tho[mas] Carte, *A Collection of Original Letters and Papers, Concerning the Affairs of England, From the Year 1641 to 1660*, 2 vols. (London, 1739), 1: 32 (Royalist troops used the reprisal argument to justify nonobservance of articles). See also BL Add. MS 11,810, fol. 14; C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 4th edn. (London, 1962), 292–93.

²⁹ BL Add. MS 11,332, fols. 86, 92v; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 6: 105; and see BL Stowe MS 143, fol. 119v; Devon County Record Office, Exeter, Seymour of Berry Pomeroy MSS 1392 M/L 1644/54. Mutual courtesies did not preclude hard bargaining or hard fighting; see the Fairfax-Hopton negotiations of 1646, Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 6: 105–07.

³⁰ For a complaint that Parliamentary conduct fell below international standards, see Sir John Byron (a Royalist with European military experience): "when they have an advantage, [they] think it dishonour to use those civilities practised by soldiers in foreign parts." "John Byron's Account of the Siege of Chester 1645–1646," J.B., ed., *Cheshire Sheaf*, 4th ser., 6 (1971): 23.



German atrocities. Vincent, *Lamentations of Germany*, 5.

Treated as Generals in reference only to themselves and their Souldiers, . . . they had no Order to meddle with any Ordinances of Parliament."³¹ But if they deferred to Parliament in civil matters, there was no doubting that they claimed autonomy as generals and soldiers or that "the bounds of the Army" included

³¹ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 5: 640; the question at issue was Parliament's orders for sequestration of property of suspect civilians.

terms of settlement with the enemy in particular engagements. The first civil war was characterized by military self-regulation and adherence to norms governing conduct between soldiers, which, despite variable practice, survived on the basis of mutual trust between parties to an unwritten contract. Jurisdiction over soldiers for their acts *as* soldiers remained in military hands. Intra-army offenses were governed by processes of trial and punishment set out in articles of war, while treatment of soldiers who fell into enemy hands was regulated by the laws of war. As we have seen, the laws of war were not purely protective; an enemy who had offended against them was liable to punishment, but his fate was determined by his professional peers.³²

The first break in the pattern came late in 1644, when Parliament passed an ordinance forbidding grant of quarter to Irish soldiers captured in England. It raised broad new questions about punishment for conduct in war. Their development during and after the second civil war heralded a conflict between military and civil jurisdictions and subordination of the traditional codes that protected combatants to political needs of the civil state. It also relegated the Irish to the category of barbarians unworthy of the protections due to Christians, let alone Englishmen.³³

THE RESULT OF THE 1644 ORDINANCE was, not surprisingly, a series of retaliatory hangings. They were not the first of their kind for English or Irish.³⁴ In July 1644, Colonel William Sydenham had already hanged Irish prisoners with the approval of Parliament's general, the earl of Essex, and in reprisal the Royalist Sir Francis Doddington had strung up twelve civilians "upon the same tree," but this and other incidents had not led to systematic, centrally sanctioned withdrawal of protections for defeated combatants.³⁵ In February 1645, however, after the fall of Shrewsbury, thirteen Royalist Irish prisoners were hanged. Prince Rupert protested that the codes of war had been comprehensively breached: to kill prisoners who had surrendered to quarter was "contrary to the law of nature and nations, contrary to the rules and customs of war, in any parts of the Christian world," and in reprisal for this "provocation and . . . injustice" he hanged thirteen

³² Regulation of conduct between enemies must be distinguished from trials of persons of one's own side, for example of the Parliamentarian Nathaniel Fiennes and the Royalist Francis Windebank for premature surrender, or for crimes from murder to adultery; so must civilian treason cases, for example, of civilians plotting to betray a town (as at Bristol).

³³ *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, eds., 3 vols. (London, 1911), 1: 554-55. Compare 1: 553-54, for an ordinance passed on the same day "for the Redemption of the Captives at Algiers," which although designed for relief of victims of non-Christians did not contain inflammatory language like that used of the Irish.

³⁴ For example, executions orchestrated by the earl of Warwick, Parliament's lord admiral, and the Royalist colonel Edward Seymour in 1644. When Warwick proposed a third execution, Seymour warned, "[I]t will not rest there." Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter, HMC), *Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part VII, The Manuscripts of the Duke of Somerset . . .* (London, 1898), 77-78; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 5: 685; see also 5: 814; CSPD 1644, 351; BL Add. MS 29,319, fol. 11.

³⁵ Doddington's "butcheries" were stopped by the intervention of the Royalist general Sir Ralph Hopton rather than by fear of reprisal. *The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow . . . 1625-1672*, C. H. Firth, ed., 2 vols. (Oxford, 1894), 1: 95-96. Ludlow believed that these hangings were ordered by Parliament. See also Arthur Rutter Bayley, *The Great Civil War in Dorset 1642-1660* (Taunton, 1910), 204-05.

Protestant English. He would have been unworthy of his command, he explained, if after "soldiers of [his] . . . were barbarously murdered in cold blood, after quarter given them," he had not "let the authors of the massacre know, their own men must pay the price of such acts of inhumanity, and . . . be used as they used their brethren . . . in the same manner."³⁶

Contemporary Germany hovered behind the subsequent exchange between Rupert and Essex, two commanders who had served there, in their language of atrocity and their warnings of increased bloodiness now and increased irreconcilability later. Both appealed to the laws of war. Essex justified reprisal against the Irish by the atrocities of their rebellion of 1641, committed against "harmless British protestants . . . without distinction of age or sex," and by their refusal to give or receive quarter.³⁷ For Rupert, the obligations of quarter were paramount. He recognized that the way in which the laws of war were observed affected both the nature of war and its aftermath. If they continued in this "rigour" of hanging prisoners, he warned, reprisal would become the norm, and the war would grow "more merciless and bloody": "[It] is like to be so managed, that the English nation is in danger of destroying one another (or . . .) of degenerating into such an animosity and cruelty that all [elements] of charity, compassion, and brotherly affection, shall be extinguished."³⁸ And, indeed, for a time, although reprisals rumbled on intermittently, there was no widespread collapse of the rules of quarter. Prudence as well as soldierly standards militated against it; the dangers of a war conducted according to *lex talionis* were all too clear.³⁹

The exchange between Rupert and Essex turned on permissible action after soldiers had surrendered. Rules of surrender were, of necessity, an intrinsic part of a soldier's education. They applied to individuals in the field and to defended places, whether castles, houses, churches, or towns. In the field, the life of a soldier who laid down his arms was presumed to be safe. In sieges, there was a crucial distinction between storm and surrender. If the besiegers were forced to storm, then anything short of rape or mutilation was permissible.⁴⁰ If surrender

³⁶ BL Add. MS 11,331, fols. 75v–76; and see Bodl. Libr. MS Add. D.114, fols. 153–56 (misfoliated) for another (damaged) version of this letter; see also *The Letter Books of Sir William Brereton, Volume One, January 31st–May 29th 1645*, Robert Norman Dore, ed. (Chester, 1984), 227–29. For the terms and circumstances of the Shrewsbury surrender, including the Royalists' failure to protect their Irish troops, see Eliot Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers*, 3 vols. (London, 1849), 3: 58.

³⁷ Bodl. Libr. MS Add. D.114, fols. 148–49. It hardly needs to be said that atrocities were both exaggerated and reciprocal; however, for the powerful effect of reports from Ireland, see Keith J. Lindley, "The Impact of the 1641 Rebellion upon England and Wales, 1641–5," *Irish Historical Studies*, 18 (September 1972–73): 143–76.

³⁸ BL Add. MS 11,331, fols. 75v, 76v.

³⁹ For indications that not all Parliamentarians were comfortable with the ordinance against quarter, see HMC, *13th Report, Appendix I, Manuscripts of . . . the Duke of Portland* (London, 1891), 1: 238; Edmund Staunton, *Phinehas's Zeal in Execution of Judgement . . . A Sermon Preached before the . . . House of Lords . . . October 30, 1644* (London, 1645), [A2v], 5, 13: Staunton ardently defended the ordinance against "Politick reasonings" but admitted "a blush of irregularitie." See also Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 5: 814, for the soldier still unchanged six weeks after conviction. In April 1645, one Parliamentary major wrote that he knew "of no order or ordinance that authoriseth the taking away of . . . lives" once quarter was granted; he was defending, apparently successfully, prisoners recently taken at Beeston, Cheshire. Dore, *Letter Books of Sir William Brereton*, 199–200.

⁴⁰ See Meron, "Shakespeare's Henry the Fifth," 29–31, on the tardiness with which the specific prohibition of rape was incorporated into modern international codes of war. Zouche, *Iuris et iudicii fecialis*, 2: 180–81, followed Gentili and Grotius (against Jean Bodin), in concluding that prohibition

had been negotiated, however, its terms should be binding. The rules for such surrender were elaborate, governing for example treatment of envoys and degrees of honor in the ritual of surrender itself. Terms varied according to circumstance but were drawn from a common menu. For the defeated to march out with colors flying, match lit, and bullets in mouth was a tribute to courageous resistance; confiscation of arms and colors was severe, even dishonorable. Honor, utility, and disgrace were carefully calibrated, as when defeated troops marched out with half their colors flying and half furled or were allowed to carry out their arms only to deposit them outside the town for the use of the victors; and the practical value of match and bullets at the ready against surprise attack is self-evident. Terms for civilians—such as severity of financial penalties—also varied, as did disposition of the defeated, whose main options were to go home (usually with a promise not to bear arms again), to enlist with the victors, or to become prisoners. Much depended on the length and bitterness of the siege or the victor's anxiety to move on.

For individuals, the most important distinction was that between surrender to quarter and surrender to mercy, a distinction that even raw troops and civilians learned fast, for practical reasons. Quarter and mercy were terms of art, and "mercy" was less "merciful," in the word's moral and untechnical sense, than quarter. To grant an enemy quarter was understood to guarantee that his life would not be forfeit for his actions *as a soldier*, although he could be held liable for civil or military crimes committed *while* a soldier (for example, rape, or robbery committed as a free agent, or breach of parole).⁴¹ To kill a soldier who had surrendered to quarter by laying down his arms or by negotiated articles offended against the laws of arms. A surrender to mercy only, however, left a victorious commander extensive discretionary power.

Despite wide general understanding, negotiators were careful to define and elucidate. So at Arundel castle in 1644, the Parliamentary commander Sir William Waller's "explication" distinguished the "fair quarter and civill usage" he offered to Royalist officers from the "quarter for their lives" granted to their men: "By fair quarter, I understand, giving life to those that yeeld, with imprisonment of their

of rape was, in Grotius's words, "the Law of Nations, not of all nations, but of the better among them." For its prohibition in English military law before and during the civil war, see "Ordinances for Warre, &c., at the Treatie or Council of Manuce," printed in Francis Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, new edn., 8 vols. (London [1783–87]), 1: 34 (Henry V's laws); *Lawes and Ordinances of Warre, Established for the better Conduct of the Army by . . . The Earle of Essex* (London, 1642), 11, "Of Duties Morall," No. II: "Rapes, ravishments, unnaturall abuses shall be punished with death"; *Orders and Institutions of War, Made and ordained by His Maiesty, And by Him delivered to His Generall . . . The Earle of Newcastle* ([London?], 1642), 4, No. 12: "Whosoever shall force or ravish any woman within our quarters, or any other place, shall suffer death." This provision was dropped from some later Royalist articles of war.

⁴¹ See, for example, Richard Bernard, *The Bible-Battells, or, The Sacred Art Military* (London, 1629), 247–52: it was "perfidious" to kill those who had yielded to "good quarter" with promise of life and good treatment—*unless* they were guilty of crimes: "To slay poore prisoners in cold blood is a note of a savage and implacable nature. But here is to be excepted, such prisoners taken as do deserve iustice to be executed upon them." Captives who proved treacherous or posed a threat were also excepted (as at Poitiers; but contrast Gentili's condemnation of Henry V's action at Agincourt; Meron, "Shakespeare's Henry V," 38–39; Gentili, *De iure belli*, 2: 211–12). See also Sutcliffe, *Practice, Proceedings and Lawes of armes*, 338: killing prisoners led only to reprisal, and "such savage cruelty is contrary to the nature of faire warres."

persons, but civill usage, which is sufficient security, they shall not be plundered.”⁴² And Sir Thomas Fairfax, Lord General of the New Model Army, explained in 1648, “[C]ommon quarter to any Enemy, taken in a Field-Engagement, or other Action, [was] . . . always understood . . . to be an assuring of Life against the immediate execution of the military Sword, or any further execution thereby without judicial Trial.” The most reassuring protection came from “Quarter . . . upon Capitulation or Agreements,” that is, from a pre-surrender treaty containing specific protective clauses, whereas mere “common Quarter,” by “the general sense and practice in all Wars,” did not guarantee against future punishment for offenses extrinsic to the surrender. Mercy, however, was an even harsher matter. If soldiers were forced to yield to mercy, either because of circumstances of capture (such as unduly prolonged resistance) or because specifically excepted from general quarter and “rendr[ed] to Mercy,” a victorious general was “free to put some immediately to the Sword, if he [saw] cause.”⁴³ Such “causes” were often tendentious and became occasions for anxious self-justification and bitter recrimination.

Admittedly, the protections of quarter, even when not hedged about by stipulations, were less than perfect in practice. Accident, confusion, ignorance, lack of discipline, even love and grief, led to breaches of acknowledged rules.⁴⁴ Such failures stemming from hot blood, confusion, or particular cruelty, however, did not threaten the broad context. Fairfax and his officers were noted for their care “to see Articles always kept, in which they judged their honour deeply concerned,” and for their insistence to Parliament that surrender terms should be observed. On the very eve of the second civil war, an ordinance confirming the Oxford surrender terms and requiring that they should be observed “in all Things whatsoever” was before Parliament.⁴⁵ The principles of the laws of war applicable to the defeated had not been abandoned.

IF LAWS WERE ACKNOWLEDGED although practice was imperfect, what kinds of breaches of the soldierly code of conduct elicited outrage, when did they qualify as atrocity or war crime, and when were they assimilated under the law of the state rather than the law of the soldier? Four nasty cases illustrate success and failure

⁴² *Certain Propositions Made By Sir William Waller, At the Surrender of Arundell-Castle* (n.p., 1644), 6. Social status of course affected the degree of “civility” extended to prisoners. See also Bernard, *Bible-Battells*, 252.

⁴³ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1247, 1303. Fairfax defined “fair quarter” to include life, freedom from wounding or beating, warm clothes, shelter, and food.

⁴⁴ See Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, James Sutherland, ed. (London, 1973), 181, on the soldiers at Preston in 1648 who, “enrag’d” by the death of their colonel, “fought not that day like men of humane race. Deafe to the cries of every coward that askt mercy, they kill’d all, and would not a captive [should] live to see their Collonell die.”

⁴⁵ Howell, *State Trials*, 4: col. 1159; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 864; *LJ*, 10: 338; *CJ*, 5: 607, 622. This confirmation was intended as part of a general political settlement rather than as parliamentary intrusion into military affairs. In March 1648, Fairfax emphasized the equal obligation of Parliament and soldier to observe articles: “It much concern[s] the parliament and myself to make good that engagement for the performance of those articles [for the surrender of Portland], which I do in an especial manner recommend to your consideration.” Derbyshire Record Office, Gell of Hopton MSS, D3287, C/PARL/P/1d.

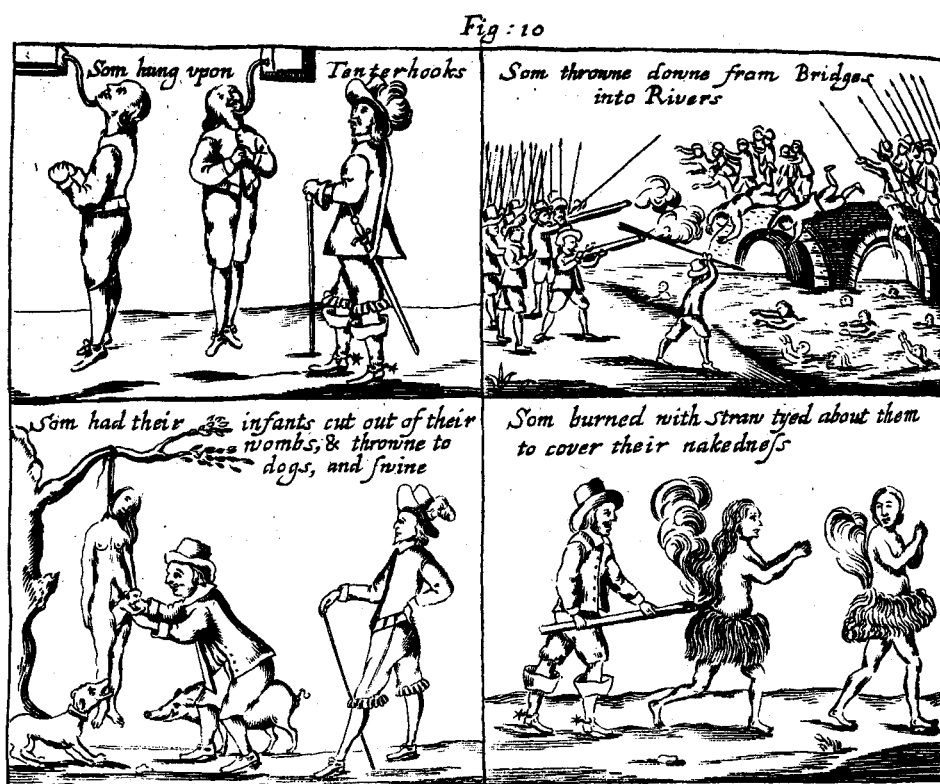
in observation of the laws of surrender. These differ in scale, but the same rules applied. In all four, soldierly codes of conduct were breached. All, it can be argued, were atrocities. Yet they reveal ambiguities of partisan judgment and inconsistencies of response. They also reveal a progression from first to second civil war, toward the increased bloodiness of which Rupert had warned and toward supervention of political over professional jurisdiction in treatment of the defeated. The potential dangers, for soldiers and society, were immediately evident.

To Parliamentarians, the events that took place at Hopton castle in Herefordshire and Barthomley in Cheshire during the first civil war were indisputable atrocities. The language of narration reveals how deeply ingrained were the criteria for proper conduct in war and how deep the revulsion when its "laws" were broken. In March 1644, the garrison of Hopton castle surrendered to Royalist troops commanded by Sir Michael Woodhouse. They asked for "quarter for their lives," but instead they had to agree to abandon their arms and "submit to mercy." Nevertheless, they "came out expecting mercy" (in its non-technical sense) and that they would "only be made prisoners"—a reasonable hope in view of precedents elsewhere. They had not thought, said their colonel, "of such a death as . . . was upon so many honest souls." They were bound together and "stripped naked as ever they were born, it being about the beginning of March very cold and many of them sore wounded." After an hour, "the word was given"—that is, it was an official decision, unlike those occasions when troops ran wild ignoring officers' orders—"that they should be left to the mercy of the common soldiers, who presently fell upon them, wounding them grievously, and drove them into a cellar unfinished, wherein was stinking water, the house being on fire over them, when they were every man . . . presently massacred."⁴⁶ Most of the victims were clubbed to death. Their colonel described the event as "Siege, Surrender and Butchery." Another witness wrote, "This inhuman and barbarous act, wherein the laws of God, of man, of nature, of nations and of arms are violated, cries to the great Justice of heaven to revenge; and we hope that the justice of England will in due time require an account of it."⁴⁷

Hopton was at least a real military event. In the trivial and confused affair at Barthomley the previous Christmas, Royalist forces marauding through Cheshire "set upon the Church, which had in it about 20 Neighbours, that had gone in for Safety." When Major John Connaught and his men entered the church, they took refuge in the steeple, but the Royalists smoked them out:

⁴⁶ HMC, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, vol. 1 (London, 1904), 29, account of Captain Priamus Davies; and see 37–38, account of Colonel Samuel Moore. Hopton, small but strategic, was garrisoned by about thirty men. Compare the fate of the garrison at Wakefield, Yorkshire (1643), who "scorned" surrender and refused quarter yet survived to become prisoners. Bodl. Libr. MS Tanner 62/1A, fol. 103. John Webb, *Memorials of the Civil War between King Charles I and the Parliament of England as It Affected Herefordshire*, 2 vols. (London, 1879), 1: 387–90, suggests that the defenders of Hopton were "ignorant of the severe rules of war," but Moore distinguished between surrender to quarter and to mercy and exonerated Woodhouse of breach of quarter. HMC, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, 1: 39.

⁴⁷ HMC, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, 1: 29, 36. The note of horror survived in Webb's nineteenth-century account, *Civil War . . . Herefordshire*, 1: 389–90, particularly 1: 390, n. 3; but he comforted himself: "many of [the Royalists], it is fair to state, are said to have been Irish."



Irish atrocities. Sa[muel] Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* (London, 1651), following 364, courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino.

being stifled in the Steeple, [they] called for Quarter; which was granted by Connought. But when they had them in their Power, they stript them all naked, & then most barbarously murdered 12 of them, contrary to the Laws of Arms, Nature, & Nations. This cruell Connought cut the Throat of one Mr. John Fowler, a hopefull yong Man, & Minister there. Only 3 of them miraculously escapt with Life.⁴⁸

Barthomley was a notorious atrocity. The mayor of Royalist Chester recorded that “divers of the parliament party . . . were most barbarously used and murdered in cold blood,” and he saw divine justice in the fact that these forces “prospered not after.”⁴⁹ At the trial of Charles I, the blood of “those honest souls that were killed in cold blood . . . at Barthomley in Cheshire” cried out for justice, and “their wives and their children cry[ed], Justice upon the Murderer.”⁵⁰

⁴⁸ *Memorials of the Civil War in Cheshire and the Adjacent Counties* by Thomas Malbon, . . . , and *Providence Improved* by Edward Burghall, James Hall, ed. (Chester, 1889), 94–95. John Fowler was in fact the schoolmaster and son of the rector.

⁴⁹ BL Harl. MS 2125, fol. 135v.

⁵⁰ Howell, *State Trials*, 4: col. 1043. Oral tradition suggested a more complex story—that the

Both cases exhibit classic characteristics of atrocity narratives. At the center was the fact of massacre and insistence on its cold-blooded nature, on guilt by intention. Circumstantial phenomena clustered around this core. There were justificatory counter-claims that the Parliamentarians at Hopton had used poisoned bullets; aggravated individual horrors, such as the death of an eighty-year-old man, "weak and not able to stand, [whom] they were so compassionate as to put . . . in a Chair to cut his throat"; and pathetic codas, such as a maidservant still "distracted" from fright in 1695.⁵¹ Revulsion at individual cruelties mingled with dismay at abandonment of laws of war, and the mayor of Chester was not alone in believing that "the great Justice of heaven" punished those responsible.⁵²

Yet those responsible did not face the "justice of England," civil or military.⁵³ Major Connaught, though financially penalized and politically marginalized, was not physically punished.⁵⁴ Sir Michael Woodhouse survived despite the claims of his "cruelties" and "base . . . murder" at Hopton, and some elements of his story suggest explanation for unexpected clemency.⁵⁵ Shortly after the massacre, he showed kindness and courtesy to the captive children of Sir Robert Harley, a leading Parliamentarian, and observed the honorable conventions of war in arrangements for their transfer to London. When he himself was finally forced to yield Ludlow after a courageous defense, he did so confident that he would receive "fair terms and performances."⁵⁶ The courtesies that survived between enemies were evidence of shared social interest and personal bonds that ameliorated the practices of war (while not significantly lessening the zeal with which it was waged). These, together with shared professionalism and respect for oppo-

rector's son fired from the steeple on the Royalist troops and killed one of them, whose fellows revenged his death "by butchering many within the church." Edward Hinchcliffe, *Barthomley: In Letters from a Former Rector to His Eldest Son* (London and Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1856), 41–42. Hinchcliffe's 97-year-old informant (in 1839) heard the story from his father, the grandson of a survivor. Seeking to palliate "barbarity," Hinchcliffe suggested a military purpose behind occupation of the church; however, compare a Royalist letter: "I put them all to the sword, which I find to be the best way to proceed with these people, for mercy to them is cruelty." Quoted in "John Byron's Account," *Cheshire Sheaf*, 6 (1971): 2.

⁵¹ Webb, *Civil War . . . Herefordshire*, 1: 388–89.

⁵² "After this Massacre the King's affairs never prospered," wrote one observer, "& whenever his soldiers craved quarter, the reply was we'll give you none but Hopton Quarter." Webb, *Civil War . . . Herefordshire*, 1: 389, n. 2.

⁵³ Peter R. Newman, *Royalist Officers in England and Wales, 1642–1660* (New York, 1981), 81, believes Lieutenant-Colonel Congrave, one of Woodhouse's officers at Hopton castle, was killed in revenge for the massacre there, but he seems to have been merely one among other victims at Littledean, Gloucestershire, where Royalists who surrendered to quarter were "put to the sword" by enraged Parliamentarians in circumstances ironically mirroring Barthomley (see n. 50 above). *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, John Washbourn, ed. (Gloucester, 1825), 93, 328; Peter Gaunt, *The Cromwellian Gazetteer* (Gloucester, 1987), 58–59.

⁵⁴ Newman, *Royalist Officers*, 78 (under "Colnock"); *Calendar of . . . the Committee for Compounding, &c., 1643–1660* (hereafter, CCC), 5 vols. (London, 1889–92), 1: 117. See also the case of Colonel Ralph Snead, implicated at Hopton and captured soon after, who benefited from the laws of war for exchange of prisoners. Newman, *Royalist Officers*, 350; Malbon, *Civil War . . . Cheshire*, 94–95; CCC, 2: 893, 1032–34; *Calendar of . . . the Committee for Advance of Money* (hereafter, CAM), 3 vols. (London, 1888), 2: 1180; CSPD 1661–1662, 164–65.

⁵⁵ Washbourn, *Bibliotheca Gloucestrensis*, 91; HMC, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, 1: 29; Webb, *Civil War . . . Herefordshire*, 1: 389–90. For Woodhouse's career, see Newman, *Royalist Officers*, 421; Warburton, *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, 3: 56; Webb, *Civil War . . . Herefordshire*, 2: 359.

⁵⁶ HMC, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath*, 1: 33–35; Webb, *Civil War . . . Herefordshire*, 2: 268.

nents who acted bravely, and recognition that it did not pay to allow intermittent, unsystematic breaches of codes to endanger larger mutual observance, combined to protect the defeated from widespread abandonment of the codes of war.

The sieges of Colchester and Pontefract illustrate the change brought by the second civil war. Its greater bitterness was not alleviated by its brevity and futility or by Royalist incompetence. Instead, Royalist desperation was matched by Parliamentary shock, fear, and outrage rendered more acute by the number of former colleagues who now joined the king. It was expressed in religious terms by Oliver Cromwell and more secularly by Fairfax, in response to pleas on behalf of old Parliamentarians who had turned their coats. Former Royalists had "not apostasised," said Cromwell, but these officers "formerly served . . . in a very good cause" and had "sinned against so much light." For Fairfax, it was a matter for Parliament's justice, "not so much that they were in Hostility against them, . . . as that they have betrayed the Trust they reposed in them, to the sad engaging the Nation again in War and Blood."⁵⁷ Breach of faith, sin against the light, betrayed allegiance, and return to war and blood all embittered relations between enemies.

The second war was effectively over in five months during the spring and summer of 1648. The victors later argued selectively that Royalist participants were subject to the law of treason; but, despite Parliament's apparent dominance of the country by early 1648 and the disparity between the forces of the two sides, combatants fought the war according to the laws of war and as a conflict between "lawful enemies." The king may have been Parliament's prisoner, but Royalists argued that a commission from his son Prince Charles was fully legitimate: "The prince hath his [commission] from his father, and I have mine from the prince, which is full power, he being captain-general of his majesty's forces," said one, a view the king reportedly fostered.⁵⁸ England's constitutional condition in fact remained unresolved. The king, though imprisoned, was still nominally sovereign, and it was still possible to invoke the mantra of fighting for king, lords, and commons. Not until the middle of 1649 did Parliament pass new treason ordinances reflecting abolition of "the Kingly Office."⁵⁹

Despite shock and bitterness and occasional lapses into savagery, the usual rules governed combat relations between enemies in the field.⁶⁰ In victory, however,

⁵⁷ Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1937–47), 1: 620–21; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1190, 1233.

⁵⁸ "An exact Relation of the Trial and Examination of John Morris, Governor of Pontefract-castle," in *A Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts . . . of the Late Lord Somers* (hereafter, *Somers Tracts*), Walter Scott, ed., 2d edn., 13 vols. (London, 1809–15), 7: 10. Morris argued the analogy of the legitimacy of commissions issued by Fairfax, who was himself commissioned by Parliament. See Howell, *State Trials*, 4: col. 1111, for a witness at the king's trial who deposed that Charles advised him "That he being upon a Treaty, would not dishonour himself [by issuing commissions]; but that if he, this Deponent, would take the pains to go over to the prince, his son, (who had full authority from him), he . . . should receive whatsoever commissions should be desired."

⁵⁹ The first was passed in May 1649, a second followed in July (adding counterfeiting and clipping to treasonous acts, and protecting property of heirs). Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 2: 120–21, 193–94. At the trial of Colonel Morris (see below), defendant and court wrangled over the applicability of statutes of Edward III or Henry VII. *Somers Tracts*, 7: 9–10, 12; and see 11: Morris made the point, "[S]ince the abolishing of regal power I have not meddled with anything against the parliament."

⁶⁰ Note the savage retribution meted out to one eminent turncoat, the former Parliamentary

they could no longer be relied on—not because soldiers rejected them but because the state intervened. The status of defeated Royalists was admittedly problematic. Those who had formerly surrendered with an undertaking not to take up arms again but who now returned to the king's colors had broken faith, yet it was clearly impractical to impose en masse the dire penalties they theoretically merited: most paid with money, not life.⁶¹ Those who had formerly served Parliament were ordered to “be sent to the Lord General Fairfax, and tried, for their Lives by a Council of War”; but in practice most of them were pardoned.⁶² As with the “guilty” men of Hopton and Barthomley, a *modus vivendi* evolved, albeit one untidy and unequal in its justice. What happened after Colchester and Pontefract, however, signaled a harsher response and a novel and dangerous erosion of soldiers' protections. In 1648 and 1649, crimes against humanity were overshadowed by crimes against the state. What happened to some Royalist officers after surrender represented a change that went beyond outrage at return to arms. Retribution was selective, but it introduced “victors' justice” to England. Although most Royalists ultimately went home or “voluntarily” enlisted for Ireland or Europe, some were tried and executed. That was new. If sin against the light was a crime against God, breach of trust was now a crime against the state rather than professional peers. Only after the war, however, did it become treason.⁶³

Colchester and Pontefract were militarily serious affairs, unlike Barthomley and even Hopton. The siege of Colchester lasted for ten weeks in the summer of 1648; it engaged major leaders on both sides, Lords Goring and Capel for the king and Fairfax for Parliament. It was famous in its day for the sufferings of the besieged, whose hunger and sickness could not persuade Goring to surrender until mutinous troops forced his hand.⁶⁴ Colchester's fall signaled the effective end of the second civil war, but Pontefract held out until March 1649; by then, the king and some of the Royalist leaders of that war were already dead, the Rump Parliament sat in London, and monarchy had just been formally abolished. In both sieges, enemies were accused of atrocious conduct, from ill-treatment of prisoners to use of poisoned bullets, but these were not counted as their notorious crimes. To Parliamentarians, the crimes were broken faith, betrayal, and return to

quartermaster-general John Dalbier, then in arms for the king, whose soldier-captors, “to express their detestation of [his] treachery, hewed him in pieces.” Ludlow, *Memoirs*, 1: 198.

⁶¹ Prisoners regarded as mere deluded countrymen were sent home. For undertakings not to bear arms again after the first civil war, see surrender articles for Oxford (1646), Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 6: 281–84.

⁶² Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1145, 1198–99, 1250, 1272; *CJ*, 6: 245. See the characteristically “mixed” terms granted after Pembroke fell in July 1648: “5 to mercy being Leaders, 16 to 2 years banishment, the rest sent home.” “Letters and Documents by or Relating to Hugh Peter,” Raymond Phineas Stearns, ed., *The Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 72 (April 1936): 126.

⁶³ Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 2: 120–21, 193–94. See Richard Tuck, *Natural Rights Theories: Their Origin and Development* (Cambridge, 1979), 116–17, on problems of execution of justice and definition of treason in a state with an excluded rightful king and an established usurper.

⁶⁴ On the siege, see *A Diary of the Siege of Colchester by the Forces under the Command of his Excellency the Lord Generall Fairfax* (London, 1648), broadside; HMC, *14th Report, Appendix, Part IX* (London, 1895), 281–90; *A True and Exact Relation Of the taking of Colchester* (London, 1648); M[atthew] C[arter], *A Most True and exact Relation of That as Honourable as unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester* (n.p., 1650); Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1155–1242.



A Diary of the Siege of Colchester by the Forces under the Command of his Excellency the Lord General Fairfax (London, 1648), courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino.

blood, exacerbated at Pontefract by infamous murder; to Royalists, they were the martyrdom of defeated leaders.

Surrender terms at Colchester were harsh. Private soldiers and junior officers were granted "fair quarter" and became prisoners, but "the Lords, and all Superiour Officers and Gentlemen . . . [were] to render themselves to the Mercy of the Lord General."⁶⁵ Negotiations had elucidated this proviso: "it was in the Generals power to save any of those who did so submit to Mercy, or to put them to the sword."⁶⁶ On the afternoon of the surrender, three were promptly brought before Fairfax's council of war and condemned to death. Two, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, were summarily shot, and became instant Royalist martyrs.⁶⁷ Both saw their fate as a departure from the decencies and laws of war. At the council of war, Lucas had "urged it much, that the way taken with him was without Precedent; but this was sufficiently answered, and a Soldier told him, how he [Lucas] had put some of ours to death in cold Blood, with his own Hand."⁶⁸

Thus, as an afterthought, a justificatory charge of atrocity was introduced, but the situation was nonetheless tricky. Fairfax admitted that Lucas and Lisle were victims of exemplary justice—"the Persons pitched upon for this Example." But he argued that it was a "military Execution" and that "in this distribution of justice . . . I did nothing, but according to my commission."⁶⁹ They were "prisoners at mercy," and, as he reiterated, "delivering upon mercy is to be understood, that some are to suffer the rest to go free."⁷⁰ Quarter was shortly granted to the other officers previously admitted only to mercy, yet Fairfax then found it necessary to defend this action, too, and to make clear that it was no military preemption of

⁶⁵ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1242.

⁶⁶ *True and Exact Relation Of . . . Colchester*, 2. Bulstrode Whitelocke later commented on this gloss, "[O]f this learning, I hope none of this nation will have use hereafter." Howell, *State Trials*, 4: col. 1210.

⁶⁷ Clarendon believed that Fairfax "respite[d]" the third, the Italian Sir Bernard Gascoyne, for fear of reprisals against English travelers in Italy. Newman, *Royalist Officers*, 150; Clarendon, *History*, 3: 137–38. See the frontispiece to C[arter], *Most True and exact Relation*. Headed "The Loyall Sacrifice," it portrays the martyrs' deaths before a four-man firing squad. Lucas lies dead on the ground; Lisle defies his executioners: "Shoot Rebels./ Your Shott your shame./ Our fall our fame." The frontispiece does not appear in all copies of this work; see Barbara Donagan, "Prisoners in the English Civil War," *History Today*, 41 (March 1991): 29; see also *The Royal Martyrs; or, A List of the Lords, Knights, Commanders, and Gentlemen, that were slain in the late Wars, in defence of their King and Country, As also of those Executed by High Courts of Justice or Law-Martial* (London, 1660), broadside; reprinted and expanded 1663, 1700. The fate of Lucas and Lisle continued to elicit passionate, partisan responses; see notably J. H. Round, "The Case of Lucas and Lisle," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, n.s., 8 (1894): 157–80.

⁶⁸ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1242 (bis); and see 7: 1243 for Fairfax's justification of the action as "military Justice" and as vengeance for "innocent Blood" and "the Trouble, Damage, and Mischief, they have brought upon the Town, this Country, and the Kingdom." Lisle, however, in his dying speech recalled all those whose lives he had saved even in hot blood, only now himself to be murdered in cold blood by the beneficiaries of his clemency. BL Sloane MS 3652, fol. 112.

⁶⁹ Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1243; BL Harl. MS 2315, fol. 11v. The latter passage from Fairfax's "Short Memorials of some things to be cleared during my command in the Army," written years later, shows a continuing need to vindicate his actions. When the "Memorials" came to be printed in 1699, the legitimizing phrase "distribution of justice" was one of a small but telling group of omissions. *Short Memorials of Thomas Lord Fairfax, Written by Himself* (London, 1699), 123. Lucas and Lisle were professional soldiers, characterized by Fairfax as "soldiers of fortune," thus demoting them morally to the status of mercenaries without principles; compare Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 1: 1166.

⁷⁰ BL Harl. MS 2315, fols. 10v–11.

Parliament's right to try them later: the decision on "farther Publick Justice and Mercy" was Parliament's.⁷¹

Fairfax was beleaguered from two sides. He not only had to defend the legitimacy under the laws of war of the deaths of Lucas and Lisle but also to educate Parliament in the "general sense and practice in all Wars," while at the same time reassuring its members that present preservation of life did not foreclose later prosecution and was not a claim to the primacy of military over civil power.⁷² Protection indeed proved limited. Goring and Capel were tried before a special High Court of Justice together with other aristocratic leaders of the second civil war, the earl of Holland and the duke of Hamilton.⁷³ Of the four, only Goring escaped with his life, reprieved in the House of Commons by the speaker's casting vote. His preservation was as much a function of Parliament's overriding authority as was the condemnation of Capel, Holland, and Hamilton.⁷⁴ Colchester and its ramifications raised new issues of civil and military jurisdiction and the subordination of the army to the state.

The case of Pontefract demonstrated even more acutely than Colchester the dangers for soldiers when civilian law overrode the laws of war, for its "offenders" joined common criminals at the assizes. The capture of Pontefract by the Royalists in 1648 had been a prime example of the betrayal and breach of faith that outraged Parliamentarians in the return to war, for it had fallen by "conspiracy" orchestrated by the governor, Colonel John Morris, now a double turncoat—he had previously let the Parliamentarians into Royalist Liverpool.⁷⁵ Narratives of the siege reveal the sense of mixed and shifting loyalties, of inability to trust those in whom trust had been placed.⁷⁶ In its most notorious incident, however, bad faith and atrocity combined: the raid that culminated in the death of the noted radical Colonel Thomas Rainsborough originated in Pontefract. A Royalist

⁷¹ Fairfax to the Earl of Manchester (Speaker of the House of Lords), August 29, 1648; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1243.

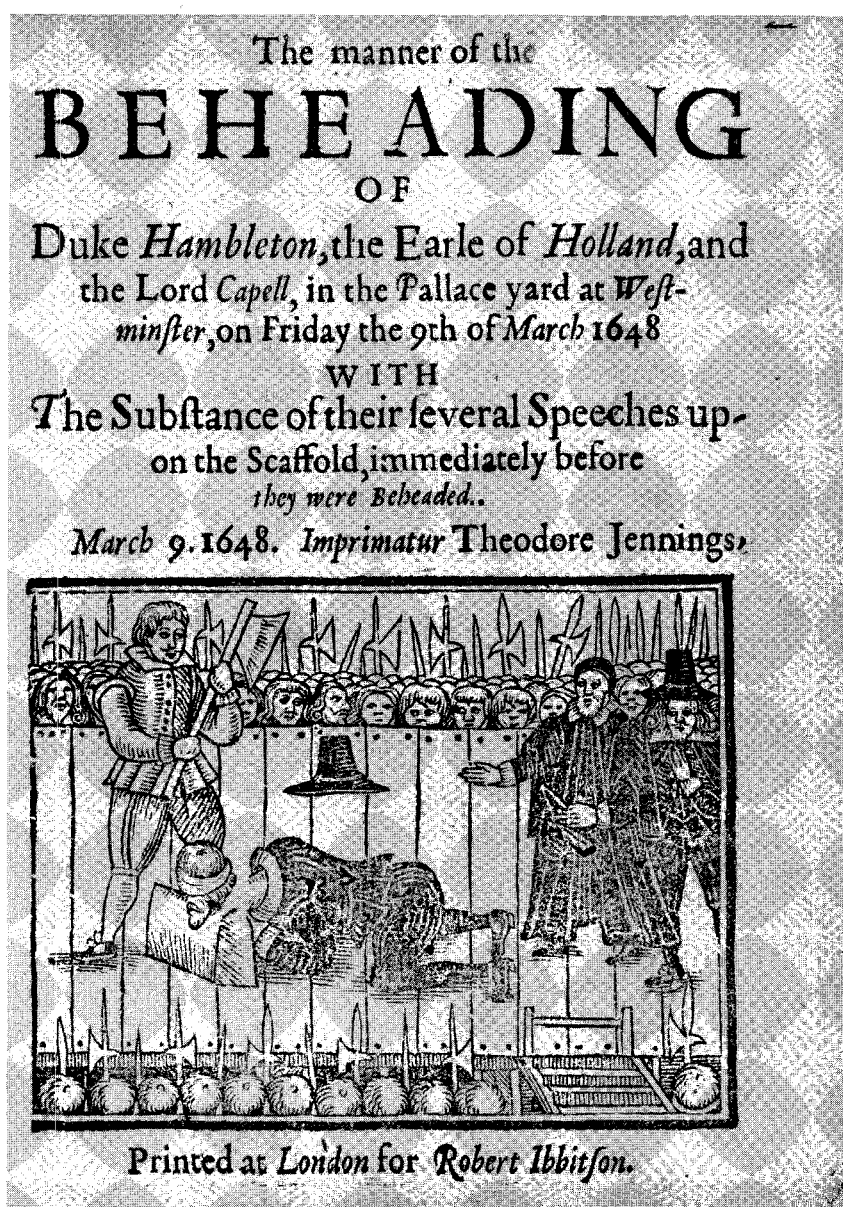
⁷² In October 1648, explaining that "common Quarter" assured life for the present and due process for the future, Fairfax added, "but whether it imply to protect, or exempt them from any judicial Trial or Proceeding to Life, either by the civil Sword . . . against which . . . they rebel, or by the martial Power, as to Persons and Causes subject to its cognizance, . . . his Excellency left it to their determination." Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1247, 1303.

⁷³ A fifth defendant, Sir John Owen, accused of murder and of breach of faith from terms accepted after the first civil war, pleaded not guilty, was convicted, and reprieved by the House of Commons. Howell, *State Trials*, 4: cols. 1207, 1211, 1216, 1217.

⁷⁴ Social status preserved them from summary trial like that of Lucas and Lisle: "[B]eing considerable for estates and families" (and raising the specter of objections from the residual House of Lords), Fairfax "thought fit to transmit [them] over to the parliament, being the civil judicature of the kingdom, consisting then both o[f] Lords and Commons, and so most proper judges in their case." BL Harl. MS 2315, fols. 11–11v; Clarendon, *History*, 3: 205. For the families of Lucas and Lisle, see Newman, *Royalist Officers*, 235, 240.

⁷⁵ Morris denied responsibility for the fall of Liverpool, *Somers Tracts*, 7: 14. The slapstick side of early Royalist efforts to take Pontefract did not render final success less shocking: a corporal "fell down drunk" on one crucial evening, thus failing to ensure that a complicitous sentinel was on watch; the brave attackers fled "because they begin to fire their muskets & we to run away leaving our ladder which was very heavy behind us." Bodl. Libr. Clarendon SP, vol. 34, fol. 25.

⁷⁶ See Worcester College, Oxford, Clarke MSS, vol. 114, fol. 41, for doubts entertained about one officer despite the fact that "all men judge [him] faithful." The Parliamentary officers instrumental in the "betrayal" were double turncoats who had reverted to their original Royalist allegiance. They exemplified the risks inherent in surrender terms that allowed the defeated to reenlist in the victor's ranks—as at Portland in 1646. Derbyshire Record Office, Gell of Hopton MSS, D3287, C/PARL/P1b.



Title page from *The Manner of the Beheading of Duke Hambleton, the Earle of Holland, and the Lord Capell, in the Pallace yard at Westminster, on Friday the 9th of March 1648* (London, 1648), courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

narrator was at pains to establish that Rainsborough resisted and died with a sword in his hand, another victim guilty of his own death: "it was only his own fault that he was killed, and not [taken] prisoner." To Parliamentarians, it was murder, and the elegies published in his memory demanded revenge.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ Bodl. Libr. Clarendon SP, vol. 34, fol. 27v; *Dictionary of National Biography* (hereafter, *DNB*), "Rainborow, Thomas." A Royalist officer claimed that the "design was honourable, not to kill a

When at last the siege ended, most officers and men were allowed to march out and live quietly at home. But there were six “excepted persons,” headed by the treacherous Colonel Morris. Two, a lieutenant and a cornet, were “those that killed Rainsborough.” Three more had been Royalist “moles” in 1648. Murder and breach of trust were the crimes that earned “exception,” although John Lambert, the Parliamentary commander, acted with professional regret, for “they were gallant Men”; but, like Fairfax, “his hands were bound.” Although the guilty six “had liberty to make their escape if they could,” Morris and Cornet Michael Blackborne were captured ten days later and faced civil justice.⁷⁸ In August 1649, they were tried at the York assizes and hanged. The charge was “treason for levying war against the late king and the parliament.” Morris denied the court’s jurisdiction. “I being a martial man,” he said, “I ought to be tried by a council of war.” Like Lucas before him, he saw dangerous precedent in trial for what he claimed to be soldierly service. “[I]f it must be so that you will make me a precedent,” he added, “you must . . . mak[e] an act for the future, that this my suffering shall not be a precedent to any soldiers hereafter.”⁷⁹

THE PROBLEM OF SOLDIERLY IMMUNITY for acts committed in the course of military service thus emerged more starkly in the second war than in the first, and it foreshadowed modern accusations (as at Nuremberg) of “victors’ justice.”⁸⁰ In the first civil war, as we have seen, both sides had agreed, however grudgingly, not to treat defeated opponents as traitors but as enemies meriting the protections of the laws of war between sovereign states, unless they had committed an offense beyond merely killing, wounding, plundering, and related activities—the activities of soldiers as soldiers—in hot blood and in the course of action. Even then, retribution was moderated by social and prudent considerations. The second civil war brought two new elements into play, and the military crime of breach of faith and the civil crime of treason mingled. Exemplary justice, long a staple of discipline *in terrorem* within one’s own army, was extended to defeated enemies.⁸¹

general in the midst of his army, but to take him prisoner, and thereby save the life of our own general, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, then a prisoner, and condemned to die,” that is, Rainsborough was to be captured for use in an exchange of high-level prisoners. *Somers Tracts*, 7: 4. Clarendon, *History*, 3: 146–48, characterized Rainsborough as “bold and barbarous,” a man whose death “no brave Enemy would have revenged in that manner,” in effect as an “other” to whom the laws of war did not apply.

⁷⁸ Clarendon, *History*, 3: 147–48; *Somers Tracts*, 7: 8; Ludlow, *Memoirs*, 1: 199. In the escape attempt, one officer was killed, Morris and Blackborne “charged through and escaped,” and three were driven back but later slipped away to safety.

⁷⁹ *Somers Tracts*, 7: 9, 12; see also Howell, *State Trials*, 4: cols. 1249–70. See Bodl. Libr. Clarendon SP, vol. 34, fol. 28, for emphasis on the common law character of their trial and hanging.

⁸⁰ Another argument heard at Nuremberg might have been appealing to Parliamentarians enraged at return to “war and blood,” namely that the law of war was not applicable to those engaged in unjust war, a view rejected by the Nuremberg tribunal. See G. I. A. D. Draper, “Grotius’ Place in the Development of Legal Ideas about War,” in Bull, *Hugo Grotius and International Relations*, 205. Draper concluded that “full and equal application to the ‘just’ and the ‘unjust’ belligerent . . . is demanded by morality, the nature of law, humanity, and sheer necessity.”

⁸¹ For example, the execution of Colonel Poyer in Covent Garden in 1649, selected by lot from three renegade colonels, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate 1649–1656*, 4 vols. (1903; rpt. edn., Adlestrop, Gloucs., 1988), 1: 41. See Phillips, *Civil War in Wales*,

On the one hand, military justice became more dangerous to the defeated, while on the other Parliament's interpretation of the second war as treason against a settled state sanctioned the supervention of civil justice. Had the war evolved to a long-term and more equal conflict, these positions might have proved untenable, and a second "declaration of Lex Talionis" might have curtailed vengeance. Instead, in July 1649, a month before Morris's trial, Parliament's new treason act declared the Commons "the Supreme Authority of this Nation." Any plot or force against "the present Government . . . shall be . . . deemed . . . to be High Treason."⁸²

In these cases after the second civil war, defendants claimed that they should be subject to military jurisdiction, but they also presented defenses based on civilian law. Morris argued that his "offense" predated the new treason act and was no offense under the old. He got short shrift. "I have received hard measure," he said, "for none could have found me guilty of treason had they gone according to the letter of the law, which they did not."⁸³ The assize judges, for their part, had no doubt about their jurisdiction: "we have a power to try you here," they said, and found the law to which Morris appealed "void, . . . to no purpose." His defense that he had "not done any unsoldierly and base act" was irrelevant, for, they told him, "[Y]ou are not looked upon here as a soldier; we shall do what in justice belongs to us."⁸⁴ The duke of Hamilton also offered a double defense, civil and military. He argued both that he was a Scot in the service of the kingdom of Scotland and "no Englishman," a claim involving lengthy discussion of the Jacobean law of naturalization, and that he was a prisoner of war; hence a court that was both English and civil had no jurisdiction. His dual defense was as ineffectual as Morris's. He was tried, pointedly, under his English title of earl of Cambridge, and the court rejected all his claims.⁸⁵

Soldiers and civilians alike recognized the novel hazards of this rejection of military self-regulation. At Hamilton's trial, one officer declared that in granting the duke quarter his intention had been "only to preserve him from the violence of the soldiers, and not from the justice of the Parliament."⁸⁶ To his credit, Hugh Peter, preacher to the army and publicist for Parliament, rose in court to object:

2: 377–79, on designation of one of the three guilty colonels as "that shameful apostate, who indeed deserves no mercy at all, but that he should be cast into that current of the flood-gate of Justice, and be made exemplary to Posterity and to all perfidious villains." In December 1648, it was expected that all three would hang. Bodl. Libr. Clarendon SP, vol. 34, fol. 19.

⁸² Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 2: 193; and see 2: 18–20 for the "Act . . . abolishing the Kingly Office" of March 17, 1649.

⁸³ *Somers Tracts*, 7: 13; and see 10, 12.

⁸⁴ *Somers Tracts*, 7: 11–13. One of the two judges, Francis Thorpe, fell from favor in 1655 for refusal to try the western rebels on grounds similar to those raised in Morris's defense. *DNB*, "Thorpe, Francis."

⁸⁵ Unlike poor Morris, who was denied counsel, Hamilton had four counsel, including the eminent Matthew Hale, whose extensive notes for the defense survive. *Somers Tracts*, 6: 60, 62; Howell, *State Trials*, 4: cols. 1155–56; Lambeth Palace Library (London), MS 3479, fols. 128–206.

⁸⁶ Howell, *State Trials*, 4: cols. 1155, 1158. John Lilburne had a radical solution to Parliament's dilemma: "they should have killed them in the heat of blood, and not have given them quarter, or after quarter given should notwithstanding [have] broke it, and so . . . dispatched them by shooting or otherwise killing them in their Chambers or the like." Instead, the defendants had been "gull'd" or their lives, for "to reserve them many moneths together alive . . . , pretending to take away their lives by the rules of Justice and Law" constituted "a president of wrong." John Lilburne, *The Legal Fundamental Liberties of the People of England*, 2d edn. (London, 1649), [70] (misnumbered 52)–73.

[H]e had seen many Articles of War, but never heard of such ambiguity; . . . it was clear by these Articles the Duke held his life secured, as well from the Parliament as from the soldiers; and [he] wished to God, that if their Commissioners had meant otherwise, it had been so expressed in the Articles, it being most necessary that Articles in a concernment of life should be plain and certain.

The president of the court conceded his point, but it was “now too late” to help Hamilton.⁸⁷

If mercy had always been discretionary, the protections of quarter had now become equally uncertain. Royalists like Hamilton surrendered secure in soldierly convention, only to find their feet on slippery ground.⁸⁸ Capel argued that Parliament’s ordinance prohibiting quarter to the Irish “implied, that quarter given to others, should be inviolable for life”; Hamilton and Morris demanded trial by court-martial for alleged breach of laws of war.⁸⁹ All recognized that, beyond the narrow focus of their own fates, new precedents were being established: Parliament, by reneging on the sanctity of articles, was abandoning international norms and practice, and by overriding them was extending its powers in novel ways. Hamilton adjured the court “to consider, how sacred Articles of War were reputed in all places, and among all nations, and how inviolably they were kept, . . . not only to strangers but to subjects.” While he did not dispute “what the parliament had the power to do, . . . no parliament had ever done the like before.”⁹⁰

Fortunately, the threat of treason as the exemplary charge of choice against defeated enemies receded. Even at its height, its use had been selective and arbitrary, revealing yet again its quality as what Conrad Russell has called a “barometer of political panic.”⁹¹ Despite revulsion at return to war and blood, old ways were not universally abandoned. At Scarborough in December 1648, for example, generous terms allowed the defeated the full panoply of honor, and it was not long before some discretion and leniency returned.⁹² In March 1649, the House of Commons ominously debated whether “any more [were] fit to be proceeded against for Life, besides those who are appointed to be tryed, or are tryable, by a Court Martial for Revolts by Land or Sea.” By June, however, they were considering a general pardon.⁹³ The third civil war of 1651—better described as invasion with limited domestic support—admittedly saw another

⁸⁷ Howell, *State Trials*, 4: col. 1158. For the confused circumstances of Hamilton’s surrender, which affected subsequent claims regarding custody and conditions, see Stearns, “Letters . . . Relating to Hugh Peter,” 128–30. Commissary-General Henry Ireton, Cromwell’s son-in-law, testified that Fairfax had promised a trial by peers and that “Parliament’s Authority could not be restrain’d” thereby. Clarendon, *History*, 3: 204–05.

⁸⁸ Their fellow defendant Sir John Owen also “pleaded quarter.” Howell, *State Trials*, 4: cols. 1213, 1216, 1250–51, 1264.

⁸⁹ Hamilton was additionally accused of breach of faith as a prisoner. Howell, *State Trials*, 4: cols. 1158, 1213, 1216.

⁹⁰ Howell, *State Trials*, 4: cols. 1158–59, 1164.

⁹¹ Russell, “Theory of Treason,” 32; and see 46 for the evolution of the theory.

⁹² Bodl. Libr. Clarendon SP, vol. 34, fols. 10–10v; *CJ*, 6: 128; compare Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, 7: 1271–72, for the harsher treatment ordered by the Commons for an earlier group of Scarborough prisoners in September 1648.

⁹³ *CJ*, 6: 162, 245. In June, some offenders were not yet thought fit to be received into grace and favor, a formulation clearly excluding capital punishment and offering hope for the future.

notable Royalist victim of treason charges who vainly claimed the status of prisoner of war. The earl of Derby was executed amid general regret and despite Cromwell's reported efforts to save him, but his case fits a traditional category of treason. Although his fate was harsh and could be seen as a return to the justice of 1648 and 1649, it was legally defensible on the basis of an ordinance of 1651 that predated his actions; in this, it differed from the cases of Morris and Hamilton.⁹⁴

Charges of treason did not disappear—John Lilburne's was a famous later case—but they reverted to normal; soldiers and civilians alike, victims fell into familiar categories of rebellion and revolt (scale failing to dignify events as civil war, as in the case of Penruddock's Rising), of plotting and subversion.⁹⁵ Meanwhile, old habits of obligation and civility reasserted themselves. The implacable preacher Edmund Staunton had been prescient when in 1644 he lamented the "fleshly barre" to draconian justice set up by natural and civil relations and engagements between kinsmen and old companions. The ties that in the first civil war led a Parliamentarian to intervene on behalf of a Royalist prisoner—"Sr, the truth is hee married my sister"—were not swept away in the second.⁹⁶ Social bonds, political prudence, and decline of the Royalist threat prevented long-term entrenchment of exemplary and arbitrary "justice" against defeated military enemies. Yet, although the excursion into that territory was brief, while it lasted it reversed conventional wisdom on the superiority, as defender of victims' rights, of parliamentary and civilian law over military. Armies' rule of law, within their traditional jurisdictions, had provided a safer protection for the defeated than did Parliament's.⁹⁷

In both the first and second civil wars, the conduct of soldiers, individually and collectively, was governed by the nexus of laws of war—professional, religious, and moral—previously described. In the first war, offenses were normally punished, if at all, according to the professional code governing the conduct of military enemies with equivalent legal "standing," and opponents were constrained not only by mutually acknowledged standards but by utilitarian considerations of reciprocity. The victors' justice of the second war moved toward

⁹⁴ Derby and some fellow officers were tried and executed under a special ordinance passed in August 1651 and in force for three months only; it was directly applicable to their subsequent "offenses." (Contrast Morris's claim that the new treason law of 1649 postdated the crime he was accused of.) It mandated trial by council of war and the penalties of treason for any who aided and abetted "Enemies and Invaders" and Charles Stuart. Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances*, 2: 550–51. It was directed specifically against native English. Scots taken in 1651 may have met with severe treatment, especially from English civilians, but they were not designated as traitors. See Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, 2: 60–66; *CJ*, 6: 615.

⁹⁵ Penruddock, too, pleaded that his actions did not qualify as treason and that he had surrendered to articles guaranteeing life. *DNB*, "Penruddock, John."

⁹⁶ Staunton, *Phinehas's Zeal*, 19; Jerrilyn Greene Marston, "Gentry Honor and Royalism in Early Stuart England," *Journal of British Studies*, 13 (November 1973–74): 29. Note Hutchinson's efforts on behalf of an "enemy" cousin: L. Hutchinson, *Life of Colonel Hutchinson*, 177. Compare John Clopton of Essex, who with "much ado" obtained the release of a "mutinous" cousin in May 1648; in September, Clopton refused to pay up for an uncle's freedom, but his uncle's ensuing anger reveals expectation that ties of kinship should have prevailed. Essex County Record Office, Chelmsford, D/DQ s18, fols. 37, 52v.

⁹⁷ On the dangers of politicization of treason through changes in the law and of "fickle" votes that would "demolish . . . your own Bulwarks," see Lilburn, *Legal Fundamental Liberties*, 79.

reduction of military enemies from professionals to whom the laws of their fellows applied to traitors subject to the penalties of civilian treason law. In the process, atrocity, while still invaluable for propaganda purposes, came to run second to "war crimes," in the broad sense of the term. The putative guilt of Lucas and Lisle for "atrocious" actions in "cold blood" was less important than the value of their deaths as deterrence, as a warning against endangering the peace of the realm. Like Lord Capel, the earl of Holland, and the duke of Hamilton, Morris and Blackborne were criminals and traitors, guilty of breach of faith and of returning the kingdom to war and blood. Atrocities were not forgotten, but the crimes for which these men suffered were essentially crimes against the state, not against fellow soldiers or civilians. Parliament's claim to embody the state and the extension of its powers weakened rather than strengthened subjects' rights. The muddled ideology of the Petition of Right of 1628, with its attempt to protect subjects from ill-defined martial law, was temporarily turned on its head, while Lilburne's assertion that the powers of martial law were merely derivative from those of the state lost its liberating force when the state turned to treason charges to punish former military enemies.⁹⁸

The proceedings of 1648–1649 foreshadowed those of the Restoration against regicide war criminals. Yet the parallel suggests another that was equally part of the moral economy of war and restoration and that helps to explain survival of a viable polity and society. Just as after Colchester and Pontefract, most Royalists were ultimately allowed peacefully to go home, so at the Restoration, most of those engaged under Parliament and Cromwell were granted "indemnity." The reasons were more practical than charitable. The benefits of "oblivion" overrode those of vengeance. The earl of Bristol, who supported execution of the regicides, told the House of Lords in July 1660, "I find myself set on fire, when I think that the blood of so many vertuous and meritorious . . . persons . . . so cruelly and impiously shed, should cry so loud for vengeance, and not find it from us." Yet when "the criminal and the misled . . . [made] up so numerous a part of the nation," failure to provide them with "the firmest assurances of impunity" would open the way to "new combustions." Only "security from . . . guilty fears" could ensure "still water" for the kingdom after its "past tempests." To fail to mete out justice was a mischief, but the alternative was worse: "[B]etter innumerable mischiefs to particular persons and families, than one heavy inconvenience to the publick."⁹⁹ Bristol may have felt that his solution to retroactive justice for atrocity

⁹⁸ See Paul Christianson's illuminating discussion in "Arguments on Billeting and Martial Law in the Parliament of 1628" (forthcoming). In 1628, there was no clear distinction between military law applicable within armies and martial law in the modern sense of temporary suspension of civilian law and subjection of civilians to army power. The only alternatives, it was argued, were either martial law or civilian jurisdiction over soldiers. The first attempt by articles of war to demarcate jurisdiction over civil offenses by soldiers, in ways that would maintain army autonomy but cooperate with civilian magistrates, came in 1640 in *Laws and Ordinances of Warre, Established . . . by . . . The Earle of Northumberland* (London, 1640), D2, "Of Administration of Justice," Nos. 4, 5. The confusions of 1628 derived from failure to conceive either of war in England or of a standing army in need of military discipline—as some old military hands pointed out. I am grateful to Paul Christianson for allowing me to see this article before publication.

⁹⁹ *Somers Tracts*, 7: 460–61.

and war crimes lacked nobility, but he saw it as the only practical route to a reconciled state.

England's wars "against our selves, our brothers," were brutally intimate.¹⁰⁰ Yet civil war had some advantages. Alongside the atrocities and the prudence instilled by fear of reprisal or of ultimate victory by the other side lived the hope that "the sword . . . might be dipt in oyl, rather than in blood," that enemies could "live to be friends" and "win by civility [more] than by harshness."¹⁰¹ The fragile survival of these ameliorating qualities depended on civil war being regulated as foreign war; they were endangered by declension from laws of war to treason.

In both wars, the relation between professional and often humane regulation of conduct in war and political agendas that threatened it remained uncomfortable. Maintenance of an uneasy balance aided postwar stability and reconciliation and England's survival, to an imperfect but remarkable degree, as a functioning society—despite factions, hardships, injustices, and limited and grudging tolerance. The country not only largely escaped contemporary Germany's physical fate as a victim of prolonged war, but its good fortune appears in comparison with long-term effects of some other civil wars, whether in Ireland, Spain, or, we can predict, Bosnia. The nature of the moral economy of the English civil war contributed to this relatively happy outcome. Yet the interlude of politicized response to "war crimes" casts a less than flattering light on the conflict's place in the history of international attempts to legislate better wars. If history offers no simple lessons, no neat recurrences, by which the present can learn from the past, it may yet, as R. G. Collingwood observed, warn of tigers that lurk in the grass.¹⁰² The English civil war, if not in the first division of wars in terms of scale, destructiveness, and atrociousness, nonetheless exhibited evils in conduct of war and retribution after it that remain familiar. If tigers of cruelty and revenge have changed little since the seventeenth century and are still at large in the twentieth, the wary traveler may yet learn something from the successes and failures of seventeenth-century Englishmen in evading, by luck or policy, their worst depredations.

¹⁰⁰ *Orders and Institutions of War . . . Newcastle*, 8.

¹⁰¹ William Sedgwick, *Justice upon the Armie Remonstrance* (London, 1649), 25; *Vindication of the Character and Conduct of Sir William Waller* (London, 1793), 7–8; Bodl. Libr. MS Tanner 62/2A, fol. 423.

¹⁰² Robin George Collingwood, *An Autobiography* (Oxford, 1939), 100–01.

Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain

SETH KOVEN

WITH THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I, the novelist and playwright John Galsworthy struggled to comprehend its “monstrous calamity and evil” and to decide what his role in the war effort should be. He confided to his diary that “the heart searchings of this War are terrible . . . I think and think what is my duty.”¹ For the next four years, Galsworthy tried to answer this question. The mangled and immobilized bodies returning home seemed to mock his conviction that the Allies were fighting a war to defend freedom and played powerfully on his imagination and conscience. In the spring of 1918, he finally found a way to reconcile his hatred for war with his duty to serve his country: he agreed to edit a small journal for the Ministry of Pensions about and for disabled soldiers, *Recalled to Life*, which he renamed *Reveille*. He would use it to awaken the nation to its obligations to the war wounded.

Granted complete editorial liberty (or so he believed) and generous funding by the ministry, Galsworthy was determined that *Reveille* would be no mere mouth-piece to disseminate reassuring platitudes. (See Figure 1.) In addition to soliciting articles by experts on disability, he enlisted an extraordinary array of artistic talent and transformed the publication of an obscure technical journal on military orthopedics and disability pensions into a minor literary event.² Galsworthy’s passionate introductory editorial is perhaps the journal’s most remarkable docu-

I have benefited from the comments and questions of several groups of scholars who attended presentations of versions of this essay at the Social Science History Association, October 1991; University of Illinois, Urbana, May 1992; and at the National Academy of Education, Stanford University, in May 1993. I would also like to acknowledge the useful criticisms of various drafts offered by Jim Cronin, Jeffrey Johnson, Tom Laqueur, Peter Lavine, Ann Lesch, Adele Lindenmeyr, Sonya Michel, Janet Oppenheim, Susan Pedersen, Susan Pennybacker, Peter Stansky, and Patricia Yaeger. My graduate research assistants, Dana Bielicki and Michael Smith, were very helpful in tracking down materials. My thanks to Margaret Whittick, archivist at the East Sussex Record Office, to the administrative staff at Chailey Heritage and at the Invalid Children’s Aid Nationwide (the successor of the Invalid Children’s Aid Association), and the historical staff at the Library of the Philadelphia College of Physicians, who were especially helpful to me. The research and writing of this essay was supported by a Spencer Post-Doctoral Fellowship, National Academy of Education, and by summer grants from the National Endowment of the Humanities and Villanova University. My thanks to Women’s Studies at Villanova University for generously underwriting photographic expenses.

¹ John Galsworthy, “Literature and War,” in *A Sheaf* (New York, 1916), 263; John Galsworthy Diaries, November 15, 1914, as quoted in James Gindin, *John Galsworthy’s Life and Art: An Alien’s Fortress* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1987), 351.

² Contributors included Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, Siegfried Sassoon, Robert Graves, and Edith Wharton. Soon after the release of its first number in August 1918, all 30,000 copies sold out.



FIGURE 1: This image captures the tone of the journal, *Reveille*, which passionately argued for the rights of disabled veterans and refused to gloss over their problems at home. The implications of the veteran's amputation are amplified by the darkly satanic scene in the background in which the industrial labor depicted demands the use of both arms—and hence underscores the veteran's exclusion from such work. *Reveille*, 1 (August 1918), opposite p. 39.

ment, not the least because of its bleak candor at a time when the war's outcome was still uncertain. "In every street, on every road and village-green we meet them—crippled, half crippled, or showing little outward trace, though none the less secretly deprived of health," he observed. Those who encouraged such men

to “drift” into shiftless despair were “guilty of ingratitude, and will be the first to show impatience and heartlessness, when, five or ten years hence, we see him cumbering the ground, hopeless and embittered, often out of work, and always an eyesore to a nation which will wish to forget there ever was this war.” Galsworthy predicted that even the zeal and energy of men and women on Local Committees overseeing the care of disabled veterans in their communities “will rapidly evaporate when the war is over and we are no longer in danger, and moreover have become troubled by a new crop of economic difficulties.” “Human memory is very short,” Galsworthy sadly confessed, “and human gratitude not too long.”³

For Galsworthy, the fate of Britain’s disabled war veterans was linked to the intertwined politics of remembering and forgetting the war itself. (See Figure 2.) He keenly appreciated the fact that the maimed bodies of countless soldiers signified the ambiguities of the end of war for victors and losers alike or, rather, that the official cessation of hostilities between nations did not coincide with the end of war’s consequences for its victims.

Societies in Western Europe and North America, not just Great Britain, attempted to accommodate the political and emotional demand to memorialize those who sacrificed their lives or limbs for the country. At the same time, postwar reconstruction required that societies allow themselves to forget the wounds of war so that these could begin to close, to be concealed. In some sense, many acts of remembering war are fundamentally dishonest. By materializing memory in statues and parks, we satisfy our sentimental and nationalist cravings and allow ourselves to displace bodily pain and ignore the presence of the tens of thousands of disabled victims of wars.⁴

The British state and society constructed institutions and discourses that allowed them simultaneously to remember and forget, depending on political circumstances, two classes of ostensibly unrelated persons: child victims of crippling poverty-related illness at home and adult male victims of the battlefields of Europe and empire. The deformed children of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Britain and the tens of thousands of men who returned home from the battlefronts of World War I permanently disabled, many lacking arms and legs, were dismembered persons in a literal sense but also in a social, economic, political, and sexual sense.

I have not adopted a double focus on crippled children and soldiers out of a playful sense of analogy or fondness for metaphor. To my great surprise, the histories of these two groups of disabled persons are often so closely interwoven that the one cannot be fully understood without the other. The war produced unique historical and representational convergences between crippled children and wounded soldiers. However, there are also surprising continuities and similarities between wartime images and policies for wounded soldiers and pre-war rhetorical conventions and programs for crippled children.

Several literary critics, foremost among them Paul Fussell, Sandra Gilbert and

³ John Galsworthy, “The Gist of the Matter,” *Reveille* (August 1918): 14, 11.

⁴ See Elaine Scarry on the dialectic between remembering and forgetting, presence and absence, in the language of war, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (New York, 1985), chap. 2, esp. 64–69.



FIGURE 2: The neglected demeanor of the disabled mendicant in Raven Hill's "Lest We Forget" suggests that society has already forgotten this man and admonishes viewers to remember their obligations to disabled veterans. The man's advanced age and conspicuous wooden peg leg imply that he is an ill-served veteran of a previous war. His physical dereliction contrasts markedly with many other images produced by the war emphasizing technical innovation and modernity. *Reveille* (November 1918), opposite p. 215.

Susan Gubar, have brilliantly explored the relationships among wounded soldiers, children, gender relations, and sexuality in terms of the discursive emasculation and homoeroticization of wounded soldiers as "soldier boys."⁵ In poems

⁵ See Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, "Soldier's Heart: Literary Men, Literary Women and

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such as Wilfred Owen's "Disabled," adult male soldiers ironically are repositioned as children but children without prospects of achieving potent maturity. In much war poetry, the highest form of serving the nation and fulfilling one's obligations as a male citizen—death or dismemberment in war—is instantly translated into a loss of masculinity and a loss of full citizenship.⁶ The experience of war bitterly reimposes on wounded male soldiers the dependence, but not the innocence, of childhood.

This essay builds on but also diverges sharply from the work of literary scholars by connecting close readings of texts with the political and social histories of crippled children⁷ and wounded soldiers. The interplay of representations, politics, institutions, and social policies is central to my essay. I want to begin the process of recovering the history of two important groups of disabled people⁸ but also demonstrate how disability, as an analytic tool, can be used to illuminate issues of gender and sexuality, war and its memories, work, the body, and the nation.⁹

the Great War," in *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century*, Vol. 2 (New Haven, Conn., 1989); Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York, 1975); see also Sonya Michel, "Danger on the Homefront: Motherhood, Sexuality and Disabled Veterans in American Postwar Films," in Miriam Cooke and Angela Woollacott, eds., *Gendering War Talk* (Princeton, N.J., 1993).

⁶ Wilfred Owen, *Collected Poems*, C. Day Lewis, ed. (London, 1963), 67. Peter Schwenger argues that the very act of a male writer contemplating the nature of masculinity is to "become less masculine oneself." Schwenger, *Phallic Critiques: Masculinity and Twentieth-Century Literature* (London, 1984).

⁷ For several reasons, I have chosen to use the imprecise word "cripple" favored by the Victorians to describe those persons whose physical mobility was impaired by birth, disease, or accident. The term carried with it the force of sentiment and pathos that informed the way men and women confronted cripples. By using "cripple" instead of contemporary terms such as "disabled" or "handicapped" or "differently abled," I am not making a value judgment. The word "cripple" calls attention to itself as anachronistic and therefore underscores my contention that the definition of what it meant to be "crippled" evolved over time and was historically contingent. More recently, the term "cripple" has been defiantly reappropriated by those to whom it has historically been applied and invested with new meanings reflecting at once a rejection of euphemism and a commitment to securing full rights of citizenship.

⁸ This work has already been begun by historians of the United States. See Claire H. Liachowitz, *Disability as a Social Construct: Legislative Roots* (Philadelphia, 1988); Edward D. Berkowitz, *Disabled Policy: America's Programs for the Handicapped—A Twentieth Century Fund Study* (New York, 1987); *Disability Policies and Government Programs* (New York, 1979), especially his chapter, "The American Disability System in Historical Perspective," 16–74; and his many articles on this subject including "The Struggle for Compromise: Social Security Disability Insurance, 1935–1986," *Journal of Policy History*, 1, no. 3 (1989). *The Journal of Disability Studies*, while focusing on current policy issues, also includes useful material from a historical point of view, though mostly from the United States. See also Richard Scotch, "Politics and Policy in the History of the Disability Rights Movement," *Milbank Quarterly*, 67, Supplement 2, Part 2 (1989): 380–400. For a fascinating study of disabled soldiers in Germany, see Robert Whalen, *Bitter Wounds: German Victims of the Great War, 1914–1939* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1984). On France, see Antoine Prost, *Les anciens combattants et la société française: 1914–1939*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1977).

Much less work has been done on the history of disabled people in Great Britain. An important, broad-ranging, and thoughtful book on the history of orthopedics, Roger Cooter's *Surgery and Society in Peace and War: Orthopaedics and the Organization of Modern Medicine, 1880–1948* (Manchester, 1993), is by far the most significant contribution to this literature. Unfortunately, I have been unable to incorporate fully its provocative findings into this essay, which was completed before the book's publication. Earlier works include D. G. Pritchard's *Education and the Handicapped, 1760–1960* (London, 1963), which gives a helpful overview of one area of disability policy. There are also a few institutional histories such as Joan Anderson, *A Record of Fifty Years Service to the Disabled 1919–1969 by the Central Council for the Disabled* (London, 1969); and Kate Rackham, *Invalid Children's Aid Association: The First Ninety Years* (London, 1978).

⁹ My ideas about deformity and disability have been influenced by several important works

In recent years, scholars have been attentive to many of these themes, though not to their connections with disability. For example, while many have usefully studied the impact on women of the male breadwinner ideal, its implications for able-bodied and disabled men have not been explored. Most male politicians, civil servants, and reformers contrasted the welfare needs and claims of undeserving able-bodied men with those of deserving disabled men; they tended to assume that women, regardless of their actual financial contributions to their households and their work-force participation, were dependents. Social policies were consciously designed not only to exclude women but to force abled-bodied men into the labor market to take on their "natural" rights and duties as heads of families. The proper policy response to the demands of disabled men defied so ready a solution. Their presence challenged Victorian ideas about masculine independence, work, citizenship, and the state's obligations to assist those who, through no failing of their own, could not provide for themselves.

This essay offers a preliminary exploration of a history that places disability and the disabled person at its center. I analyze shifts in the discourse as well as in social policy and institutional setting used to describe and assist crippled children and wounded soldiers from the 1880s until the 1930s. World War I is the pivot on which many of my arguments turn. This essay makes no attempt to offer a comprehensive survey of either crippled children or wounded soldiers. At different points in this essay, the logic of my argument leads me to focus more on one group than the other.

CHILDREN WERE THE FIRST CATEGORY OF PERSONS to receive the "protection" of state welfare measures, beginning with Peel's Factory Act of 1802, which limited the conditions and hours of labor of Poor Law Apprentices. Although disabled and deformed children figured prominently in parliamentary inquiries into the exploitation of child labor in the 1830s and 1840s,¹⁰ reformers sought to protect healthy children from disabling labor, not to provide for those who were already permanently injured. Visual and written images of children maimed by industrial workplace conditions contributed to the process of pathologizing the bodies of working-class children in the nineteenth century.¹¹ However, the state assumed no obligation for crippled children until the passage of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act in 1899. Crippled children became a protected category of persons not as victims of industrial accident but within the context of broader concerns about disease. From mid-century onward, Victorian social reformers and educationists appealed to the self-interest of the nation in improving the lives of "normal" children, who, they argued, were future citizens

including Geoffrey Galt Harpham, *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature* (Princeton, N.J., 1982); Leslie Fiedler, *Freaks: Myths and Images of the Secret Self* (New York, 1978); Robert Bogdan, *Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit* (Chicago, 1988). See also Marie-Hélène Huet, *Monstrous Imagination* (Cambridge, 1993); and Rosemarie Thomson, "Freaks in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction: Textual and Cultural Representations of Physical Disability," paper presented at the Society for Disability Studies, Rockville, Maryland, May 1992.

¹⁰ See Clark Nardinelli, *Child Labor and the Industrial Revolution* (Bloomington, Ind., 1990).

¹¹ This theme is pursued by Harry Hendrick, *Child Welfare: England 1872-1989* (London, 1994).

and workers. In stark contrast, they justified the training and education of “physically defective” children (called “P.D.’s” in bureaucratic reports) in the 1880s and 1890s as a cost-effective prophylaxis against a lifetime of dependence on public welfare.¹²

“Defective” children first gained recognition and rights from the state as dependents, not as citizens; in the name of limited government, social discipline, and reduced spending, not humanitarianism and social justice; and inscribed within the rhetorical and ideological framework of eugenics, in which their very existence signified danger to race vitality and purity. Victorian reformers and educationists saw unmistakable evidence of race devolution in the thousands of defective slum children they discovered.¹³ “Cripples are but one form of slum fruit,” observed Lionel Smith after a visit to the Swinton School for Cripples in Manchester in 1908. The success of doctors and philanthropists in extending the lives of the unfit had left educationists with the unwanted burden of bearing the cost of providing for them.¹⁴

In the absence of state intervention, middle-class reformers in Victorian Britain used mixed-sex but usually female-dominated networks of private benevolence to develop and implement social welfare programs for cripples. In the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s, charitable organizations such as the Ragged School Union of the Shaftesbury Society and Dr. Barnardo’s Homes sheltered cripples in the course of their rescue efforts for able-bodied poor children. But it was only in the 1880s that reformers systematically began to distinguish cripples from other groups of disabled children—the blind, deaf, idiots and imbeciles, epileptics—and create organizations solely committed to them.¹⁵ In part, this increased awareness of the existence of variously “defective” children grew out of the emergence of a national system of mandatory public education in the 1870s that forced policy makers to decide which children could be educated and under what conditions.¹⁶ The Invalid Children’s Aid Association (ICAA) and the Guilds of the Brave Poor Things were two particularly influential organizations for the welfare of crippled children to emerge in London in the 1880s and 1890s.

The Invalid Children’s Aid Association began in 1888 as an offshoot of the Charity Organisation Society (COS). The COS championed a parsimonious approach to charity that substituted the personal advice of middle-class visitors in place of “outdoor relief” (benefits in cash or kind). Members of the ICAA Executive, twenty women and four men, recognized the compelling needs of morally blameless crippled children and chose to contradict COS first principles by offering material assistance: free or subsidized splints, carriages, home visits by

¹² On the importance of educating cripples and on their potential disciplinary threat to society, see R. J. Lloyd, “The Education of Physically and Mentally Defective Children,” *Westminster Review*, 159 (June 1903): 663.

¹³ On Victorian invocations of Darwinian metanarratives, see Gillian Beer, *Darwin’s Plots: Evolutionary Narrative in Darwin, George Eliot, and Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (London, 1983).

¹⁴ Lionel Smith, “The Swinton School for Cripples,” *Westminster Review*, 170 (August 1908): 226.

¹⁵ One of the earliest examples was the Crippleage and Christian Mission for Watercress and Flower Girls begun in the 1860s.

¹⁶ In the early 1880s, the London School Board established a committee to investigate its obligations to cripples but decided that such work lay outside the scope of its mandate. See Minutes of a meeting of the SubCommittee of the School Management Committee on the Instruction of Crippled Children, February 1881, SBL 790, Greater London Record Office.

nurses, and hospital care.¹⁷ As if to excuse their extraordinary actions, the ICAA explained that "sick children cannot be imposters" and therefore "what we do for [them] need never cause regret." "It is our special business," the First Annual Report declared, to plead that the invalid children "may not be forgotten."¹⁸

For members of the ICAA, "not forgetting" cripples meant defining them as a distinct category of poor persons whose differences from the rest of the population justified violating their parent organization's shibboleths of self-help for the poor. By the end of the century, the ICAA had branches throughout London and other parts of England, linked together in a decentralized network overseen by the original executive committee in London.

In 1895, the ICAA established contact with the Sisters of the Wesleyan Methodist West London Mission to coordinate their efforts to relieve the suffering of cripples.¹⁹ "Sister Grace" was the leader of this work, which she called by the sentimental and condescending name of the Guild of Brave Poor Things.²⁰ The only requirement for membership in the guild was "the possession of a suffering, crippled, deformed, or in some way maimed body," although, in practice, members were "almost all very poor as well as crippled."²¹ At the outset, the guild only met once a week for "farthing teas,"²² games, dancing, mutual support, and limited vocational training.

Grace Hannam, the daughter of a substantial tradesman from the Sussex town of Lewes, founded the first of many Guilds of Brave Poor Things nationwide in 1893.²³ In 1896, she transferred the guild's headquarters to the Bermondsey Settlement, where two years later she met and married a pioneering child

¹⁷ These conflicts are recorded in detail in the Executive Committee Minute Books, Invalid Children's Aid Association Archives, London. See Volume 1, March 13, 1894, for an extended analysis of the disagreements between the ICAA and the COS.

¹⁸ Mr. Brudenell Carter, quoted from speech given at the ICAA's Second Annual Meeting, 3d Annual Report (1890): 14.

¹⁹ See Executive Committee Minute Book, Volume 4, November 5, 1895, ICAA Archives. On the history of the West London Mission, see Philip S. Bagwell, *Outcast London: A Christian Response; The West London Mission of the Methodist Church, 1887-1987* (London, 1987).

²⁰ The name, Guild of the Brave Poor Things, remained a point of contention for years, as local branches felt it was too maudlin and misrepresented the character of their work. One investigator for the Charity Organisation Society noted, "The title is enough to prejudice any reasonable people." C. S. Loch, COS secretary, to Le Marchant, May 26, 1906, COS Archives, Family Welfare Association, A/FWA/C/D279/1, Greater London Record Office. The Kingston Branch finally changed its name in 1907, despite the unease of the Executive Council. See Minutes of Governing Body, Executive Council and Committees, March 22, 1907, Archives of Chailey Heritage, HB 121/1, East Sussex Record Office.

²¹ Mary Simmons, *The Bermondsey Settlement: Some Account of the Women's Work* (n.p. [c. 1899]), 27.

²² For the COS's harsh assessment of the guild, see Ella Holmes to COS, June 2, 1904, COS Archives, Family Welfare Association, A/FWA/C/D279/1, Greater London Record Office.

²³ Juliana Horatia Ewing's tale *The Story of a Short Life* (London, 1885) gave Kimmins inspiration for the guild and later for Chailey. The story follows the tragic life of a wealthy but badly crippled boy, Leonard, who learns what it means to be brave from a soldier recipient of the Victoria Cross, presumably himself the victim of a disabling act of heroism. Thus Ewing's story participates in the circulation of disability between children and soldiers (see below).

Obscure today, Dame Grace was a much-honored (C.B.E., 1927; D.B.E., 1950) and admired figure in her lifetime. Initial supporters of the Guild of the Brave Poor Things included Millicent Fawcett and Emmeline Pethick (later Pethick-Lawrence), leading advocates of women's suffrage. Royal family members were devoted supporters of Chailey in the interwar years. Her admiring obituary in *The Times* declared, in reference to Chailey, that "no great charity in British history has had warmer or more generous support, or a greater variety of well-wishers." *London Times*, March 4, 1954.

psychologist, Dr. Charles Kimmins.²⁴ Grace Kimmins flatly rejected the vision of cripples as shameful and useless products of race degeneration. The guilds insisted that cripples could be taught to overcome their disabilities and achieve self-respect and independence.

In 1903, Grace Kimmins left South London to establish the Heritage Craft Schools and Hospital at Chailey in the Sussex countryside.²⁵ She likened Chailey to Eton, Harrow, and Rugby and insisted that it was the "public school of crippleddom." The school and hospital were ambitious and innovative attempts to integrate recreation, education, and vocational training of the disabled with advanced ideas about medical care, including open-air and light therapies, new forms of orthopedic treatment, and physical rehabilitation through dance and play therapies.

By any standards, Chailey was an extraordinary success. Like most initiatives in the welfare of crippled children,²⁶ it offered not intellectual but vocational skills such as caning, leather work, weaving, cobbling, wood carving, and other handicrafts that, it was hoped, would enable children to compete in the workplace. Training at Chailey combined the ideals of handicraft associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement with widely shared Victorian notions about work as a cure for social and economic ills. The process of producing work and its impact on the worker were as important as the production of salable commodities. Reformers expected work to benefit cripples in several different but interconnected ways. Physically, work was occupational therapy to unlock and develop bodily powers; economically, it was thought to promise cripples financial independence; morally, it promoted the self-help essential to combat self-pity.

In investigating the causes of crippling in late Victorian Britain, reformers were startled to discover that most cripples were not born physically impaired but that their impairments were produced by chronic poverty and its attendant endemic childhood diseases, such as tuberculosis, marasmus, and rickets.²⁷ Reformers began to challenge the notion that the term "cripple" was a natural category describing a person suffering from a preordained physical disability.²⁸ Instead, welfare advocates from the 1890s onward increasingly recognized the term cripple and the people it described as a loosely defined, socially constructed category. This shift in perception was part of a larger trend away from explana-

²⁴ A leading London County Council bureaucrat, Charles's contacts with fellow educationists proved very helpful for advancing his wife's work for crippled children. See Minutes of Governing Body of Chailey Heritage, Executive Council, HB 121/1, East Sussex Record Office.

²⁵ A middle-class spinster, Alice Rennie, helped Kimmins in this venture. While Rennie was officially Kimmins's equal partner, her role at Chailey remains shadowy since very little about her survives in reports and correspondence.

²⁶ These included Dr. Barnardo's Children's Fold and the Manchester and Salford Crippled Children's Help Society, begun in the 1880s, the St. Crispin's workshop founded by the Women's University Settlement in 1894, and the Schools for Invalid Children established by Mrs. Humphry Ward in 1898.

²⁷ These diseases were not wholly class-specific and sometimes claimed well-to-do children. But their incidence among the children of the poor was striking.

²⁸ This attitude had been widely, albeit sympathetically, popularized by Charles Dickens. For analysis of Dickens' cripples as "emblems of inevitable fate," see C. P. Gasquoine, "The Cripple in Literature," *Cripples' Journal*, 1, no. 3 (October 1925): 98.

tions of social problems that focused on innate or moral failings of individuals, toward ones that focused on social, environmental, and epidemiological factors.

If cripples were made, welfare advocates reasoned, then they could also be remade. Grace Kimmins prominently displayed a sign painted by an armless boy proclaiming "Men Made Here" and frequently used photographs of him making this sign in publicity materials. The sign thus doubled as a means of conveying her message and as proof of the efficacy of her programs. In making men, Kimmins's goal was to transform her boy graduates into productive members of the work force and society. Although girl cripples were admitted to Chailey within a few years of its founding, their presence did little to alter the overwhelmingly masculine character of both the institution and its self-representations to the public. And, while the children were trained apart from their able-bodied peers, Kimmins aimed to minimize their sense of being abnormal and to integrate them into society.

The issue of integrating or segregating crippled children from their peers was hotly debated from the 1890s onward and was closely linked to perceptions of cripples as similar to but also different from normal people. The renowned child rescuer Dr. Thomas Barnardo believed "it disadvantageous to fill a house only with children who are deformed or crippled" and instead "mingle[d] them with hale children."²⁹ But his views were exceptional. After the passage of the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act granting local governments permission to set up special schools for cripples, most reformers favored segregation over integration. The terms of the act virtually required segregation by defining "defective children" as children who "by reason of physical or mental defect are incapable of receiving proper benefit from the instruction in the ordinary public elementary schools."³⁰ A network of publicly managed and funded schools devoted exclusively to physically defective children developed rapidly after 1899.³¹

Letitia Fairchild, a lifelong activist on public health issues, explained the rationale for segregating children: "We have got to help the child forget he is a cripple but he can only forget if we remember."³² Fairchild's words seem purposefully confused. After all, segregation in "P.D." schools allowed most people to *forget* cripples by placing them out of view. A leading promoter of segregated schools underlined this point: "the public conscience has failed to grasp the case [of defective children] chiefly because so many of these unfortunates live entirely out of sight."³³ Institutional segregation reinforced perceptions

²⁹ T. J. Barnardo, *Something Attempted, Something Done!* (London, 1890), 127–28.

³⁰ For the provisions of the act and various minutes and memoranda surrounding its immediate implementation, see G. Edwardes Jones and J. C. G. Sykes, *The Law of Public Education in England and Wales: A Practical Guide to Its Administration* (London, 1904), 701–17.

³¹ These schools were organized along the lines laid down by Mrs. Humphry Ward and the Women's Work Committee of the Passmore Edwards Settlement House in London. See Seth Koven, "Borderlands: Women, Voluntary Action, and Child Welfare in Britain, 1840 to 1920," in Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, eds., *Mothers of a New World: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States* (New York, 1993), 111–15. See also John Sutherland, *Mrs. Humphry Ward: Eminent Victorian, Pre-eminent Edwardian* (Oxford, 1990), 226–27.

³² Letitia Fairchild, untitled article, *Cripples' Journal*, 1, no. 4 (April 1925): 286. Rebecca West's remarkable older sister, Fairchild was both a medical doctor and a lawyer.

³³ R. J. Lloyd, *Westminster Review* (June 1903): 666.

of cripples as different from and inferior to normal children, even as it galvanized the development of specialized technologies and curricula for them.

Scattered evidence suggests that policy makers' preferences to support segregated schools for cripples and, whenever possible, to place cripples apart from their families in residential facilities such as Chailey reflected elite cultural biases. Margaret Loane, a Queen's Nurse, insisted that attitudes toward "personal deformity" were touchstones of larger cultural differences between the classes. The poor indulged crippled children, even "boasted" of them, and made them the center of family life. In any case, most poor households lacked space and privacy to hide a deformed child from view. Among the elite, Loane explained, congenital defects and "disfigurement or loss of limb, even if the result of a wound received in battle or in the attempt to save life," were viewed as disgraceful. The rich closeted their crippled children out of shame.³⁴ In spite of their own awareness of the social, industrial, and environmental origins of disability, advocates for the education of poor cripples often manifested this class view by tracing the origins of *individual* cases of disability to working-class family life, especially maternal ignorance.³⁵ Not surprisingly, then, many reformers preferred to place children in institutions far from the corrupting influences of their families.

CONTRARY TO FAIRCHILD'S HOPES, it seems unlikely that the children were able to "forget" their disabilities even in the company of other cripples. They were reminded of their "deformities" by the physical limitations they encountered daily and by the ways in which they were asked to present themselves to the public. Cripples were deeply aware of being placed on view for the sympathy, admiration, and amazement of others. It was a recurring complaint of reformers that some working-class parents exploited their maimed children through begging to supplement family incomes.³⁶ By and large, however, reformers' fears about the commodification and exploitation of disability more accurately reflected their own attitudes and practices than those of the poor.

Reformers were much more likely than the working-class families they condemned to display cripples to the public for financial gain, albeit for benevolent

³⁴ Margaret Loane, *The Next Street but One* (London, 1907), 5–6. See also A. Elkin, "The Invalid Schools of the L.C.C.," *Charity Organisation Review* (October 1906): 189. See Frances Hodgson Burnett, *The Secret Garden* (New York, 1987), first published in 1911, for a classic literary description of a disabled child hidden by his wealthy father. The cultural logic linking crippled children and wounded soldiers remains so powerful that a 1987 film version of *The Secret Garden* directed by Alan Grint concludes with the erstwhile cripple Colin going off to war only to return as a wounded soldier to be rehabilitated once again by the love of Mary Lennox. This ending is wholly a creation of the filmmakers, since Burnett's book was written before the war had begun. (Videocassette available from Republic Pictures, 1992.)

³⁵ For one such example, see G. Holden Pike, *Pity for the Perishing: The Power of the Bible in London* (London, 1884), 82.

³⁶ On the commodification of disability, see John Law, pseud. [Margaret Harkness], *Captain Lobe* (London, 1891), 69–71. Slum journalists such as James Greenwood noted that sometimes beggars wore costumes to pose as disabled soldiers and solicit alms. According to his autobiography, the badly lamed Joseph Merrick (better known as the Elephant Man) believed that joining a freak show was the best way to secure his own fortunes. See *The Autobiography of Joseph Carey Merrick*, reprinted in Michael Howell and Peter Ford, *The True History of the Elephant Man* (London, 1980).

ends. Agnes Hunt, a contemporary of Grace Kimmins who pioneered orthopedic nursing for cripples at Baschurch in Shropshire³⁷ and was herself made lame in childhood, used crippled children at her hospital as actors in a Christmas fund-raising performance of "Beauty and the Beast" in 1903. She noted later with satisfaction, "The Fairy Queen was blind and on crutches; she was guided by a pair of reins from behind the scenes."³⁸

While such spectacles were exceptional events at Baschurch, they were part of daily life at Chailey. Grace Kimmins had a rich background in children's theater as the author of a series of remarkable books on singing and dancing for poor children.³⁹ Oral historical evidence indicates that the Brave Poor Things at Chailey resented being put on display to satisfy the benevolent curiosity of high society visitors whose generous donations fueled the institution's expansion.⁴⁰

The children at Chailey were constantly engaged in rehearsing theatrical and dance events intended to amuse them, encourage their physical development, and gratify financial supporters. Dance therapy and fund raising went hand in hand at Chailey. Perhaps the most stunning example of this was an elaborately staged dance concert of crippled children at the Savoy Theatre. The show was sentimentally applauded by the London press. *The Daily Herald* reported, "Men coughed . . . and women shed unashamed tears . . . It was the climax to an extraordinary display of thwarted child grace."⁴¹ The attention that the reporter paid to the responses of the audience illuminates the audience's uncomfortable double role as spectator and participant in this event. The audience watched the cripples perform for their gratification, while the reporter captured the audience performing a role in the unfolding of the evening's drama that effaced the differences between audience and performers.

In the 1890s and 1900s, the leaders of the crippled children welfare movement claimed rights for crippled children based on their differences from "hale children" even as they struggled to provide cripples with resources that would allow them to be integrated into society. For all that Kimmins repudiated sentimentality and self-pity in her treatment of the crippled children themselves, she masterfully manipulated the sympathies of the able-bodied to excite their support for her schemes. Both Hunt and Kimmins consciously made cripples into public spectacles to raise money. Kimmins, in particular, choreographed every

³⁷ See Agnes Hunt, *This Is My Life* (London, 1938). This is a second edition of her *Reminiscences* that appeared in 1935.

³⁸ Agnes Hunt, "Baschurch and After," *Cripples' Journal*, 1, no. 1 (July 1924): 22.

³⁹ See *The Guild of Play Book of Festival and Dance*, which appeared in two volumes in 1907 and 1909, *The Guild of Play Book of National Dances* (1910), and the most overtly nationalist and militarist volume, the *National Songs and Dances of the Allies* (1915), written during the war. The only surviving set of these books is in the Chailey Heritage Craft School Archives, Chailey, Sussex.

⁴⁰ For a crippled Cockney child's perspective on Chailey and its elite visitors circa 1906, see the chapter on Tommy Morgan in Thea Thompson, ed., *Edwardian Childhoods* (London, 1981), 9–35. Tommy Morgan was interviewed by Trevor Lummis in the spring of 1971. Some staff members also objected to the constant display of children. In her resignation letter, Vera Lake, headmistress of the school at Chailey, wrote that "I am strongly of the opinion that if the children were taken out for the day into the country instead of being in perpetual motion in preparation of visits from monied people, conditions would be happier." Vera Lake to Grace Kimmins, June 14, 1946, folder marked "Staff Testimonials," Chailey Heritage Craft School Archives.

⁴¹ *Daily Herald*, June 21, 1933.

aspect of life at Chailey. Chailey was a well-intentioned carnival that simultaneously showcased and denied the bodily deformities of its students.

IN THE 1890s, GRACE (HANNAM) KIMMINS had been affectionately called Sister Grace by the children of Bermondsey and Rotherhithe in South London. Around Chailey, by contrast, she was called the Commandant, a name she relished. Surviving letters and recollections of students, staff, and family suggest that many found the name an all-too-apt reflection of her uncompromising style of management.⁴² The transformation of Sister Grace into "the Commandant" is less surprising than it might at first appear. Even during her earliest days in London, Kimmins couched her efforts for cripples in unabashedly patriotic and militaristic terms. She described the Guild of Brave Poor Things as a "military-religious order" and insisted that "the flag of our religion is indeed a Union Jack, whereon the chivalry to the weak is emblazoned in letters of gold."⁴³ Kimmins shared with many other Victorian child welfare advocates a tendency to seek in the purity of childhood an antidote to the corruption of adult life.⁴⁴ "Our great crusade," she proclaimed, "which is war to the knife, [is] to rescue for our children their *right* to their *childhood*."⁴⁵

Ada Vachell, head of the Bristol Branch of the Guild of the Brave Poor Things, was even more emphatic in likening the Brave Poor Things to soldiers:

strange as it may seem, this unwarlike company considered themselves a regiment of soldiers, and they were proud of their flag as soldiers should be proud. They were a small battalion, but they belonged to a great army of suffering ones. They had all fallen on life's battlefield, wounded and maimed . . . [but] the sword was gripped afresh by feeble hands . . . The thought of bearing suffering as a soldier . . . meant much to the children.⁴⁶

What are we to make of this rhetorical refashioning of cripples into soldiers? It recalls the pervasiveness of militarist and imperialist tropes in the language of social reclamation in late Victorian Britain. Several analogies implicitly undergird the connection between cripples and soldiers: first, that the conditions of life for the poor and the impact of these conditions on the bodily integrity of their children resembled the violence of actual battlefields; second, that the suffering of cripples was commensurate in its pain and, in the dignity of its transcendence, to the heroism of wounded soldiers; finally, that the strength of

⁴² Her son, Anthony Kimmins, described his mother as having "little in common with my father's retiring, happy-go-lucky way . . . she was a woman of tremendous personality and colossal drive." Anthony Kimmins, *Half Time* (London, 1947), 8. Dame Grace's papers are divided into two collections reflecting the history of the institutions she founded. Most of the hospital's records have recently been moved to the East Sussex Record Office; the school's archives remain at Chailey Heritage in Chailey, Sussex. Her personal correspondence runs throughout both collections.

⁴³ Grace Hannam, "The Guild of Brave Poor Things," *Bermondsey Settlement Magazine*, 2, no. 2 (February 1896): 19.

⁴⁴ See Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York, 1985).

⁴⁵ Grace Hannam, *Bermondsey Settlement Magazine*, 2, no. 8 (November 1896): 87.

⁴⁶ Ada Vachell, "The Account of a Guild at Work," in Grace Hannam Kimmins, *The Heritage Craft Schools and Hospital, Chailey, 1903-1948* (n.p., 1948), 17-18. It is impossible to date when Vachell wrote this account.

the British nation rested as much on its ability to win the wars against crippling poverty at the heart of its empire as on actual military engagements in distant corners of the globe.

The militarist imagery anticipated and deflected eugenicist criticisms of cripples as embodiments of race degeneration and national shame by linking their rehabilitation and training to patriotic duty and honor. The description of cripples as soldiers was also an effective strategy for claiming rights of social citizenship for cripples. After all, the soldier was the supreme realization of Victorian expectations about manliness and about the mutual obligations of citizens and state to one another.⁴⁷ By enfolded cripples within the rhetoric of soldiering, reformers were able to offer a critique of social and economic conditions at home while at the same time emphasizing their patriotic love of country. If the cripple's brave and stoic confrontation with pain was similar to the soldier's heroism in the field of battle, then, surely, reformers argued, the cripple deserved the full rights of the citizen-soldier.

THE BEGINNING OF WORLD WAR I brought many changes to Chailey and to other major hospitals and schools for crippled children in Britain. By 1915, both Chailey and Agnes Hunt's Orthopaedic Hospital had become headquarters for the treatment and rehabilitation of wounded soldiers returning from the Continent.⁴⁸ At these hospitals, along with many others newly established for this purpose, wounded soldiers began the arduous process of relearning the use of their bodies. Many were literally re-membered in the sense that they were fitted with prostheses and other instruments that restored some measure of physical mobility to them.⁴⁹

The treatment that wounded soldiers received at hospitals and schools for crippled children was attentive to the psychological aspects of war wounds. Kimmins believed that the vitality of crippled children would boost the morale of wounded soldiers. She paired each wounded soldier who arrived at Chailey with a crippled boy to serve as his "batman."⁵⁰ This scheme received wide publicity. The *American Journal of Care for Cripples* published a rapturous account written by Kimmins describing a joyous homecoming in which each member of the community performed the role for which he or she was best suited. (See Figure 3.)

⁴⁷ The American links between disabled soldiers, warfare, and welfare are stressed in Theda Skocpol's *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

⁴⁸ Historian Robin Kilson has examined the ways in which war wounds exempted British prisoners of war from having to justify the conditions surrounding their act of surrender at the time of their return home. In other words, a war wound served to guarantee repatriation; the uninjured were prima facie a suspect class who had to prove their valor before being granted their citizenship rights. See Robin Kilson, "The Politics of Captivity: The British State and Prisoners of War in World War I," unpublished paper presented at Social Science History Association, October 1991, New Orleans.

⁴⁹ The War Office and the Ministry of Pensions developed a complex hospital-administrative structure to treat disabled men, amputees in particular. Fittings for prostheses usually took place at a few centers, foremost among them the Queen Mary Convalescent Centre at Roehampton.

⁵⁰ See "Wounded Heroes Go to School with Cripples," *Daily Mirror* (March 15, 1915): 8.



FIGURE 3: This photograph captures one of the many joyous homecomings crippled children staged for wounded soldiers when they arrived at Chailey. Douglas McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier* (New York, 1919), frontispiece.

How the crutches of the boys tapped untiringly up and down, as the joyous orderlies to the wounded men sped hither and thither, helping, explaining, sharing; how the needles of the cripple girls flew in and out, making, mending for the men, and the laundry girls and housewifery all doing their share . . . To see the more helpless boys cleaning the wheel chairs of the men, and the whole colony positively glittering with happiness, on each face shining their Prince's motto, "I serve," has been one long joy and inspiration to all concerned.⁵¹

Remembering and forgetting were at the heart of this novel therapeutic relationship between men and children. In the buoyant atmosphere of Chailey, Kimmins contended, "the men have forgotten their own loss of limb and pain to a large extent in watching the children." At the same time, however, the heroic deeds of war emphatically were not forgotten. "Many a great battle has been lived over again, trenches dug—tactics and positions explained by wounded men to breathless, open-mouthed boys—and the daily saluting of the flag and the singing of the National Anthem means much more now than could otherwise have been the case."⁵² The erasure of the body in pain is thus accompanied by the production of oral narratives that glamorize war and reinforce its role in serving the patriotic needs of the nation. The enterprise of remembering and reliving battle is exclusively male. Apparently, Chailey's crippled girls, engaged in mending for the men, were not told these stories, only the "breathless, open-mouthed boys," who hoped to surmount their disabilities so they too might serve their country in battle.

Capitalizing on the visual images produced by war, Kimmins offered postcards to visitors depicting a wounded soldier on crutches resting on a boy, who also walks on crutches but is missing a leg. (See Figure 4.) As they look admiringly into each other's eyes, the soldier says to the boy, "you and your buck, me lad, are the best pair of crutches for me."⁵³ The war, then, dramatically redefined the roles of cripples and soldiers. Now it was the soldiers who looked to the cripples for inspiration and courage. The regime at Chailey reversed the roles of children and adults by making children not the objects but the agents of rescue.

Perhaps the most insightful discussion of Chailey's wartime work for soldiers appeared in the *Sussex Express* in the autumn of 1918.

War between nation and nation may cease. But the war against misfortune of mind, body, or estate must still go on . . . With disease and deformity there can be no armistice . . . If we spend thousands of millions to fight tyranny beyond the seas, can we not spare a few thousands to fight the tyranny of crippledom at home—itself to a great degree the consequence and outcome of the battles now so triumphantly concluded.⁵⁴

The article explicitly likened the destruction wrought by German tyranny with those social and economic structures within Britain that produced cripples. The

⁵¹ Excerpts from Kimmins's article were published in the Ministry of Pensions journal on disability, *Recalled to Life* (June 1917): 192–93.

⁵² Kimmins, *Recalled to Life* (June 1917): 192–93.

⁵³ The word "buck" has a wide range of connotations. In this case, it primarily refers to the body or back of the child, which will "buck up" the soldier physically by holding him up or bracing him and psychologically by elevating his spirits. The term also carries heavily masculine connotations since it was commonly used to refer to male animals, especially deer.

⁵⁴ "St. Martin's Day, Armistice Fund," *Sussex Express*, November 29, 1918.



FIGURE 4: The reverse side of this postcard appeals to the self-interest of donors to the school. It declared that "The Heritage Craft Schools are turning the cripple into a potential wage earner instead of a potential idler." From the Chailey Heritage Craft School Archives, Chailey, Sussex.

radical critique of British society implicit in this argument could only be articulated through the concealment of an analogy that appears to be unwavering in its patriotism. It was one, however, that recurred throughout the war and in its immediate aftermath as different social groups, including workers disabled by industrial accidents, laid claim to the largesse of the state.

THE RHETORICAL FASHIONING of Brave Poor Things into exemplary soldiers in the 1890s and 1900s was made all too literal in World War I. As the need for men increased and physical entrance requirements loosened, graduates of Chailey and former clients of the ICAA passed the army's inspection standards, served in battle, and gave their lives for their country. Even as wounded soldiers returned to Britain twisted by the injuries of war, Chailey continued to prepare its most physically fit boys for active service. Kimmins succeeded so well in making Brave Poor Things into whole men that twenty-eight were killed in action. Far from seeing their deaths as a negation of her efforts, Kimmins exulted in them. Their sacrifice underscored Chailey's ability to make functional the arms and legs of its children. Having rescued their bodies from the ravages of poverty, Kimmins celebrated their destruction as the realization of the highest duty and privilege of able-bodied male citizens.

The ICAA, like Kimmins, also proudly reported on the wartime exploits of the cripples it had made into soldiers. Its annual reports included separate sections on former members "on active service" and the "Roll of Honour" for those who had died for the nation. One lame sixteen-year-old boy with a tubercular knee, Walter Whitehorn, gave evidence of his "splendid courage and cheerfulness" before his heroic death at Loos.⁵⁵

Not all workers on behalf of crippled children and wounded soldiers shared the ICAA's and Kimmins's sense of accomplishment. Some refused to glorify the state's right to rehabilitate the bodily resources of its citizens only to squander them in war. Frances Margaret Taylor, who trained with Agnes Hunt at the outset of World War I at the Baschurch Orthopaedic Hospital, recalled vividly "the ambulances rolling in, and the men with great gaping holes where a shell had torn their flesh away." The experience convinced Taylor that "it was frightful to cure men and send them back to that hell of trench warfare, where they lived in stinking mud, among the rats and decaying corpses, and then went 'over the top' to be machine gunned as they were caught in the barbed wire."⁵⁶

At a time of feverish patriotism, however, Kimmins's response was more typical than Taylor's. Lest anyone forget Chailey's contributions to the war, Kimmins obsessively memorialized Chailey's war dead and the war itself with sculptures, a German mortar gun, and a Road or Walk of Remembrance, presumably paved for the enjoyment of the crippled residents.⁵⁷ Each Armistice Day, the crippled children planted apple trees along the walk to commemorate the war dead.⁵⁸ Chailey's Road of Remembrance transformed the violence and pain of war into an organic ritual of renewal and fruitfulness. The memorials aimed to inspire crippled children to achieve the glory of becoming whole men and true citizens by dying in battle.

⁵⁵ ICAA, 28th Annual Report (1915): 13.

⁵⁶ Frances Margaret Taylor, "Memories," typescript memoirs, Volume 1, pp. 123–25, 126, in author's possession. My thanks to Joy Martin and Humphry Taylor for granting me access to their mother's papers.

⁵⁷ The German gun also served as a trophy that symbolically transferred the masculine power of the vanquished German army to those the gun had previously helped to destroy and dismember.

⁵⁸ For a rich discussion of similar memorials in Germany, see George L. Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990), 43, 87.

Robert Jones, the foremost orthopedist of his day, a renowned and long-time champion of crippled children, and the chief inspector of military orthopedics during the war, challenged the authenticity of war memorials such as those erected at Chailey. Even in the midst of the war, in 1917, he ruminated on the hollowness of most such monuments.

When the end comes and Peace is declared the cry will be for War Memorials. Is not *now* the time to decide on these? You do not want to wait until the dead are forgotten. Are our memorials to be spiritual or material, living and permanent, or dead and cold: For my part I have no hesitation in saying that marble or brass has no re-echoing voice in me. My feeling is, that the heroic spirit that sent our beloved dead to their end should be reflected in an equally heroic effort on our part to make and keep the nation efficient.⁵⁹

For Jones, the only true way to memorialize the war dead was to guarantee the health and well-being of those who had survived. Jones's criticisms of war memorials grew out of his impatience with the War Office's treatment of the men whose wounds were so severe that they could not be returned to active duty. As the inspector of military orthopedics for the Army Medical Services, Jones had consistently demanded comprehensive treatment for the war wounded, despite opposition on grounds of economy from within the War Office.⁶⁰

His vision of how "broken soldiers" should be treated, from the moment they were carried from the field of battle until their ultimate discharge back into civilian life, was profoundly molded by nearly three decades of pioneering work for crippled children.⁶¹ One newspaper succinctly remarked, "the special pre-war experience gained from many years work with crippled children is put at the service of the crippled soldier."⁶² The links between crippled children and wounded soldiers operated not only at the level of discourse and representation but also institutionally and medically.

THE CASUALTIES OF WORLD WAR I were unprecedented in terms of sheer numbers and the rate and character of the injuries sustained.⁶³ H. S. Souttar, the leading medical adviser to the ICAA before and after the war, served in Belgium in the early months of the conflict and saw the horrific bodily damage inflicted by a new kind of bullet used by the Germans. This bullet, like the outlawed dum dum, broke into small but destructive pieces of shrapnel that shattered bones and destroyed muscles as they entered the body.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the open countryside that became the first battlefields of World War I was heavily manured and thus rich in bacteria that caused deadly infections. Antiseptic techniques were still primitive. According to statistics compiled by the Disabled Society, 41,050 surviving British

⁵⁹ Robert Jones as quoted in Frederick Watson, *The Life of Sir Robert Jones* (London, 1934), 178.

⁶⁰ On these tensions, see "Broken Soldiers," *London Times* (March 2, 1917): 3.

⁶¹ See Cooter, *Surgery and Society*, esp. 30–52, for a critical examination of Jones's work and some of the myths surrounding it.

⁶² *Sussex Express*, November 29, 1918.

⁶³ See John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme* (1976; rpt. edn., London, 1988), 268–74.

⁶⁴ H. S. Souttar, *A Surgeon in Belgium* (London, 1915), 27. On the origins of Souttar's work for the crippled children of the poor, see 29th Annual Report, ICAA (1916): 11–13.

war veterans had at least one limb amputated because of injuries sustained in battle.⁶⁵ A census of cripples, not just amputees, taken in 1920 claimed that the war created at least 10 million cripples in the belligerent nations, in addition to millions of civilian "peace" cripples.⁶⁶

At the outset of war, the Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) was unprepared for the demands made on it. In the first major engagements of 1914, wounded soldiers were still transported by horse-drawn ambulances, whose pace and violence of movement aggravated unstable fractures and caused hundreds of deaths.⁶⁷ Given the magnitude of the challenge confronting Britain's wartime medical corps, the improved level of medical services provided only one year later at the front and at home was impressive. An exceptionally high percentage (at least one-third) of the wounded required orthopedic care—so many that it is fair to say that the war transformed orthopedics from a medical backwater associated with bone setting into a respected and established field of modern medicine.⁶⁸

Orthopedics was still in its infancy in Britain in 1913. Few general surgeons at home or in the army had received training of any kind in orthopedics, and their lack of familiarity with either effective splints or the elementary principles of orthopedic surgery and postoperative care needlessly crippled thousands of men during the first years of the war. American orthopedic surgeons, under the leadership of Joel Goldthwait, provided important personnel and expertise to augment the handful of experienced British orthopedists available at the war's outset. Most of the British surgeons who transformed the Army Medical Corps' treatment of wounded soldiers had trained in hospitals and clinics for crippled children in the decades before the war. The surgical techniques, hospital organization and management, and physical and psychological therapies devised for cripples in the 1890s and 1900s by men and women such as Robert Jones, Grace Kimmins, and Agnes Hunt contributed significantly to the foundations on which the wartime treatment for amputees and disabled veterans were built.⁶⁹ The Central Council for the Care of Cripples, a quasi-governmental advisory body established in 1919, acknowledged this work in the introduction to its First Annual Report: "it was, perhaps, too little recognised that much of the work then done for the soldier was based upon the experience of a small group of people

⁶⁵ G. Howson, ed., *Handbook for the Limbless* (London, n.d. [probably 1921]), xii.

⁶⁶ *Cripples' Journal*, 3, no. 10 (October 1926): 114. The Ministry of Labour reported to the International Labour Office in July 1923 that there were 900,000 disabled ex-servicemen in receipt of pensions in Great Britain. See *Employment of Disabled Men*, ILO Report (Geneva, 1923), 15.

⁶⁷ For a vivid account of the RAMC's desperate struggle to surmount obstacles posed by the first three major battles of the war, see Frederick S. Brereton, *The Great War and the R.A.M.C.* (London, 1919). Brereton argued that the absence of motor ambulances "crippled" and "paralysed" units otherwise "soundly organised and equipped," p. 48.

⁶⁸ Jay M. Winter has ably told the story of how the medical corps was recruited and organized during the war, although little attention has been paid to where these doctors first gained the surgical skills and technologies necessary to treat the victims of war. See J. M. Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), chap. 5. While Roger Cooter challenges the centrality of the war in the history of orthopedics, he nonetheless concludes that only if by the making of orthopedics "is meant the process by which professional identity is attained can the war be said to have performed this function for orthopaedists on both sides of the Atlantic." Cooter, *Surgery and Society*, 136.

⁶⁹ Because Cooter's central story is the emergence of the profession of orthopedics, he somewhat minimizes the creative contributions of non-orthopedists such as Hunt and Kimmins to the psychological, social, and vocational rehabilitation of the disabled.

who had for years been doing their best towards alleviating the sufferings and assisting in the education of civilian cripples, more particularly of crippled children."⁷⁰

Robert Jones was handed the task of organizing the army's medical treatment of "crippled and deformed" soldiers after "letters poured in" to the director general of the Army Medical Services decrying the army's complete failure to provide for these heroes.⁷¹ Jones's chief qualification for this monumental task was his work for impoverished cripples in Liverpool in the 1880s, under the guidance of the legendary orthopedic surgeon, his uncle, Hugh Owen Thomas.⁷² By the turn of the century, Jones's reputation had spread throughout Britain, and all the leading advocates of the rights of crippled children, including Hunt, Kimmins, and the ICAA, worked closely with him in developing their programs.

The history of the introduction of the Thomas splint into the RAMC illustrates the magnitude of the debt that the wartime care of soldiers owed to orthopedic technologies developed for crippled children. Jones and his colleague at the clearing station for war injured in Bologne, Major Meurice Sinclair, were the most vocal and influential advocates of the use of the Thomas splint during the war.⁷³ Developed by Hugh Owen Thomas and refined by Jones in Liverpool in the 1880s and 1890s, the splint revolutionized the treatment of injured soldiers during World War I. Unlike the Liston splint that it superseded, it could be applied before moving the soldier or ripping open his trousers, and its use thereby greatly reduced further injuries during transport. The Thomas splint could be put on "in a few minutes, usually without an anaesthetic,"⁷⁴ and mortality from fractures dropped from 80 percent in 1916 (before its widespread introduction) to 20 percent in 1918.⁷⁵ Appreciative soldiers nicknamed the splints "Tommies," playing on a popular term for enlisted men.

Also, Jones insisted that the army establish comprehensive orthopedic care institutions modeled on those he had developed at Liverpool's Royal Southern Hospital and the Royal Liverpool Country Hospital for Children at Heswall. As Jones explained to Sir Alfred Keogh, the director general of the RAMC, in February 1916, existing army surgical hospitals suffered from a "want of cohesion" between the different departments—surgery, massage, physical therapy—needed to ensure "success in orthopaedic surgery."⁷⁶ The integration of orthopedic medical services and the segregation of orthopedic patients by injury

⁷⁰ First Annual Report, Central Committee for the Care of Cripples (1921), 5, CCCC Archives of the Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation, London.

⁷¹ Robert Jones to Sir George Makin, May 1918, in Watson, *Life of Sir Robert Jones*, 147.

⁷² There are several biographies and works recounting the histories of both men. On Thomas, see David Le Vay, *Hugh Owen Thomas* (Edinburgh, 1956); Sir Arthur Keith devoted a chapter to Thomas in his *Menders of the Maimed: The Anatomical & Physiological Principles Underlying the Treatment of Injuries to Muscles, Nerves, Bones & Joints* (London, 1919). Thomas and Jones are treated together in H. Winnett Orr, *On the Contributions of Hugh Owen Thomas of Liverpool, Sir Robert Jones of Liverpool and London, and John Ridlon, M.D., of New York and Chicago, to Modern Orthopaedic Surgery* (Springfield, Ill., 1949).

⁷³ See Meurice Sinclair, *The Thomas Splint and Its Modifications in the Treatment of Fractures* (London, 1927).

⁷⁴ Robert Jones, *Notes on Military Orthopaedics* (London, 1917), 119–20.

⁷⁵ Robert Jones, May 12, 1925, "Lady Jones Lecture on Crippling Due to Fractures," reprinted in the *British Medical Journal* (May 16, 1925): 909, hereafter cited as "Crippling."

⁷⁶ Jones to Alfred Keogh, as quoted in Watson, *Life of Sir Robert Jones*, 165.

from other patients were key principles in the care of cripples that Jones sought to make standard during and after the war.

Jones also incorporated lessons he had learned from his close association with the work of Agnes Hunt and Grace Kimmins. Jones, like Hunt and Kimmins, believed that orthopedic care comprehended not only the needs of the body but those of the mind and spirit as well. In his *Notes on Military Orthopaedics* (a training manual for the new doctors called into orthopedics by the war), Jones focused on the psychology of dismemberment as well as its surgical treatment.⁷⁷ He pioneered the creation of a network of "curative workshops," which combined the open-air therapies used so effectively by Hunt at Baschurch with Kimmins's workshop training in handicrafts. Jones maintained that his experiments at Alders Hey, Liverpool, and Shepherd's Bush, Hammersmith, amply proved the benefits of his holistic approach to disability. In language that echoed Kimmins's rhetoric at Chailey, Jones extolled the virtues of curative workshops: regular, skilled work "fosters habits of diligence and self-respect, and converts indolent and often discontented patients into happy men who soon begin to feel that they are becoming useful members of society and not mere derelicts."⁷⁸ Work, then, was the means by which the dismembered could become full citizens again. The army's and the nation's obligations to its broken soldiers necessarily extended over the whole course of these soldiers' lives.

WORLD WAR I WAS THE FIRST TRULY NATIONAL WAR in British history. In the past, the army had been a "separate caste," explained Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, the parliamentary secretary of the Ministry of Pensions. Now, it was co-extensive with "the nation in arms" and touched nearly every household in Great Britain.⁷⁹ By 1918, the government was providing medical care and pensions for over 400,000 disabled soldiers and sailors, who were, *The Times* insisted, the "cream of our race." "In their bodies they bear the heritage of all our endeavours since we became a people; the qualities they incarnate are those that have upheld our name in strength and honour . . . they must be won back from despondency and incapacity, restored to independence and usefulness."⁸⁰ The disabled soldier's body was a repository of the nation's identity, its past, present, and future.

Restoring wounded soldiers to their masculine roles as heads of households, independent wage earners, and fathers was a major task of the postwar reconstructions of men's bodies, gender relations, the economy, and the nation. The success of these multiple reconstructions depended in part on the character of the "home lives" awaiting disabled men. "Home and home life and home ways are his [the disabled soldier's] first and strongest desire," claimed Lord Charnwood, at the time editor of *Recalled to Life*. "[V]ery soon there will be added to that the desire to do the best with himself as a man; for a disabled sailor or soldier is not

⁷⁷ Jones, *Notes on Military Orthopaedics*, vii.

⁷⁸ Jones, *Notes on Military Orthopaedics*, viii.

⁷⁹ Sir Arthur Griffith-Boscawen, "Pensions and Parliaments," *Reveille* (February 1919): 392.

⁸⁰ *London Times* (March 2, 1917): 3.

less of a man, but more of a man than he was before the War.”⁸¹ Few of Charnwood’s contemporaries shared this roseate view linking war wounds and lost limbs with heightened masculinity. Many more were troubled by the dissonant conjunction of youthful manhood with the helplessness of childhood and the impotence of old age.⁸²

“Home life” was convenient shorthand for an array of social problems awaiting disabled soldiers and sailors upon their return to civil life: not just jobs and housing but their reproductive and sexual fortunes as well. Anxiety over disabled veterans’ “home lives” was so great that as early as 1914 one well-intentioned clergyman established an agency to procure wives for them. By marrying them and bearing their children, the handpicked brides were meant to give back to “wounded heroes” their manliness and save themselves from an “unwholesome” and selfish single life.⁸³ This scenario drew on mythic structures about the powers of women’s self-sacrificial love to redeem and transform even monstrously disfigured manhood, myths invoked repeatedly by late Victorian advocates for crippled children. (See Figure 5.) The clergyman’s bishop compelled him to abandon his plan but not before it became the occasion for a fascinating exchange between the *Eugenics Review* and the *Charity Organisation Review*.

“A particularly malignant falsehood is being propogated in the name of ‘pacifism,’” the *Eugenics Review* noted, “to the effect that the wounds and nervous shock inflicted upon soldiers by the experience of war constituted an injury to racial qualities . . . Let it at least be firmly understood by the noble women who choose to espouse these men that the injuries of war last but for one generation, and that their children will receive, as a natural dower, a constitution unimpaired, and the power to become all that their father might have been.” The article contended that “their father’s courage may grow again in a new and uninjured body.”⁸⁴

Why were the sex lives and fertility of disabled soldiers and their spouses such serious matters for the distinguished members of the Eugenics Society?⁸⁵ Their offspring, the society’s president explained in 1917, were “necessary to safeguard the future of the nation.” The war endangered “the racial qualities” of the British nation by allowing moral and physical degenerates—“deliberate shirkers” and unfit men—to propagate the race. Disabled soldiers, by contrast, “constitute[d] a class above the average in civic worth” for two reasons. “In the earlier days of the war all who enlisted were volunteers, in itself a guarantee that they possessed certain high qualities; and it was the earliest to join who suffered the most . . . of

⁸¹ Godfrey Rathbone Benson, Lord Charnwood, “Introductory,” *Recalled to Life* (June 1917): 3.

⁸² For an example, see *Recalled to Life* (June 1917): 76.

⁸³ On the evils of women’s eschewal of marriage, see J. Arthur Thomson, “Eugenics and War,” the Second Galton Lecture, presented on February 16, 1915, and published in *Eugenics Review*, 7 (April 1915): 2, 3. There were many schemes that aimed to restore the masculinity of disabled sailors and soldiers. See, for example, T. H. Mawson, *An Imperial Obligation: Industrial Villages for Partially Disabled Soldiers and Sailors* (London, 1917).

⁸⁴ “Broken Soldiers,” *Eugenics Review*, 7 (October 1915): 202.

⁸⁵ On the Eugenics Society, see Greta Jones, *Social Hygiene in Twentieth Century Britain* (London, 1986).



FIGURE 5: Most of the works of art Galsworthy reproduced in *Reveille* reflected his own critical patriotism. By contrast, the sole representation in the journal of a woman at the home front, Leon de Smet's "Waiting," is sentimental and idealized. By depicting women's rehabilitative fecundity, it reinforced government policies that coerced soldiers' and sailors' wives, through financial sanctions against infidelity, to remain faithful and "wait" for disabled men to return. *Reveille* (November 1918), opposite p. 322.

those who went abroad, the boldest and those with the strongest sense of duty generally forced their way into the fighting line."⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Major Darwin, "The Disabled Sailor and Soldier and the Future of Our Race," *Galton Anniversary Lecture*, February 1917, published in *Eugenics Review*, 9 (April 1917): 2. The Galton

The society called on the state to provide generous financial benefits that would allow disabled men to compete on equal terms with their "stay-at-home neighbors" in the marriage market. While applauding the extension of pensions to soldiers' wives and children, it deplored the exclusion of these benefits to all children born to injured soldiers *after their return home*. By so doing, the state was wasting eugenically desirable reproductive powers of "the disabled bachelor soldier" by saying to him, "Marry or not, just as you please, but mind you don't have any children."

Worse yet, the pension system failed to protect disabled men from the wiles of "an undesirable class of women . . . seek[ing] to entrap the soldiers for the sake of their money value." The Eugenics Society fantasized that the best way to distinguish between the "noble" women it had praised in 1915 and the "undesirable" women it feared in 1917 was to link pension benefits to maternity, not matrimony. Graduated pension allowances for *children* fathered by disabled men after their return home—and emphatically not for their mothers—were an indispensable part of the Eugenics Society's vision of reconstructing soldiers, families, and the nation.⁸⁷

Consistent with its pre-war social policies, the Charity Organisation Society offered a very different vision. It condemned allowances for wives and children as undue state interference in the economy and in the private affairs of families. The proper role of the state was not to encourage men to have children they could not support but rather to help such men become "self-supporting citizens."⁸⁸ Making disabled soldiers into economically independent and self-supporting workers, not fathers, was the measure of true manliness for the COS.

On one point, the two societies agreed completely: work was the key to transforming helpless and unproductive cripples into independent, manly citizens. Drawing on the long association between skilled labor and masculine identity forged in the nineteenth century, the promoters of the Ministry of Pensions curative workshops stressed that their courses would equip disabled soldiers with highly specialized job skills for life and labor in the modern world.⁸⁹ They proudly published letters from men who before the war had engaged in unskilled, badly paid labor and after the workshops possessed skills and high wages.

Several peculiarities of the wartime labor market simultaneously facilitated and complicated the reestablishment of gender hierarchies in the workplace for disabled men. Wartime demand for labor opened up new avenues of employment for women and drew tens of thousands into the paid labor market for the first time.⁹⁰ The staff of the Ministry of Pensions in 1918, for example, consisted of

Anniversary Lectures for 1915 and 1916 were also devoted to the war and were printed in the *Eugenics Review*.

⁸⁷ Darwin, "Disabled Sailor and Soldier," 6.

⁸⁸ "Editorial Notes," *Charity Organisation Review* (November 1915): 373–74.

⁸⁹ The workshops offered training in new technologies such as operating movie projectors and telephone switchboards, in electrical and mechanical engineering, along with more traditional fields for the disabled including shoe making and repair, cabinetmaking and woodwork.

⁹⁰ There is a great deal of excellent work on women's wartime experiences, their gains and losses, in Britain. Deborah Thom's "Women and Work in Wartime Britain," in Richard Wall and Jay Winter, eds., *The Upheaval of War: Family, Work, and Welfare in Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), is

approximately 6,500 women, 200 able-bodied men, and 300 disabled soldiers.⁹¹ Voracious demand for labor combined with the negligible supply of able-bodied men to produce an extremely favorable short-term employment environment for disabled soldiers, even double amputees. But the presence of women in many heretofore male jobs made it more difficult to ensure that disabled men were restored to the work force not just as workers but as men. Anxiety was so great to differentiate between manly and effeminate labor that "strong men" whose injuries forced them to remain on their backs were only allowed to do "feminine fancy work" for purposes of recreation and solace and not as training to earn a living.⁹²

Godfrey Buckley, writing "From the Man's Point of View," posed "a question agitating the minds of many of the disabled": "Why, if they [disabled men] are able to do the work, should women be employed?"⁹³ Some disabled men felt that women in the workplace were aberrations as well as stumbling blocks to the recovery of proper male roles. Far from acknowledging women's contributions to the war effort as workers behind the lines, Buckley highlighted an argument that would dominate postwar debates about employment for disabled men: loss of limb in the face of battle entitled these men to preferential treatment. Even as some advocates for disabled people attempted to produce a rights-based discourse of social welfare encompassing all disabled people (regardless of the cause of disability),⁹⁴ some wounded soldiers called for a hierarchy of entitlements that would favor them over other classes of marginal citizens.

"There is no question of greater *national* importance," declared Sir William Osler, "than how to make these men again effective citizens, capable of earning their own living."⁹⁵ However, the stated goals of policy makers to safeguard race and nation by transforming child-like cripples into manly citizens often collided with their own pervasive representations of wounded soldiers not as men but as "maimed soldier boys." A Ministry of Pensions pamphlet titled "Good News for the Disabled Sailor or Soldier" suggests that such figures of speech were far from benign and sometimes shaped the ways in which policy makers envisioned their relationship with their clients. The tone of the pamphlet is unmistakably condescending and patronizing; the writer assumes the privileged position of a father sharing intimate wisdom with his son. "By means of this little booklet I want to

particularly incisive. See also Gail Braybon, *Out of the Cage: Women's Experience in Two World Wars* (London, 1987); and Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War: The British Experience* (London, 1981); for a controversial analysis of the war's impact on maternal and child welfare provision, see Deborah Dwork, *War Is Good for Babies and Other Young Children: A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England, 1898-1918* (London, 1987). For a very useful collection of essays treating gender and war more generally, see Margaret R. Higonnet, et al., eds., *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1987); also see Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Women and War* (New York, 1987).

⁹¹ Herbert Evans, "The Development of the Work," *Reveille* (November 1918): 235.

⁹² Major Mitchell and Lord Charnwood, "The Present Position of the Question of Training," *Recalled to Life* (April 1918): 331.

⁹³ Godfrey Buckley, "From the Man's Point of View," *Reveille* (November 1918): 296.

⁹⁴ See, for example, His Honour Judge A. Gwynne James, "Orthopaedics in Industrial Life," *Recalled to Life* (September 1917): 300.

⁹⁵ Sir William Osler, "The Problem of the Crippled," *Recalled to Life* (September 1917): 265, my emphasis.

have a little chat with you on matters which affect your future welfare." Then, as if to allay a child's needless fears, the author offers reassurance, "Now, do not be alarmed. I merely want to point out to you how to make the best of your future, and though now you may scarcely feel it possible, yet I will explain how you may be able once more to take your place as a wage-earner and become a productive member of the community."⁹⁶ This proved to be no simple matter.

WORLD WAR I HAD A PROFOUND AND ENDURING IMPACT on cripples—children and soldiers alike—and on policies and cultural perceptions of physical disability in twentieth-century Britain. Disabled soldiers, or more accurately, images of them, have shaped how we have chosen to remember and represent the war. It is almost a cliché of textbooks to include a photograph of amputees in the section treating the first world war.⁹⁷ Such photographs are powerful because they appear to telegraph all their meanings to the viewer; they are immediately identifiable signifiers and substitutes for the war itself. The dismembered veteran embodies the ambiguous meanings and memories of the war.

The war amplified an argument put forward by advocates of the rights of crippled children more than two decades earlier: most cripples were manufactured by human circumstances, through the violence and neglect of war, industrial capitalism, and poverty. Warrior cripples and crippled warriors were actually brought together between 1914 and 1918 at places such as Baschurch and Chailey. The infrastructure for the wartime care of maimed soldiers drew on the expertise developed by pioneers in the movement to care for crippled children. War precipitated an uncanny convergence of rhetoric and policy as children became brave soldiers and "soldier boys" became childlike victims.

Making men, not women, lay at the heart of all the enterprises examined in this essay. Policy makers and reformers alike focused their efforts on transforming crippled boys and wounded soldiers into economically independent males. The needs and interests of female cripples remained on the fringe of public discussions of disability in part because most policy makers assumed that all females, regardless of their physical status, ought to be dependent on fathers, brothers, or husbands. Thus the war reinforced the masculine character of the discursive frameworks that shaped representations and policies for disabled people from the 1880s onward.

On a scale previously unimagined, the war stimulated the production of new technologies of mechanized violence. But it was also accompanied by extraordinary advances in the dissemination of therapeutic, rehabilitative, and surgical technologies for all cripples—male and female, adult and child, soldier and civilian.⁹⁸ (See Figure 6.) "In the midst of this world war it would seem grotesque to refer to possible benefits therefrom," Major Herbert Evans, the chief inspector

⁹⁶ "Good News for the Disabled Sailor or Soldier," reprinted in *Recalled to Life* (June 1917): 60.

⁹⁷ For one recent example, see Richard L. Greaves, Robert Zaller, and Jennifer Tolbert Roberts, *Civilizations of the West: the Human Adventure*, 2 vols. (New York, 1992), 876. The caption used for this image invokes the trope of soldiers as schoolboys: it reads, "The Class of 1914–1918." This same image was used by Gilbert and Gubar in "Soldier's Heart," 268.

⁹⁸ On the impact of war on improving care for cripples, see Jones, "Crippling," 912.

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FIGURE 6: Disabled soldiers' relationships with the technologies of modern life were fraught with ambiguities. Victims of new instruments of warfare, they were nonetheless meant to be reassured by advertisements, which few could possibly have understood, that only new scientific inventions such as the "plurostat" could help them regain their health. *Recalled to Life* (1917).

of the Ministry of Pensions, remarked.⁹⁹ Nonetheless, Evans believed that the war offered unprecedented opportunities for transforming entrenched social, ideological, and economic systems that worked against disabled people. More con-

⁹⁹ Evans, "Development of the Work," *Reveille*, 231.

cretely, the huge demand for artificial limbs generated by the war led to rapid improvements in design, materials, and techniques for their use. Heavy and cumbersome artificial legs were replaced by much lighter and more durable wooden and metal ones, and, with the prodding of the Ministry of Pensions, private manufacturers reduced the costs for such limbs from an average of £80 to £30 between 1918 and 1920.

Prostheses had two main functions: to restore useful function and to achieve the "nearest approach to normal appearance."¹⁰⁰ The requirements of form and function were not always compatible. Artificial arms best suited for highly skilled labor usually bore little resemblance to the limbs they replaced. The most effective arms resembled complicated pieces of machinery that were individually adapted to the particular industrial task and set of movements the disabled worker performed.¹⁰¹ Prosthetic arms or "artificial members" literally joined the working man to his machine and hence made his body an extension of the machine he used. (See Figure 7.) This union of machine and man, while rehabilitating him to labor, eerily recalled the intimate albeit violent confrontation between bodies and machines of war that caused the loss of limb.¹⁰²

Some amputees wore mechanically inefficient "show" or "dress" arms and legs when they wished to make their injuries as invisible as possible. One amputee confessed that "all we crocks are rather sensitive about our physical deformities and scars, and want to cover them up, and it is the same with our mental ones."¹⁰³ Prostheses were intended to make it possible for those who wore them and those who saw them to forget the trauma of amputation. Horace V. Duncan, a London prosthesis manufacturer, advertised a new line of artificial legs he patriotically called "our Victor models," which were, he claimed, "comfortable, silent and perfect in movement." One of his rivals used a similar pitch and insisted that his prostheses would ensure "victory over empty sleeves." (See Figure 8.)

Physical deformity became a familiar part of day-to-day life in Britain, and war veterans formed a large group of voters with powerful emotional, social, and economic claims on the state and the public. In the immediate euphoria of the war's end, the possibilities of fully integrating cripples into the life of the nation seemed limitless. "It is an established fact that with proper artificial limbs and a little training in their use," a *Handbook for the Limbless* distributed by the Disabled Society explained, "there are practically no limits to what a man can achieve in all departments of life, whether in business or in sport."¹⁰⁴

The *Handbook* celebrated the ability of limbless men to enjoy an extraordinary range of leisure activities from motoring and horseback riding to cricket and billiards. Its explicit aim was to force the reader to see these men as unchanged and undaunted by their amputations and to encourage the limbless themselves to "forget" their missing limbs. Photographs (many sent in by wounded soldiers themselves) and texts emphasized over and over that these men were returning to

¹⁰⁰ Daniel Robinson, "Artificial Limbs and Some Difficulties," *Reveille* (November 1918): 270.

¹⁰¹ See Douglas McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier* (New York, 1919), 116–17.

¹⁰² For one interesting account of the "body-machine complex," see Mark Seltzer, *Bodies and Machines* (New York, 1992).

¹⁰³ Nil Desperandum, pseud., "In Hospital," *Reveille* (August 1918): 114.

¹⁰⁴ Howson, *Handbook for the Limbless*, xii.

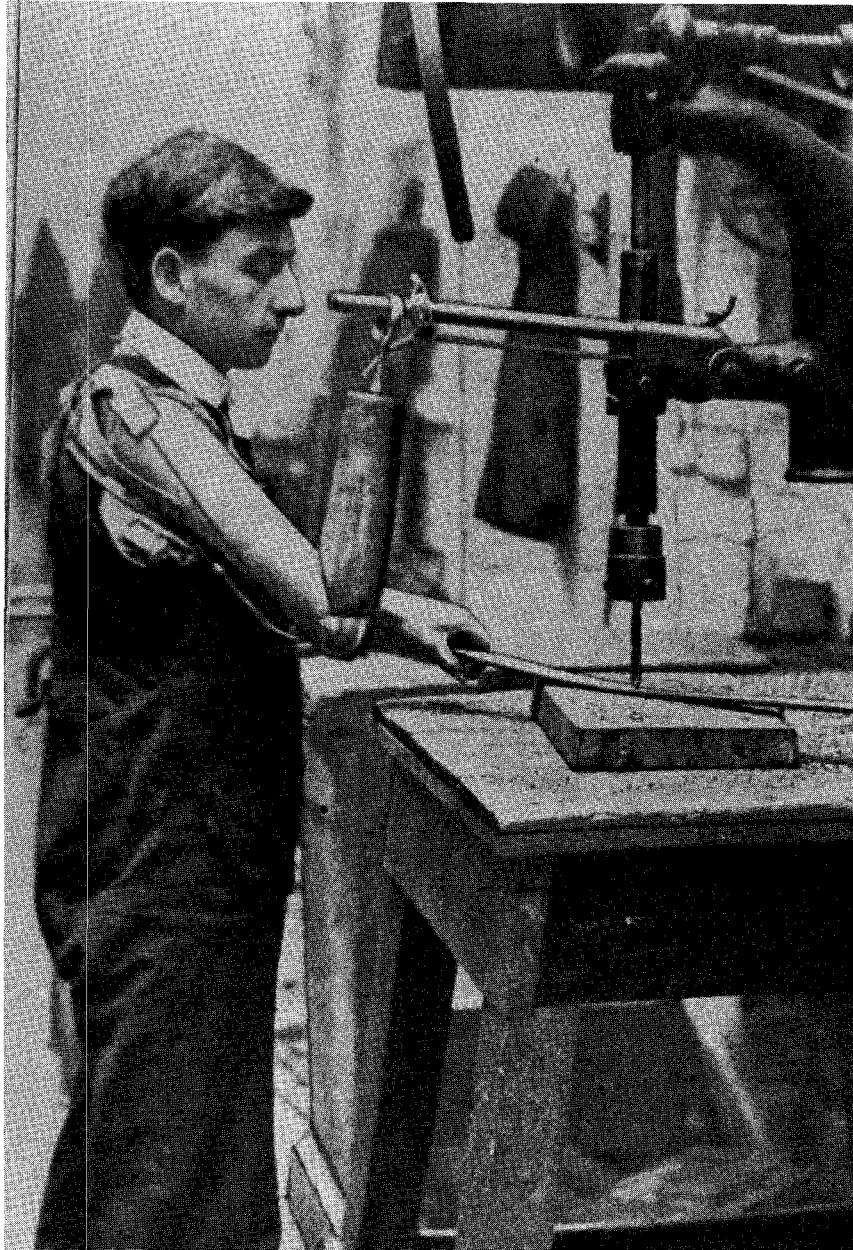


FIGURE 7: This photograph celebrates the efficiency of wartime medical services in restoring wounded soldiers' capacity to labor on behalf of the warfare state. Specially fitted prostheses enabled even severely injured soldiers, including this amputee making submarine fittings, to return to national service in the fight against the enemy. Douglas McMurtrie, *The Disabled Soldier* (New York, 1919), opposite p. 194.

the robust pleasures and pursuits of their pre-war lives. (See Figures 9, 10, 11.) But the meticulous details that the men themselves offered about how to adapt their artificial limbs—as well as various machines and sporting devices to suit their requirements as amputees—overwhelm and undermine the attempt by both the

VICTORY OVER EMPTY SLEEVES.

THE NEW

STEEPER "IDEAL" Arms.

A real ADVANCE in ARTIFICIAL ARMS.

Designed to suggestions from the Limbless themselves, who alone are the judges of what is required to assist them.

I ndispensable,
D urable,
E asy in operation,
A daptability,
L ight.

Ask to see them, and let your next be one of them.

HUGH STEEPER, Limited,

(Successors to the "PROTHESIA CO.")

ROEHAMPTON HOUSE,

LONDON, S.W. 15.

Manufacturers of Artificial Arms and Mechanical Hands.

FIGURE 8: Advertisements disingenuously and cheerfully insisted that prostheses could transform bodily "loss" of limb into patriotic "victory." This victory was presumably not only over soldiers' "empty sleeves" and reduced self-esteem but also over Britain's enemies. G. Howson, ed., *Handbook for the Limbless* (London, circa 1921), 230.

letter writers and readers to "forget" dismemberment. Bodily deformity remains an ineradicable sign of difference.

Like many other publications about disabled soldiers, this *Handbook* was heavily illustrated by photographs accompanying testimonial letters from "limbless" men.



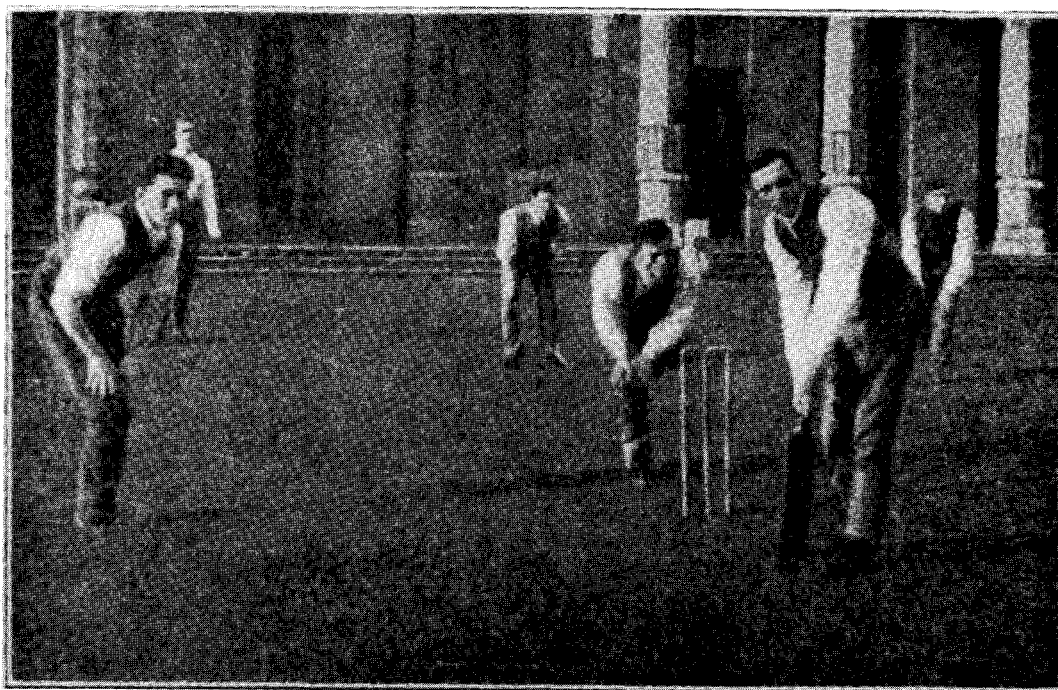
FIG. 1. MOUNTING FROM THE OFF SIDE.

FIGURES 9, 10, 11: These photographs were submitted by veteran amputees themselves for publication in the Disabled Society's *Handbook for the Limbless*. The photographs were meant to convince incredulous readers that amputees could return to physically demanding pursuits such as cricket that defined them not only as full men but as Englishmen. The photographs were accompanied by copiously detailed instructions to other amputees about how to modify their own prostheses and the apparatus on automobiles, bicycles, etc. to suit their needs. G. Howson, *Handbook for the Limbless*, 26, 127, 136.

The photographs and letters were intended to lend authority and veracity to the "facts" presented in the text, which otherwise, the authors assumed, would seem too fantastic to be trusted. These illustrations drew on two discrete but also interconnected documentary traditions: the use of photographic illustrations by medical



Mr. Keith Jopp, who has lost his left arm and left eye, drove an A.B.C. (with left-hand control) by bringing his right hand over to the levers as shown.



ONE-LEGGED AND ONE-ARMED CRICKETERS.

researchers presenting case studies of unusual diseases and deformities;¹⁰⁵ and the “autobiographies” used by freak show proprietors to convince audiences that their exhibits were genuine. The newly restored disabled man was a human novelty produced by the new mechanisms of warfare and the new technologies of medicine and science. Manly but tragically also still a “soldier boy,” he was part man, part machine.

Those men most badly disabled by the war were those least likely to be hired by employers. “They have the greatest claim on the country, and yet many able to do a day’s work are not able to get it. Who can blame them if, instead of being honoured and contented, they become broken wanderers with curses on their lips.”¹⁰⁶ Frederick Watson, Robert Jones’s son-in-law and editor of the *Cripples’ Journal*, bitterly contemplated the impact of the war.

During the later stages of the War, the attitude of the public mind towards the disabled was complex enough, but was not beyond understanding. It was moved by the moral debt of obligation to injuries received in the war; it was felt that the problem was after all temporary, and finally the conflict between commercial efficiency and patriotic motives was sufficiently trying . . . It is open to question whether the public introduction to deformity in war has done very much toward a better understanding of the more insidious causes of deformity in peace.¹⁰⁷

In yet another ironic shift in the relationship between wounded soldiers and cripples, the war constructed two competing categories of disabled persons: “peace” and “war” cripples. In a moving autobiographical essay titled “The Making of a Cripple,” the anonymous author explained the ways in which ostentatious but pitiful attempts to remember “war” cripples became an excuse to ignore “peace” cripples. “When I was selling chocolates I had often to compete with these men at theatres . . . They wear their medals and have ‘Disabled Ex-Service Man’ notices on their caps or on the tray. A civilian cripple has no chance beside them.” He concluded that, “in these days of reforms, pensions, and National Insurance, somebody might have thought of us.”¹⁰⁸

During the war, policy makers and propagandists reiterated that wounded soldiers and their dependents were entitled by right and not by charity to the extensive benefits offered by the Ministry of Pensions.¹⁰⁹ The wartime expansion of soldiers’ rights and benefits was paralleled by substantially increased provisions for children, the nation’s future soldiers and mothers. Between 1915 and 1920, Parliament voted to establish two powerful new ministries, the Ministry of

¹⁰⁵ See Chris Amirault, “Posing the Subject of Early Medical Photography,” *Discourse* (Winter 1993–94): 51–76.

¹⁰⁶ Howson, *Handbook for the Limbless*, 69.

¹⁰⁷ Frederick Watson, untitled essay, *Cripples’ Journal*, 1, no. 3 (January 1925): 121–22.

¹⁰⁸ “The Making of a Cripple,” *Cripples’ Journal*, 2, no. 8 (April 1926): 291.

¹⁰⁹ For a good description of the pension system and veterans’ entitlements, see Captain Basil Williams, “Pensions,” *Recalled to Life* (June 1917): 89–129. There is a growing literature on social provision and World War I, although it says surprisingly little about disability. See Wall and Winter, *Upheaval of War*. On family allowances and ideals of the male breadwinner, see Susan Pedersen, “Gender, Welfare, and Citizenship in Britain during the Great War,” *AHR*, 95 (October 1990): 983–1006; and chap. 2 of her *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914–1945* (New York, 1993). On the war and unemployment insurance and relief, see Noelle Whiteside, “Welfare Legislation and the Unions during the First World War,” *Historical Journal*, 23 (1980): 857–74.

Pensions (1916) and the Ministry of Health (1919), in part to respond to the perceived social welfare needs of disabled soldiers and children.¹¹⁰

But the wartime impulse to remove the stigma of charity from social welfare soon lost strength. And wounded soldiers, as a group, were exceptionally sensitive to the erosion of their rights in postwar rhetoric and policy.¹¹¹ The rough treatment they received at the hands of Labour Bureaus and the humiliation and inconvenience they felt at having to stand in line for unemployment and insurance benefits alongside the able-bodied poor who had not served their nation produced disillusion and despair.

These developments must have given John Galsworthy grim satisfaction. In 1918, he had demanded that the state devise a comprehensive plan for "securing justice and contentment to the great unabsorbed residue of the injured." Failure to do so, he predicted, would lead in five or ten years to a shameful situation. "Men in workhouses, men at street corners, men on tubs, men miserably idle on pensions which barely keep the life in them; bitter men and justly bitter; young men with long years of disillusionment and resentfulness before them, the centre of little swirls of discontent and revolution."¹¹²

In what proved to be the last issue of *Reveille*, Galsworthy returned to these themes.

The State, like the humblest citizen, cannot have it both ways. If it talks—as talk it does, with the mouth of every public man who speaks on this subject—of heroes, and of doing all it can for them, then it must not cheese-pare as well, for that makes it ridiculous. Britain has climbed the high moral horse—as usual—over the great question of our disabled; she cannot stay in that saddle if she rides like a slippery lawyer.¹¹³

It is not difficult to understand why many officials at the Ministry of Pensions had grown uncomfortable with their celebrated editor. With the signing of the armistice and mounting pressure of censorship by ministry officials on him, Galsworthy resigned his duties, and the journal closed down.¹¹⁴

Galsworthy's words were prophetic of developments in the 1920s and 1930s. As disabled veterans were lumped together with other poor and vulnerable social groups in interwar Britain,¹¹⁵ they had to decide whether to advance their claims in concert with or in opposition to these groups. The Disabled Society of the British Legion, while non-partisan, actively lobbied all levels of government and sent questionnaires to elected officials soliciting their positions on issues affecting

¹¹⁰ See Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (New York, 1965), 240–41, on the role of concerns about infant and maternal welfare in the creation of the Ministry of Health.

¹¹¹ On veterans' interwar politics, see Graham Wootton, *The Politics of Influence: British Ex-Servicemen, Cabinet Decisions and Cultural Change, 1917–57* (London, 1963).

¹¹² John Galsworthy, "Looking Ahead," *Reveille* (November 1918): 182.

¹¹³ John Galsworthy, "Spirit and Letter," *Reveille* (February 1919): 364.

¹¹⁴ Ginden, *John Galsworthy's Life and Art*, 399.

¹¹⁵ The Labour Party, for example, regularly grouped discussions of pensions and concerns of disabled veterans with those of old age pensioners, widows, and mothers, and victims of work-related accidents in its party conferences. It proposed pensions of £2 per week for "all incurable invalids and permanently disabled persons regardless of the causes of invalidity or disablement." *Report of the 25th Conference of the Labour Party* (Liverpool, September 29, 30, and October 1, 2, 1925), 362.

their constituents.¹¹⁶ By the mid-1930s, a new organization of largely rank-and-file soldiers emerged to challenge the leadership of the Disabled Society. The British Limbless Ex-Servicemen Association's (BLESMA) strongholds were in southeast Lancashire, in towns such as Manchester and Salford, where traditions of non-deferential, working-class political activism ran deep. Its activities initially alarmed civil servants and members of Stanley Baldwin's conservative ministry, who wrongly identified BLESMA as a subversive political group and who discredited the organization's findings in extensive internal memos.¹¹⁷ On November 30, 1935, J. V. Bell, BLESMA's general secretary, presented his case to the minister of Pensions.

[T]he present assistance granted through the Unemployment Assistance Board or Public Assistance Committees are [*sic*] causing much anxiety for those who have in spite of their disability successfully held positions and appointments of an important character and provided for themselves a high standard of citizenship, but who have now through age and the cavalcade of time, lost their positions, and the internal home life of these pensioners is now, very sad and regrettable due to one thing, the shameful results after facing the Public Assistance and Unemployment Boards.¹¹⁸

The words and symbols adorning Bell's stationery are at least as remarkable as his letter. The slogan "Others May Forget We Cannot 1914–1918" appears on the upper left corner of the page, and, on the upper right, "The wearer of our Badge is worthy of your greatest consideration." BLESMA meetings always began with members at attention "In Silent Memory of Fallen Comrades." Precisely because these dismembered soldiers could never forget their losses, they understood the profound significance of shaping their countrymen's remembrance of the Great War. And we are obliged to acknowledge our investment in the politics of forgetting.

¹¹⁶ Graham Wootton has reproduced these questionnaires and Stanley Baldwin's responses in late 1923 before the General Election in appendix 1 of *The Politics of Influence*, 269–72.

¹¹⁷ For correspondence and memos about BLESMA, see PIN 15/1409–1417, Public Record Office.

¹¹⁸ J. V. Bell to Minister of Pensions, November 30, 1935, PIN 15/1409, Public Record Office.

History from the Ecological Perspective: Gaia Theory and the Problem of Cooperatives in Turn-of-the-Century Germany

BRETT FAIRBAIRN

Once a photograph of the Earth, taken from the outside, is available . . . a new idea as powerful as any other in history will be let loose.

Sir Fred Hoyle, 1948.

THERE MAY BE A REVOLUTION OCCURRING in some scientists' views of life on earth, and it is unlikely that such a profound rethinking can occur without impact on disciplines that study living communities—as history does. As in past shifts of paradigms in the natural sciences, the influence on historical study may be indirect, less a matter of changing the formal content or structure of history than of supplying new metaphors. While any borrowing from another discipline can be either stimulating or stultifying, depending on the use made of it and the degree of simplification, some of the new ideas about ecology are uniquely suggestive. This article contends, in particular, that the controversial “Gaia” theory of James Lovelock and Lynn Margulis offers an ecological “systems” perspective that can provide a conceptual framework for social history. To suggest bringing these new evolutionary and ecological ideas into social history is not a matter of making history more “scientific” (in the sense of determinist or statistically predictable)—quite the reverse. It is biological science that may be changing to develop conceptual models for complex, dynamic natural systems, systems at least as complex, as codetermined by individual striving and community patterns, as human society itself.

Theory is important, but to historians it generally takes on meaning when it engages the evidence. However grand the theory, historians sum it up in miniature by work on a single topic. While the first half of this article surveys Gaia and related ecological ideas (from an analytical point of view, aiming to extract elements applicable to evolution, systems theories, and the social sciences), the second half is an attempt to understand a particular social, economic, and political formation—the cooperative movement in Germany before 1914, then the largest social movement in German history—by an infusion of the ecological concepts about systems, adaptations, niches, self-regulatory behavior, and feedback mechanisms. The general and the specific, the theory and the struggle with the evidence,

evolve simultaneously and interdependently in the mind of the researcher, but the requirements of writing enforce sequence and dualism. First the theory, then the problem.

THE REVOLUTION THAT MAY OCCUR IN BIOLOGY has much to do with notions of interdependence, community, and symbiosis, and how these relate to evolution. Many aspects of work in these fields are receiving new or renewed attention. One of the most compelling organizational concepts is the much-discussed "Gaia hypothesis," proposed by maverick British scientist and inventor James Lovelock and given scientific rigor by American microbiologist Lynn Margulis. To its supporters, the Gaia hypothesis represents a powerful idea "which may, one day, be recognized as one of the major discontinuities in human thought."¹ Lovelock asserted no less than that the planet Earth is alive—not in the sense of being covered or occupied by life but actually permeated, modified, and regulated by the activities of living organisms acting as a unified system. Living creatures, acting together in evolved patterns of cooperation, respond to changes and regulate the planetary environment in ways that ensure their own collective survival. He called this system of different species and ecologies "the largest living organism" or "a total planetary being."²

The essential feature of Lovelock's perspective is its holism—beginning from the top down, with a view of the earth as a single integrated system. Engaged by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) as a consultant for the search for life on Mars, Lovelock asked himself how, by observing a planet from a distance, one can determine whether or not it bears life. Imagining the earth from space, Lovelock concluded that the presence of life was unmistakable, above all from the atmosphere: a striking blend of gases as contradictory as oxygen and methane, which cannot exist side by side for any length of time. This is a sign of a dynamic system in which such gases are constantly added and regulated. Mars and Venus, by contrast, have essentially inert atmospheres dominated by carbon dioxide. Lovelock told his employers they would find no life on Mars with their space probes. Contemplating the deadness of Mars, however, gave Lovelock the first inkling of life as a planetary phenomenon on earth.³ What does it mean to say a planet is alive? Lovelock compared the nonliving parts of the earth to the bones of animals or the bark of trees, nonliving components in living systems. Since a redwood tree is 95 percent dead yet is still considered a living system (a metaphor supplied by one of Lovelock's supporters), one might see the earth the same way, although in truth the earth is much more than 95 percent nonliving matter. This holistic view of the earth as a living system, Lovelock concedes, has many predecessors.⁴ Original, on the other hand, is the breadth of

¹ Lewis Thomas, M.D., in the foreword to James Lovelock, *The Ages of Gaia: A Biography of Our Living Earth* (1988; New York, 1990), xi. This work is Lovelock's clearest and fullest treatment of his ideas.

² Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, xiv, 19.

³ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 5–7, 28–29.

⁴ Lovelock cites James Hutton, the founder of geology, "biogeochemists" in the Soviet Union beginning with Vladimir Vernadsky (the man who developed the concept of the "biosphere" in

his conception combined with what he believes to be a firmly scientific way of investigating it. Original, too, is the provocative way he presented his ideas, made possible in his own opinion by his unorthodox position as an independent scientist supported by his inventions.⁵ Not the least provocative element of his hypothesis is the name he gave to it.

Lovelock says he originally considered a staid scientific name for his hypothesis, perhaps "Biocybernetic Universal System Tendency/Homeostasis."⁶ After some hesitation, he accepted the suggestion of novelist William Golding to use the name of the Greek goddess of the earth, Gaia or Gaea, for his thought creation.⁷ The flight of fancy in naming a hypothesis after a goddess was not without significance for the reception of the theory. It increased the impact of Lovelock's idea and animated other scientists both for and against him. Unintentionally, it also helped spawn or energize a popular culture of New Age, earth-goddess spirituality. As Lovelock admits, "when I wrote the first book on Gaia I had no inkling that it would be taken as a religious book . . . Two-thirds of the letters received, and still coming in, are about the meaning of Gaia in the context of religious faith."⁸ "That Gaia can be both spiritual and scientific," he adds, "is, for me, deeply satisfying." He compares Gaia as a myth to the cult of the Virgin Mary, a more manageable, intermediate (and feminine) route to a remote and universal God.⁹ Gaia in her mass-cultural role is a goddess of feminism, environmentalism, holistic conception, and of a blending of science and spirituality. To Gaia's discoverers, however, she remains a scientific hypothesis, whose usefulness lies in raising questions and identifying phenomena that would otherwise not be seen, in guiding future research, and perhaps in making predictions.

The scientific side of the Gaia concept was bolstered by microbiologist Lynn Margulis, welcomed by Lovelock as "the staunchest and best of my colleagues" in the long effort to have Gaia theory taken seriously.¹⁰ Having less patience than Lovelock for metaphysics, Margulis insisted on treating Gaia as an abstraction of normal natural processes, not an organism. After the idea of Gaia first occurred to Lovelock in the late 1960s, Margulis's collaboration helped him flesh it out for publication in the early 1970s.¹¹ Lovelock produced the first full book on the

1911), population biologist Alfred Lotka, ocean chemist Arthur Redfield, biologist J. Z. Young, limnologist G. Evelyn Hutchinson, geochemists Lars G. Sillén and G. N. Lewis, ecologist Eugene Odum, and paleontologist Heinz A. Lowenstam. *Ages of Gaia*, 10, 30–31; James Lovelock and Lynn Margulis, "Gaia and Geognosy," in Mitchell Rambler, Lynn Margulis, and René Fester, eds., *Towards a Science of the Biosphere* (Boston, 1989), 5.

⁵ Lovelock's most important invention was the electron capture detector that is used to detect trace elements; it was the basis of his landmark research proving that chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) are widely distributed throughout the earth's atmosphere.

⁶ Lawrence E. Joseph, *Gaia: The Growth of an Idea* (New York, 1990), 29.

⁷ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 1.

⁸ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 203.

⁹ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 206 and following; quotation on 217.

¹⁰ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, xv.

¹¹ James Lovelock, "Gaia as Seen through the Atmosphere," *Atmospheric Environment*, 6 (1972): 579–80; James Lovelock and Lynn Margulis, "Atmospheric Homeostasis, by and for the Biosphere: The Gaia Hypothesis," *Tellus*, 26 (1974): 1–10; Margulis and Lovelock, "Biological Modulation of the Earth's Atmosphere," *Icarus*, 21 (1974): 471–89; Margulis and Lovelock, "The Atmosphere as Circulatory System of the Biosphere—The Gaia Hypothesis," *CoEvolution Quarterly*, 6 (1975): 30–41.

subject in 1979, and for nearly the next ten years he and Margulis attempted to attract the attention of biologists, atmospheric scientists, and earth scientists.¹² Margulis's help on one hand, and the reaction of critics on the other, went a long way toward polishing the metaphysical rough edges off the theory to expose a scientific core. Whereas his 1979 proposal was clearly a "hypothesis," when Lovelock published again in 1988 he presented Gaia—with clarifications and refinements—as a "theory."¹³ Also in 1988, the American Geophysical Union held an interdisciplinary conference to examine the Gaia idea, thus giving Gaia its first systematic scrutiny.¹⁴

Margulis's insights into the interdependent world of microorganisms are crucial to Gaia theory. Bacteria affect the environment on a planetary scale. Margulis argues, "Life's pressure is felt all over the surface of the Earth, from the depths of the oceans to where the air grows very thin. Wherever and whenever something can grow and reproduce, suitable organisms will find their way and flourish . . . Any living creature can and will be killed, but life itself cannot be stopped. Not from any plan or intention, and assuming no 'soul' or other mystical power, Gaia theory states that the net effect of this ancient, ubiquitous life force is the regulation of [the] local, and ultimately the global, environment."¹⁵ The regulation arises, according to Margulis, from the fact that "all organisms, from the microbial level on over to the visible world of plants, animals, and human beings, change their environment . . . One hundred percent of organisms . . . alter their surroundings 100 percent of the time."¹⁶ Using such insights, Lovelock claims to present "a new theory of evolution, one that does not deny Darwin's great vision but adds to it by observing that the evolution of the species or organisms is not independent of the evolution of their material environment. Indeed the species and their environment are tightly coupled and evolve as a single system."¹⁷ One organism may become dependent on an environmental side effect produced by another, and the dependency may become mutual and integrate a whole system of organisms. In such a case, one organism would end up appearing to produce an environmental effect (for instance, the transference of a certain substance into the atmosphere) purely for the good of the others—an apparent contradiction of "selfish" Darwinian selection. But, adds Lovelock, "life is social. It exists in communities and collectives . . . All collections of living things show properties unexpected from a knowledge of a single one of them." That is, one cannot from the study of a single cell deduce the fact that cells regulate the internal temperature of the human body.¹⁸ Margulis's and Lovelock's living earth

Lovelock traces his Gaia-related publications back to 1965; see Margulis and Lovelock, "Gaia and Geognosy," 3.

¹² James Lovelock, *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth* (Oxford, 1979; 2d edn., 1987).

¹³ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 11.

¹⁴ See the account of this conference in Joseph, *Gaia*, 74 and following. Joseph summarizes the debates based not only on published sources but also on personal interviews, conference presentations, and conference questions and rebuttals.

¹⁵ Quoted in Joseph, *Gaia*, 6.

¹⁶ Joseph, *Gaia*, 7.

¹⁷ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, xiv.

¹⁸ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 18.

is created by the unconscious evolution of creatures that affect their environment, including the creatures around them, as they evolve. This vision of Darwinian evolution with a difference is at the heart of what others find provocative about Gaia. Darwinism is a powerful force in the interpretation of biology and to some extent in the interpretation of society; any revision of Darwinism is of basic interest.

CRITICISMS OF THE THEORY, many of which came from evolutionary theorists, helped make clear what was and was not essential. Conventional evolutionary scientists were particularly provoked by Lovelock's seeming suggestion that diverse organisms could behave in an *altruistic* fashion to help out some bigger collectivity. W. Ford Doolittle pinpointed this implication in giving Gaia faint praise in 1979: "the good thing about this engaging little book by Jim Lovelock," wrote Doolittle, "is that reading it gives one a warm, comforting feeling about Nature and man's place in it. The bad thing is that this feeling is based on a view of natural selection—that force which alone is responsible for the existence and characteristics of the biosphere—which is unquestionably false."¹⁹ At the root of such criticisms was a sense that what Lovelock proposed was teleological—that living creatures, in order to cooperate in the fashion represented by Gaia, must somehow know what they are striving toward or they must follow predestined paths. The alternative explanation was summarized by geochemist H. D. Holland: "we live on an Earth that is the best of all worlds but only for those who have adapted to it."²⁰ In other words, the environment is right for life because life is shaped by the environment, not vice-versa. Lovelock's response to his critics was to develop a mathematical computer model to illustrate how the *unconscious* behavior of interrelated life forms—pursuing their own reproductive success, thriving under optimal conditions, and declining under marginal ones—could regulate a natural environment.²¹ The computer model was theoretical, but it modeled relationships that, in life, could be tested and examined, avoiding teleology and offering a way to answer the question of whether or not life regulates its environment. Lovelock's model highlighted two intriguing features: it suggested that an ecology could maintain stability under changing environmental conditions and that its ability to do so increased with increasing complexity, or number and variety, of organisms.

It is these kinds of conceptual relationships—stability under changing conditions, consistent patterns arising out of the activity of organisms that pursue their own advantage, unconscious cooperation, a relationship between evolved com-

¹⁹ Quoted by Joseph, *Gaia*, 56.

²⁰ Holland quoted by Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 32.

²¹ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 42 and following. The model is dubbed "Daisyworld," a hypothetical planet where the changing population balance of different shades of daisies influences the albedo (reflectiveness) of the planet's surface and hence the temperature. The differential growth of different daisies keeps the temperature in balance when the intensity of sunlight is changing. The essential assumptions appear to be: variation and diversity of organisms, a connection between their effect on the environment and their reproductive success (for instance, dark daisies warm the soil, which helps them thrive in cooler temperatures), and the existence of environmental optima and limits of growth.

plexity and stability—that should make the Gaia model interesting for scholars who study the complexity of human society. In the past, organic or biological metaphors for society were simple and often deterministic. For example, one might compare society to an organism: classes or occupations would be organs, individuals would be cells. Social structures might be seen as functionally interrelated like the organs of a body. Physiocrats might prescribe tonics to improve collective health, but conservatives might conclude that each organ must play its role or threaten the death of the whole—an argument in favor of functional hierarchy and against reform.²² Alternatively, instead of the collectivist view of society as an organism, one might adopt individualist biological imagery, as in the metaphor of “Social Darwinism”: society as an arena within which the fittest win and effect racial progress throughout the eons.²³ Lovelock’s Gaia metaphor is fundamentally different from functionalist stasis and from individualist optimism. Gaia is a *system*, not a single organism or a collection of separate individuals. Gaia has unity and identity—it regulates itself, surviving over long periods—and yet it can change, change suddenly in geological terms, maintaining wholeness and continuity even while structures and relationships are turned upside down. This combination of a resilient collective identity with changeability looks a lot more like our instinctive notions of human community, nation, and society than do previous biological metaphors.

If life on earth (or any subsystem of it) is understood as a dynamic equilibrium of complex processes, then this view has certain consequences. The idea of an *equilibrium* (Lovelock prefers “stability” or “homeostasis,” which avoid the connotation of inertness, as in chemical equilibrium) is significant: it implies an order that exists neither by conscious design nor by unchanging or eternal necessity but rather from a temporary balance of separately evolving needs and forces. In the ecological perspective, the equilibrium is maintained by the interactions of the participants but not because any of them necessarily intend to create the specific equilibrium that results; rather, it arises through the meshing of their needs and actions, the results of their evolving competition and cooperation. For such an equilibrium to persist in a complex natural system, there must be a multiplicity of processes sustaining it. Some processes must supply *negative feedback* against fundamentally destabilizing changes, inhibiting runaway developments that would cause the system as a whole to collapse. When processes of *positive feedback*

²² Thomas Hobbes justified the state as “an Artificiall Man” which had to see to its “nutrition, and procreation,” as part of his argument concerning the legitimacy of authority; *Leviathan* (rpt. edn., London, 1973), 3, 130. Edmund Burke’s talk of states having “organs” and “minds” invoked biological images in support for his advocacy of hereditary institutions; Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine, *Reflections on the Revolution in France and The Rights of Man* (rpt. edn., Garden City, N.Y., 1961), 15, 61. At the extreme, Fascists and National Socialists were fond of organic-functionalist imagery to symbolize the subordination of parts to the whole.

²³ Social Darwinism is commonly associated with Herbert Spencer, the man who coined the phrase “survival of the fittest,” although some characterize him not as the quintessential “social Darwinist” but rather a “social Lamarckist” (Peter J. Bowler, *The Non-Darwinian Revolution: Reinterpreting a Historical Myth* [Baltimore, Md., 1988], 158) or even a “moral Lamarckist” (Howard L. Kaye, *The Social Meaning of Modern Biology* [New Haven, Conn., 1986], 37)—because Spencer believed that struggle would improve the weak, not eliminate them. Either way, the view of society is one in which progress occurs by individual effort; collectivism, mutual aid, and efforts to help the poor are rejected as hindrances to competition.

come into play (situations in which incremental change leads to further, accelerating change), the system may move rapidly to a new equilibrium. Also, there must be latent or low-level processes within the system that can assume greater importance in response to changing conditions.

Negative and positive feedback processes are of central importance, because without them an ecological system cannot remain stable. A process of negative feedback is one in which the system reacts against changes and does so more and more strongly the stronger the changes. Living things can behave in this way. On a planetary scale, perhaps increased solar radiation (which, by itself, would lead to increased temperature) leads to increased growth of green plants and algae; these remove carbon and greenhouse gases from the atmosphere, decreasing the "greenhouse effect" and keeping the planet's temperature moderate. The tendency toward higher temperature is compensated for by the activity of life. A positive-feedback process, by contrast, builds on itself, typically up to some resource-related environmental limit, as in a geometric multiplication of rabbits that culminates in a Malthusian food crisis. Such processes might be seen as destabilizing, but in the evolution of Gaia they may have a crucial role in creating new equilibria. For example, one of the greatest "catastrophes" in the history of life on earth was apparently the rapid spread of oxygen-producing bacteria billions of years ago. The spread of these bacteria was a kind of runaway growth process, and it favored those species that could tolerate oxygen. The vast majority of species found oxygen poisonous and were eliminated or survived only by hiding in anaerobic environments. Lovelock once referred to this episode hyperbolically as the "oxygen Holocaust." The new conditions created the climate (literally) for more complex ecologies. The concept of latent positive-feedback possibilities is also important: organisms or systems that are present and could expand rapidly if conditions changed, effecting new balances between life and the environment. This is presumably why in a Gaian system complexity means stability: the more organisms that exist, the greater the reservoir of potential adaptations that may cope with changed conditions.

"Living organisms grow rapidly until a steady state is reached where growth and decay are in balance," Lovelock writes. "This rapid, almost explosive tendency to expand to fill an environmental niche acts as an amplifier. The system moves rapidly in positive feedback to approach a balance. Soon stability is achieved and the planet runs on in comfortable homeostasis."²⁴ It is important to note here that the organisms that end up restoring an ecological balance do so as a side effect of pursuing their own reproductive advantage. The bacteria that began removing carbon from the atmosphere and adding oxygen must have done so as part of chemical processes that gave them distinct local advantages in Darwinian selection. Once they did so on a wide-enough scale, however, they helped produce an oxygen atmosphere on which other organisms grew to depend. After the fact, their activity in changing the environment may appear altruistic. Lovelock speculates further and suggests logically possible (and very complex) mechanisms by which microorganisms could have evolved to control cloud formation, colonization of the earth's land surface, formation of mineral

²⁴ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 83.

beds, removal of calcium from the ocean (limestone formation), control of sea salinity through reef-building, control of the roughness of ocean waves, and recycling of sulfur and iodine from the ocean back to the land. Lovelock concedes that there is no proof (although there is suggestive evidence for some of these ideas) but points out that Gaia theory has already led scientists to ask questions and make discoveries that would not otherwise be made—such as the fact that it is primarily dimethyl sulfide (a bacterial product), not hydrogen sulfide, that carries sulfur from the sea to the land.²⁵

THESE EXAMPLES SHARE AN INTEGRATION OF THE SELFISH pursuit of reproductive success by individual organisms, species, and genes (classical and neo-Darwinism) and complex cooperative patterns they build up in the course of their competition. “As a metaphor,” writes Lovelock, “Gaia emphasizes most the significance of the individual organism.” “It is always from the action of individuals that powerful local, regional, and global systems evolve. When the activity of an organism favors the environment as well as the organism itself, then its spread will be assisted; eventually the organism and the environmental change associated with it will become global in extent.” This statement is perhaps the single fundamental element in the Gaian vision, an explanation of how collective behavior arises from individual self-interest—a synthesis of individualism and collectivism. The synthesis lies in Lovelock’s and Margulis’s view of evolution as a process in which not only individuals or species evolve but also simultaneously the whole system of which they are a part—an evolution of structures, of relationships with one another, and of the environment. Perhaps these ideas relate to developments in evolutionary theory, which, starting from the selfish competition of genes, are aimed at finding the origins of cooperative and symbiotic behavior.

Richard Dawkins, professor of biology at Oxford University, is not a supporter of Gaia. He claimed, “the Gaia theory thrives on an innate desire, mostly among laypeople, to believe that evolution works for the good of all. Profoundly erroneous.” Or, as he also remarked, the Gaia concept “sounds exactly like the origin of a religion to me.”²⁶ Dawkins’s Darwinian orthodoxy is presented in popular form in *The Selfish Gene*, in which he treats the behavior of all individual organisms and species as governed by natural selection for the spread of their genes—in effect, plants, animals, and so on are “survival machines” programmed by the genes they contain.²⁷ Dawkins analyzed the elements of what would comprise an “evolutionary stable strategy,” or ESS, a pattern of behavior that was better for a gene’s survival than any alternative strategy. Once such a strategy emerged (by random mutation), it would spread (because it promoted the success of the organisms that followed it) and would remain stable (because any alternative strategy appearing by random mutation would not do as well and

²⁵ Lovelock, *Ages of Gaia*, 92–147.

²⁶ Quoted by Joseph, *Gaia*, 56, 69.

²⁷ Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene*, new edn. (Oxford, 1989). See also *The Blind Watchmaker* (New York, 1988).

would die out).²⁸ With this device, Dawkins analyzed examples of behavior by living organisms to reveal how they emerged and spread as strategies conducive to survival of genes. He had no difficulty interpreting symbiotic relationships as part of the survival strategies of such organic machines (and approvingly referred to Margulis's work on cell symbiosis), but such symbioses formed no large place in his theory. He did not much pursue the implications of "reciprocal altruism" as an evolutionary strategy. "I am no better at such speculation than the next man, and I leave the reader to entertain himself."²⁹

One intriguing speculation was carried out by Robert Axelrod, who began by wondering about the Prisoner's Dilemma game widely used by social scientists and ended with a new insight into evolution. The game pairs up participants, who are allowed to make a dualistic choice to betray or cooperate with each other, without being able to communicate, and are typically asked to play many rounds with the same partner. The game is used to study attitudes and behavior, but Axelrod asked a question out of curiosity: what strategy is objectively the "best" in the game or would score the most points against all other possible strategies? Axelrod's methodology was imaginative: he organized two tournaments and invited scientists to enter computer programs of their own design to compete at playing Prisoner's Dilemma. The results were a surprise. Both rounds were won by the simplest and what Axelrod called the nicest strategy, a program called Tit for Tat, which, in each round of each game with each competitor, did to that competitor what the latter had done to Tit for Tat on the previous round. The strategy was "nice" because it started off being cooperative; it was "stable" because it invariably rewarded cooperation by its partners and punished transgressions. In practice, the program scored points cooperating with other similar programs, while competing programs in the tournaments that tried to "cheat" ended up in unproductive cycles of punishment and recrimination. Axelrod recognized the relevance to evolutionary theory: cooperative behavior could evolve, even in competition with "cheating" behavior; and, he showed mathematically, even a small proportion of cooperators could derive enough benefit from cooperation to succeed and spread, until nearly the whole of a population would cooperate. Cooperation, in Dawkins's terms, could easily and frequently (depending on certain parameters of the population and its interactions) be an evolutionary stable strategy.³⁰

Arguing from her own research specialty, Margulis offers a further elaboration of the evolution of cooperation. The difference from Dawkins appears to lie in the scope afforded to symbiotic behavior. "At the level of the microcosm," writes Margulis, "symbiotic cooperation is at least as important as 'survival of the fittest' competition; in order to compete—in order to get in the game in the first place—you have to cooperate. We now believe that the doctrinaire Darwinian view of 'Nature red in tooth and claw' is naive and incomplete. Symbiosis means

²⁸ Dawkins, *Selfish Gene*, 69 and following.

²⁹ Dawkins, *Selfish Gene*, 188.

³⁰ Robert Axelrod, *The Evolution of Cooperation* (New York, 1984). For a synthesis of the neo-Darwinist "solution" to the "problem" of altruism, see Helena Cronin, *The Ant and the Peacock: Altruism and Sexual Selection from Darwin to Today* (Cambridge, 1991), 253 and following.

survival.”³¹ Margulis started from a provocative insight in the 1960s, namely that not all the genes found in cells are in the cell nuclei. In other subcellular bodies such as chloroplasts and mitochondria, different genetic material is found. Margulis argued, and it is now widely accepted, that these chloroplasts and mitochondria were once free-living bacteria, which came together with cells in a process of “serial endosymbiosis.” The cells of plants and animals are therefore mutual associations of microorganisms, created by symbiosis (and natural selection) rather than by random mutation and natural selection.³² Creation and inheritance of symbiotic arrangements may be like a Lamarckian inheritance of acquired characteristics. Another way to view it is as a different meaning for the term reproduction: “reproduction occurs not only from organism to organism but hierarchically,” writes Margulis. “Molecules, cells, organisms, even communities . . . reproduce.”³³ This complex, hierarchical organization extends from the lowest to the highest possible level: “The consortial quality of the individual pre-empts the notion of independence. For example, what appears to be a single wood-eating termite is comprised of billions of microbes, a few kinds of which do the actual digesting of the cellulose of the wood. Gaia is the same sort of consortial entity, but it is far more complex. Consortia, associations, partnerships, symbioses, and competitions in the interaction between organisms extend to the global scale.”³⁴

Like Lovelock, incidentally, Margulis is careful to trace the antecedents of these ideas; like him, she found an important tradition of similar scientific thought in the former Soviet Union. She cites historian of biology L. N. Khakhina, who traces the concept of “syntrophogenesis” among Russian scientists from the nineteenth century to contemporary times. Individual thinkers in other countries also arrived at similar ideas, but all of them remained isolated minorities within the scientific establishment, unable to make a dent in the armor of “Nature red in tooth and claw.”³⁵ And, in Margulis’s opinion, the phenomenon of symbiosis is still marginalized by neo-Darwinist scientists.

But appearances can be deceiving. It would be a mistake to see the difference between Margulis and conventional Darwinists as only a question of degree. True, Dawkins and others recognize symbiosis, only they accord it a smaller place than Margulis does. A simple difference of degree, however, does not account for “the sometimes ridiculous hostility” that greeted Margulis’s theory when it was first proposed.³⁶ Margulis’s theory may be logically consistent with Dawkins’s selfish genes, but her belief that symbiosis is fundamental to life leads her to employ metaphors radically different from his. She paints life as a universe of symbiosis and cooperation, more than just a competitive elimination of rivals. This differ-

³¹ Lecture quoted in Joseph, *Gaia*, 36–37. For Margulis’s work on microorganisms, see Lynn Margulis and Dorion Sagan, *Microcosmos: Four Billion Years of Microbial Evolution* (New York, 1986); and Dorion Sagan and Lynn Margulis, *Garden of Microbial Delights: A Practical Guide to the Subvisible World* (Boston, 1988).

³² See Lynn Margulis, *Symbiosis in Cell Evolution* (San Francisco, 1981).

³³ Quoted by Joseph, *Gaia*, 63.

³⁴ Unpublished ms. quoted by Joseph, *Gaia*, 54.

³⁵ Lynn Margulis, “Syntrophogenesis and Symbiogenesis,” in Margulis and René Fester, *Symbiosis as a Source of Evolutionary Innovation: Speciation and Morphogenesis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 1, 6.

³⁶ Foreword by Sir David C. Smith to Margulis and Fester, *Symbiosis*, ix.

ence in metaphor is particularly significant for the social sciences: in Margulis's opinion, symbiosis also invalidates sociobiology—the application of Darwinism to analysis of culture.

[T]hese lessons from symbiosis research and from molecular biology directly contradict the assumptions of mathematical evolutionary biology (and its stepchild sociobiology) as it is fashionably practiced. The “individuals” handled as unities in the population equations are themselves symbiotic complexes involving uncounted numbers of live entities integrated in diverse ways in an unstudied fashion . . . Failure to acknowledge the composite nature of the organisms studied invalidates entire “fields” of study . . .

In most texts and treatises, according to present-day neo-Darwinian evolutionary theory, the only source of novelty is claimed to be by incorporation of random mutations . . . Neo-Darwinian evolutionary theorists claim that individuals behave to increase their inclusive fitness, the number of offspring left by them and relatives that share their genes. Analysts of symbioses retort that no individuals exist—with the exception of the unstudiable single bacterium. In spite of sociobiological dicta to the contrary, organisms behave to increase the fitness of symbionts with which they have very few genes in common.³⁷

Margulis's mention of sociobiology (not to mention the use by evolutionary theorists of terms such as “selfish,” “nice,” and “cheating” behavior) indicates that those involved in these debates believe their arguments are related at least metaphorically to questions of human social organization and ethics.

PAST ATTEMPTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO APPLY Darwinistic evolutionary ideas directly to institutions and structures of human civilization. A number of these attempts are summarized in Carl Degler's recent work on Darwinism and American social thought.³⁸ Closest to the ideas of neo-Darwinism is sociobiology, which seeks to explain human social structures as the outgrowth of the competition of genes for survival. Human beings, argues sociobiology founder Edward Wilson, help other human beings to the extent that they share genes (“inclusive fitness”), and, out of this cooperation of the genetically related, social structures are built. Proponents see sociobiology as a broad approach that can use biological theory to revitalize and integrate the social sciences; critics see it as a kind of reductionism that undermines humanity and morality.³⁹ “Co-evolutionists” maintain that biology and culture work side by side to maximize the reproductive success of individuals. Other approaches have proceeded from the idea that social practices or institutions, not just genes or individuals, can be considered as competing in a kind of struggle for existence: the fittest institutions survive and multiply. Relevant to the second half of this article is the argument of economists Richard Nelson and Sidney Winter, who complain that traditional economic theory of business

³⁷ Margulis, “Symbiogenesis,” 10–11.

³⁸ Carl N. Degler, *In Search of Human Nature: The Decline and Revival of Darwinism in American Social Thought* (New York, 1991), 313–14. See, for example, John Langton, “Darwinism and the Behavioral Theory of Sociocultural Evolution: An Analysis,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 85 (September 1979): 291–96; Marion Blute, “Sociocultural Evolutionism: An Untried Theory,” *Behavioral Sciences*, 24 (January 1979): 56–58.

³⁹ The classic work is Wilson's 1975 *Sociobiology*. For a short summary of uses and abuses of sociobiology (on balance, sympathetic), see Degler, *In Search of Human Nature*, 215–350, esp. 310–28.

organizations is inflexible because it suggests that all businesses should behave in the same way. Instead, they suggest, businesses have a variety of traits modified over time both by deliberate problem solving and by random events equivalent to Darwinian random mutation. The market then determines which are unprofitable and winnows them out.⁴⁰ The touting of such ideas in social science disciplines shows an inclination among researchers to believe that competition and survival of the fittest explain something about how human society changes. One has to wonder, though, whether the application of Darwinism to the social sciences is not the application back to that field of something that came from it in the first place: a doctrine of competitive individualism. Malthus, after all, inspired both economics and ecology.

What might Gaia contribute? Whereas "survival of the fittest" has drawn attention to competition, particularly economic competition, an alternative language of evolutionary change may draw attention to other, less examined aspects of human behavior and provide a framework or a metaphor to interpret them. Whereas neo-Darwinism emphasizes reductionism in the form of selfish genes, Gaia offers a holistic view of large systems. The Gaia metaphor promises to capture the tension between individualism and collectivism—a key question in all social sciences—in a way that "tooth and claw" Darwinism cannot. As a thought experiment, we can imagine a human society (itself a subset of geobiological Gaia if she exists) that is also a dynamic, evolved system. Its observable structures have emerged through natural selection, competition as well as cooperation, symbiotic innovations, self-regulation by way of feedback processes, and ecological interdependencies—and have developed to the point where the whole behaves in some ways as if it were a single organism. Like its biological counterpart, such a social Gaia must rest fundamentally on certain principles and concepts that are or can be testable. These include the widespread role of symbioses and cooperation, the existence of a dynamic equilibrium (regulation, stability, or homeostasis) in a complex, evolved system, the roles of negative and positive-feedback processes in maintaining this equilibrium, catastrophic episodes, and the unconscious building up of a complex, interrelated whole out of parts pursuing their own separate interests. The Gaian methodology would be to *assume* that the object of study is a self-regulating, holistic system, then to search for the patterns of feedback and regulation that keep it in balance. If such patterns are identified, the theory has proven its use. Such a view is not mystical; it is testable. And it is not an environmentalist theory or a biological theory but a hypothesis about social relationships based on Gaian systems theory.

To apply and test this methodology, consider an arbitrary example. Germany in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a rapidly industrializing and urbanizing society undergoing large-scale economic, social, and political change. The stresses and conflicts in this society are well known: agrarians and industrialists, Junkers and socialists, business magnates and union leaders, police and criminals, social reformers and social imperialists. Germany's tortured twentieth-century history has attracted special attention. Few countries have been so

⁴⁰ Richard R. Nelson and Sidney G. Winter, *An Evolutionary Theory of Economic Change* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

intensely scrutinized—or, at least, have had their instabilities and conflicts so intensely scrutinized. Were there also counter-forces that tended to maintain the stability of German society? The tradition has been to treat “change” in modern German history as progressive and to argue that resistance to modernization was the chief talent of Germany’s disastrously reactionary elites.⁴¹ Implicit in this view is the assumption that modernization is good; hence reactions to it are suspect. In context, however, communities (not just authoritarians) experienced “modernization” as a disruptive force. In the nineteenth century, artisans and small producers were overwhelmed by the free market and big business, workers saw themselves as powerless against the rule of capital, peasants were undermined by global competition and technological change. In the dynamic adaptation to changes such as these—the effort to create renewed social stability—lies a central part of the history of Germany, or any other country. To the extent that the destabilizing influences in Germany were those of industrialization and economic forces, one place to look for signs of social response and adaptation is in Germany’s flourishing and little-studied cooperative movement.

THE LATE NINETEENTH AND EARLY TWENTIETH-CENTURY cooperative movement in Germany is a puzzling case.⁴² In terms of human involvement, it was enormous—the largest social movement in the history of Germany, at least before the 1920s, and one of the largest cooperative movements anywhere in the world.⁴³ At the end of 1913, government statisticians recorded 34,568 officially reporting, legally registered cooperatives, which together represented 6,375,451 individual members.⁴⁴ For comparison, Germany’s largest political movement was Social Democracy, with 1,085,000 members in 1914 and somewhat over 4 million votes in the Reichstag elections of 1912.⁴⁵ The largest interest groups included the German

⁴¹ The historiography on this point is truly too great to summarize here; the author hopes readers are sufficiently familiar with the literature already. If I may refer to one work, let it be David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, 1984), which attempts to bring into the open assumptions about what “modernization” means.

⁴² For a general survey (there is none in English and none by a professional historian even in German), see Helmut Faust, *Geschichte der Genossenschaftsbewegung: Ursprung und Aufbruch der Genossenschaftsbewegung in England, Frankreich und Deutschland sowie ihre weitere Entwicklung im deutschen Sprachraum*, 3d edn. (Frankfurt am Main, 1977).

⁴³ The claim does depend on definitions. A cooperative is a legally independent, voluntary, open, membership-based form of business, controlled by neither the state nor outside investors but democratically, by the people who are affected by the business (see note 54 below). In the statistics quoted in this article, it denotes legally incorporated cooperatives registered and reporting. The claim of cooperatives to be a movement rests on their being based on individual choice and commitment and their striving for some effect on society. While some might argue that a cooperative was just a place to shop, it is worth recalling that the majority of German cooperatives before the 1920s had unlimited liability—in other words, those who joined were putting their entire savings and property on the line, not making a casual consumer decision. Publicity by cooperatives and by their critics also shows that cooperatives were ideologically charged. These movement-like characteristics are less evident today.

⁴⁴ Figures for January 1, 1914, from Preussische Central-Genossenschafts-Kasse, *Mitteilungen zur deutschen Genossenschaftsstatistik für 1915 und 1916: Sonderabdruck aus dem 46. Ergänzungsheft zur Zeitschrift des Preussischen Statistischen Landesamts* (Berlin, 1919).

⁴⁵ W. L. Guttsman, *The German Social Democratic Party, 1875–1933* (London, 1981), 153.

Navy League, considered "a genuine mass movement" because it swelled to a fee-paying membership of 200,000 in its first eighteen months; the Agrarian League, with 330,000 members in 1914; and the People's Association for Catholic Germany, a huge organization with its membership of 805,000.⁴⁶ The biggest movement in Germany other than cooperatives was the trade union movement: in 1913, the various arms of the movement together had 3.96 million members.⁴⁷ Since, in general, there was only one cooperative membership per household, the figure of 6.4 million cooperative memberships may mean that up to 25 million German people were organized in cooperatives. By comparative international standards, Germany had by far the most cooperatives of any country in the world, its 35,000 followed distantly by Austria with 16,763 and Russia with around 16,000.⁴⁸

The scale of this movement raises several questions, beginning with why it was so big and why professional historians have nevertheless ignored it.⁴⁹ There are also some deeper questions. In history, institutions are often interpreted as results of individual plans or intentions, as the outcome of the struggle of groups for domination (as in partisan or class conflict), or, in the business world, as results of a system of individual competition. But these dynamics do not appear to explain the German cooperative movement. Cooperatives were started by striking and forceful personalities who had clear goals, yet they turned out much different than their founders intended. The pattern of the German cooperative movement resulted not from a single ideal or a blueprint but from the systematic interaction of various and divergent intents with various social environments and political

⁴⁶ Geoff Eley, *Reshaping the German Right: Radical Nationalism and Political Change after Bismarck* (New Haven, Conn., 1980), 102, 330; Dieter Fricke, et al., *Lexikon zur Parteiengeschichte: Die bürgerlichen und kleinbürgerlichen Parteien und Verbände in Deutschland (1789–1945)*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1986), 1: 242, and 4: 436.

⁴⁷ Jelle Visser, *European Trade Unions in Figures* (Deventer, 1989), 91 and following. Like cooperatives, trade unions were divided into various federations, the largest being the social-democratic Free Trade Unions, the Christian Trade Unions, and the left-liberal Hirsch-Duncker Trade Unions. These groups peaked in membership in 1922 with 10.72 million members and may temporarily have surpassed cooperatives in membership. The figures for cooperatives in the early 1920s are unclear: 20,500 cooperatives reporting in 1919–1920 had about 6.5 million members (W. Kulemann, *Die Genossenschaftsbewegung*, 2 vols. [Berlin, 1922–25], 1: statistics for major federations)—and by 1922, the total membership could not have grown by more than another million—but this is less than half of the 44,307 cooperatives known to have existed in 1921 (Kulemann, *Die Genossenschaftsbewegung*, 1: 118).

⁴⁸ "Internationale Statistik des Konsumgenossenschaftswesens" (large chart with text), assembled by J. F. Schill, May 1913, based on statistics for twenty countries (found in the Bundesarchiv, Abteilungen Potsdam, Materialsammlung "Geschichte der Konsumgenossenschaften," Nr. 24 Internationale Genossenschaftsbewegung 1908–13). The German movement grew to 51,500 cooperatives in 1932 and probably peaked sometime in 1932–1934. See Willy Krebs, "Das Genossenschaftswesen im Jahre 1932," *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 139. Band/III. Folge, Band 84 (Jena, 1933), 399.

⁴⁹ A notable exception is the recent work of David Peal, particularly "Self-Help and the State: Rural Cooperatives in Imperial Germany," *Central European History*, 21 (1988): 244–66. Robert G. Moeller does justice to cooperatives regionally in his *German Peasants and Agrarian Politics, 1914–24: The Rhineland and Westphalia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 31–34. David Blackbourn presents some perceptive social analysis of cooperatives in his "Class and Politics in Wilhelmine Germany: The Center Party and the Social Democrats in Württemberg," *Central European History*, 9 (1976): 245–47. Other references are scanty. For example, Hans-Jürgen Puhle's *Politische Agrarbewegungen in kapitalistischen Industriegesellschaften: Deutschland, USA und Frankreich im 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1975) has only two, entirely marginal, references to German cooperatives. One would never know from such works that Germany was a world leader in cooperative development.

forces. The cooperative was like a vessel into which each group could pour its ideology—and groups did so regardless of the founders' visions. Classes, sectors, communities, and factions used cooperatives as part of their efforts toward social and economic (and occasionally political) power, and yet the cooperatives themselves were only indirect means for contesting domination. There were arms of the cooperative movement corresponding to each major political creed and to several different social groupings, but each of these arms usually shied away from overt class or partisan conflict. Cooperatives were not arms of the state, yet neither did they necessarily oppose it; some kinds of cooperatives operated in partnership with it. As for individual economic competition, cooperatives unquestionably arose and succeeded within the framework of a market economy, and yet they embodied a different ethic and strove to change the outcomes of the competitive system. Perspectives involving personalities, naked contests for power, and competition are all relevant, and yet none of them satisfactorily explains why Germans created so many cooperatives, on the one hand, while those cooperatives remained in only a politically marginal or supportive role, on the other.

Historical events can be understood in various ways, some of them more satisfying than others. For cooperatives, the "personality" approach to history, the contest-for-domination analysis, and the competitive-individualist framework all appear incomplete. The German cooperative movement can be better understood within the context of systems theory, particularly an evolutionary systems theory (such as Gaia) translated to apply to social institutions. The same might be said about trade unions, political and social movements, perhaps aspects of popular culture, but, for the moment, let us concentrate on the German cooperative movement as an example to be investigated in depth. What can the concepts borrowed from systems theory tell us about its nature and its relationship to the larger society? In terms of systems theory, what were cooperatives, how and why did they spread, and what limits did they reach? The result of this investigation will not be a proof that German society was (or was not) a self-regulating system. Rather, it will be an example of how the assumption of the existence of a self-regulating system can illuminate an important historical movement. Whether or not what one finds makes sense is an indication of how useful the initial assumption may have been.⁵⁰

GERMAN COOPERATIVES WERE, TO BEGIN WITH, an innovation within the context of a rapidly changing society—a deliberate innovation. They were the conscious invention of two men, Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch⁵¹ in the 1850s and, for rural cooperatives, Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen in the 1860s. And yet this invention

⁵⁰ Methodologically, this is equivalent to making the (usually unstated) assumption that key individuals can greatly influence history, then investigating personal or biographical factors, or assuming that class conflict drives history, then investigating class-conscious organizations. The assumption both guides and is tested by the research.

⁵¹ He was born Franz Hermann Schulze, and the suffix Delitzsch was attached to his name to distinguish him from others in the 1848 Berlin national assembly. He was subsequently (and still is) universally known as Schulze-Delitzsch. Although it is not common usage, this article will use the short form Schulze in order to minimize repetition.

did not come out of the blue. From the 1830s onward, the idea was circulating that some kind of associational innovation was needed for the solution of the social question and the modernization of Germany. This idea was expressed in the formation of charitable and benevolent associations, credit banks for the poor, and communal savings banks (*Sparkassen*) run by local governments.⁵² The Conservative social thinker Victor Aimé Huber promoted cooperative ideas before Schulze put them into practice.⁵³ There were even associations before Schulze that came close to being cooperatives and perhaps should be accepted as such. In Westphalia, for example, there were associations of borrowers for the mutual guarantee of each other's loans: a voluntary association of users for an economic purpose.⁵⁴ What Schulze and Raiffeisen did was to crystallize these ideas into two particular forms, forms that were suited to practical replication. They created *competitively successful* strains of economic associationism. For the first few years, these were curiosities. They became the definitive strains when they multiplied and surpassed all other variants.

At its root, the definition of a cooperative is a voluntary, democratic association—normally, of users of a service—that also operates an enterprise to provide services.⁵⁵ This duality of cooperatives as associations of people and as businesses is the tension that lies at the heart of both their success and their limitations. In 1850, associations and businesses each existed as tried and true forms of institutions. There were associations for political purposes and for educational, social, charitable, and cultural ones. There were businesses of various legal structure, from individual proprietorships to partnerships to state-mandated corporations. What was new about cooperatives was the combination of the two forms. Cooperatives, in other words, were not designed *a priori*. They were a symbiosis of two widespread institutional forms.⁵⁶ This symbiosis had unique characteristics compared to the forms that preceded it, as is evidenced by both its spread and its inherent limitations. As Schulze and Raiffeisen conceived it, the

⁵² See Dr. N. Blesius, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des neuzeitlichen ländlichen Genossenschaftswesens*, 11th edn. (Berlin, 1929), 6.

⁵³ See V. A. Huber, *Ausgewählte Schriften über Socialreform und Genossenschaftswesen*, K. Munding, ed. (Berlin, 1894). On Huber, see Faust, *Geschichte der Genossenschaftsbewegung*, 167–92.

⁵⁴ See the history and statutes of the Dortmunder Kreditverein, for example, in *Ueber Kredit-Vereine: Besonderer Abdruck aus No. 43 der Landwirthschaftlichen Zeitung und dem Gewerbe-Blatt für Westfalen* (Münster, 1855), found in Nordrhein-Westfälisches Staatsarchiv Münster, Oberpräsidium, Nr. 6351—Creditvereine 1855–1927.

⁵⁵ The International Cooperative Alliance defines cooperatives according to six principles, which may be summarized as: open and voluntary membership, internal democracy, limited returns on capital, surpluses either retained for collective purposes or distributed in proportion to patronage, education, and cooperation among cooperatives. These principles are subject to periodic review and in 1993–1994 were being reviewed. The “association-enterprise duality” used as a definition here in the text (also known as the “identity principle”) is a typical continental European formulation of the definition of a cooperative.

⁵⁶ One could add that, in Germany, the roots of cooperatives are seen to have been deeper yet: the noted nineteenth-century jurist Otto von Gierke wrote a massive history of *Genossenschaften* (usually translated as cooperatives, but in Gierke's usage denoting any locally based institution intermediate between the household and the state) beginning with the Germanic tribes and concentrating on the guilds and communal institutions of the Middle Ages. (Otto von Gierke, *Das deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht*, Vol. 1, *Rechtsgeschichte der deutschen Genossenschaft* [Berlin, 1868, rpt. edn., 1925]). Cooperatives are distinct from these earlier organizations in that they are strictly voluntary and operate within competitive markets for labor, capital, and goods.

unique importance of the cooperative idea was that it provided a mechanism by which those adversely affected by the changing economic environment could influence that environment to improve it. Cooperatives were a feedback mechanism between people and their economic environment.

Schulze's main concern was to help German artisans, the *Mittelstand* or lower middle class. Guilds had by 1848 been abolished in every part of the country, and the social distress of artisans was acute. Schulze intended cooperatives to fill the niche in industrial society left by the disappearance of guilds. In particular, they would meet the "pressing and . . . generally recognized" credit needs of "our artisans and small businessmen."⁵⁷ Schulze—and this is typical of founders of cooperative movements—was not himself a member of the population he sought to help.⁵⁸ He was a middle-class notable, familiar with the circumstances of artisans from his roles as a judge in the town in Delitzsch in the Prussian province of Saxony and as a left-liberal parliamentarian.⁵⁹ In the period of reaction following the failure of the 1848 revolutions, Schulze turned to cooperatives (*Associationen* as he then called them) as a means to build the foundation for a united, progressive, and liberal Germany.⁶⁰ In Schulze's vision, helping the *Mittelstand* was crucial for the greater social and political stability of Germany. Bringing together small producers and traders in cooperatives would fight "one of the greatest evils of our social life," namely "the monstrous development of big industry" that had caused the distress of workers and artisans. In cooperatives, small tradespeople would pledge "all for one and one for all" to achieve among themselves the economies of scale and collect the capital they needed to compete in the modern economy.⁶¹ Rejecting all state assistance, Schulze explained cooperatives as "the guilds of the future," guilds, that is, of a liberal and competitive future.⁶² Schulze's cooperatives were to be businesslike, well financed, and generally well adapted to the new competitive environment; but their purpose was to influence

⁵⁷ Franz Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch, *Vorschuss- und Creditvereine als Volksbanken: Praktische Anweisung zu deren Gründung und Hinrichtung*, 3d edn. (Leipzig, 1862), 1. As mentioned below, credit cooperatives were not the only type of cooperative that Schulze promoted.

⁵⁸ Compare Robert Owen and Edward Vansittart Neale in England, Horace Plunkett in Ireland, Charles Fourier in France, and see below on Raiffeisen and Haas. One could name many more examples.

⁵⁹ Saxony had a high concentration of artisanal enterprises; in 1848, Schulze served on a commission to investigate the conditions of artisans. By the 1860s, Schulze was Germany's acknowledged expert on cooperatives and drafted the definitive Prussian cooperative law of 1867 on which the Reich law of 1869 was based. His keen legal mind, his unique experience in the theory and practice of creating cooperatives, and also his personal sacrifices for his cause combined to make him a legend in his time. See Rita Aldenhoff, *Schulze-Delitzsch: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Liberalismus zwischen Revolution und Reichsgründung* (Baden-Baden, 1984); "Schulze, Franz Hermann S.," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1891).

⁶⁰ James J. Sheehan, *German Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1982), 92–94.

⁶¹ Schulze-Delitzsch, *Vorschuss- und Creditvereine*, 223. "All for one and one for all" is a quotation from a draft contract provided by Schulze as a model for the members' pledge to cover each other's debts.

⁶² See Schulze-Delitzsch's background to the cooperative law of 1869, in *Reichstag des Norddeutschen Bundes*, 1: Legislatur-Periode, Sitzungs-Periode 1868, No. 60 (his handwritten original is in the Bundesarchiv, Abteilungen Potsdam, Reichstag, Film 30735, Nr. 406: Die privatrechtliche Stellung der Erwerbs- und Wirtschafts-Genossenschaften 1868–76). "Guild of the Future" was also for a time the name of one of his periodicals.

that environment, to lower the costs of business for small producers so that they would not be wiped out by large ones.

Whereas the thrust of Schulze's cooperative idea was businesslike, Raiffeisen's was intensely moralistic. Raiffeisen began in the 1840s and 1850s, when he was a village mayor in the Rhineland, by organizing charitable societies. He was not satisfied with the results, finding that benevolence tended to wane with time and that benefactors were averse to risk. Finally in 1864, after almost two decades of experimentation, Raiffeisen tried an association based on self-help instead of charity. He created his first Savings and Loan Bank Association (*Spar- und Darlehnskassen-Verein*) in Heddesdorf, specifying by statute that those who were benefited were also to be members.⁶³ This was the start of a movement bigger than and different from Schulze's. Raiffeisen's rural cooperatives followed distinct principles. Each association was based on one parish, a tiny community within which each member would intimately know the others, so that credit risks could be assessed on the basis of character. Raiffeisen also wanted them to have no shares, no dividends, and no honoraria for officers—a complete rejection of the businesslike and legally formalized sort of cooperative Schulze had defined.⁶⁴ What lay behind Raiffeisen's vision was the idea of a cooperative suited to the rural community, a cooperative that was not a sophisticated business but a simple village bank, and one that would both reflect and reinforce the social structure of the village. From his early benevolent societies, he preserved the idea that the wealthy should also join (even though they did not need the cooperative's services) as an expression of the village's social solidarity and Christian values. Raiffeisen thundered in front of cooperative meetings as if from the pulpit, calling for support of his cooperatives as "the practical application of Christianity in public life."⁶⁵ Whereas Schulze saw the key threat to society as material—the efficiency of big business—Raiffeisen saw materialism itself as the threat. In industrial society, he wrote, the "thirst for happiness is not quenched by drinking from the cup of the world, but only more and more aroused . . . Among the acquisitive class there rules a wild hunt for more acquisition and possession . . . In the lower class, too, an ever-growing mania for life and pleasure is spreading; envy and hate against the propertied are gaining the upper hand in their ranks; the party of social revolution [that is, Social Democracy] finds . . . growing support for its plans that aim for the subversion of our whole state and social order."⁶⁶ In common with Schulze, but from a moral and conservative perspective, Raiffeisen saw cooperatives as a means to restabilize society and prevent collapse.

⁶³ It was not the first agricultural cooperative in Germany. Winemaking cooperatives had existed since 1852.

⁶⁴ Also, loans were to be made on a long-term basis, suiting the needs of farmers, not on the three-month basis typical at the time. Any surpluses were to be retained for collective purposes. This decentralized network of small cooperatives was, in Raiffeisen's vision, to be supported by highly centralized regional and national banks. Many of these features came under attack from Schulze in the *Systemstreit* of the 1870s. Raiffeisen cooperatives were compelled to introduce nominal shares, and the centralized banks desired by Raiffeisen were hindered. Another distinctive feature of Raiffeisen cooperatives was that they were multipurpose: the village bank would also buy farm inputs for its members (fertilizer, feed, seeds, and equipment) and would market their produce.

⁶⁵ Kulemann, *Die Genossenschaftsbewegung*, 1: 18–19.

⁶⁶ Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, *Die Darlehnskassen-Vereine*, 7th edn., reprint of the 5th edn. of 1887 (Neuwied, 1951), 17.

Like Schulze's cooperatives for artisans, Raiffeisen's rural cooperatives were an innovation achieved by symbiosis, combining the solidarity of the village society with an economic enterprise that dealt in capital under the conditions of the legal and market order. They were invented not from an abstract idea but from practical experience of what was needed and what worked in the impoverished villages where Raiffeisen lived. He turned away from his initial ideas of benevolent associationism and reluctantly embraced cooperative self-help, because it worked. His associations, in other words, were *adapted* to the village environment, and they were adapted in the same peculiar way that Schulze's were: they each operated under conditions of economic individualism (with voluntary individual membership, incorporation under law, and an economic requirement to produce financial results "in the black" if they were to continue to exist), and they each sought at the same time to change those conditions. In Raiffeisen's case, cooperatives were to reinsert Christian morality into the commercial world and preserve the best features, as he saw them, of village society and culture. The intentional alteration of economic circumstances was in both cases intended to restabilize German society.

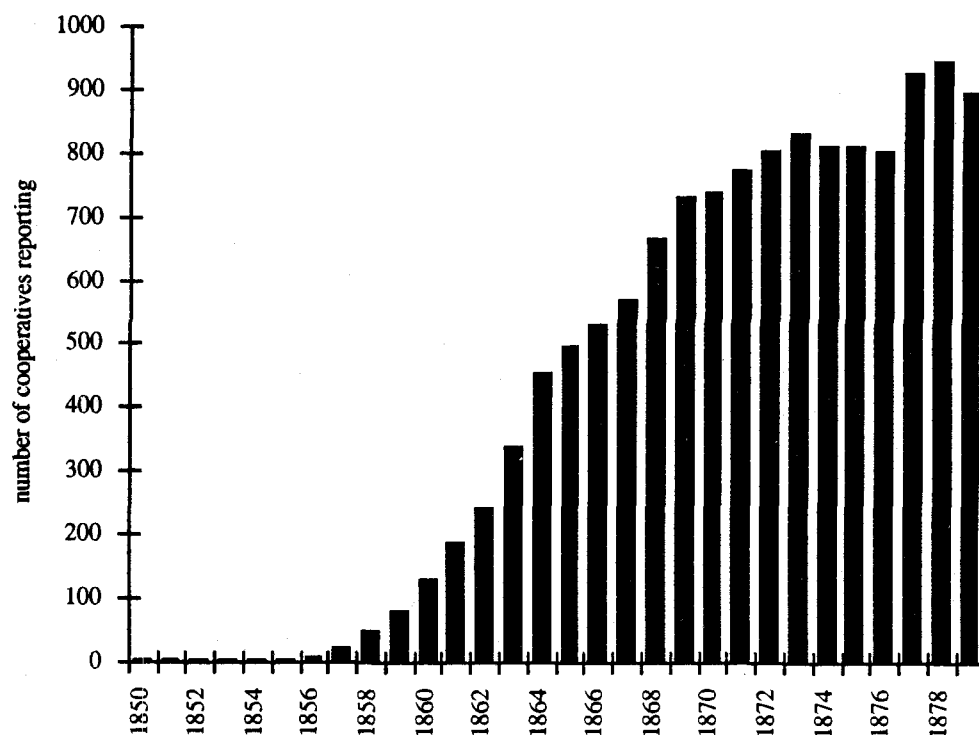
SCHULZE AND RAIFFEISEN, unlike Huber and other armchair social reformers, conducted practical experiments with their ideas. As a result, there was an interaction between their ideas and the particular realities of social and economic conditions. The real circumstances and aspirations of farmers, workers, and the *Mittelstand* played an increasing role in shaping the German cooperative movement, until, in the end, it had evolved far away from the ideals defined by its founders. This was an interactive and adaptive process, in which cooperatives changed as they spread, found new niches and new purposes, and ultimately encountered their social-environmental limits—much as one would expect a successful evolutionary innovation to do. Throughout their spread, cooperatives remained driven by human choices and intentions, a clear difference from natural ecological systems. But, while rational and affective factors provided distinctly human motivations for cooperative growth, the shape and pattern of growth were not chosen or intended. Instead, the diffusion of cooperatives followed the social-environmental terrain.

There is an interdisciplinary field of research concerning "diffusion of innovations," which posits that the spread of new techniques, forms of organization, or organisms generally follows a certain pattern. New innovations exhibit a "logistic" or S-shaped curve as they spread—which might be described as a curve that shows slow growth to begin with, builds exponentially (that is, in positive feedback) into extremely rapid growth for a short period, then levels off as limits are approached.⁶⁷ Intuitively, this positive feedback makes sense: the more established bases an innovation has from which to spread, the faster it will spread, until the possible new bases begin to be exhausted.⁶⁸ This may be true of organisms

⁶⁷ See Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 3d edn. (New York, 1983), 243–45.

⁶⁸ A relationship in which the number of cooperatives at time t is a multiple of (for example, 1.05 times) the number at time $t - 1$ is, by definition, an exponential function. During the growth phase,

Figure 1
Schulze-Delitzsch Credit Cooperatives, 1850-79



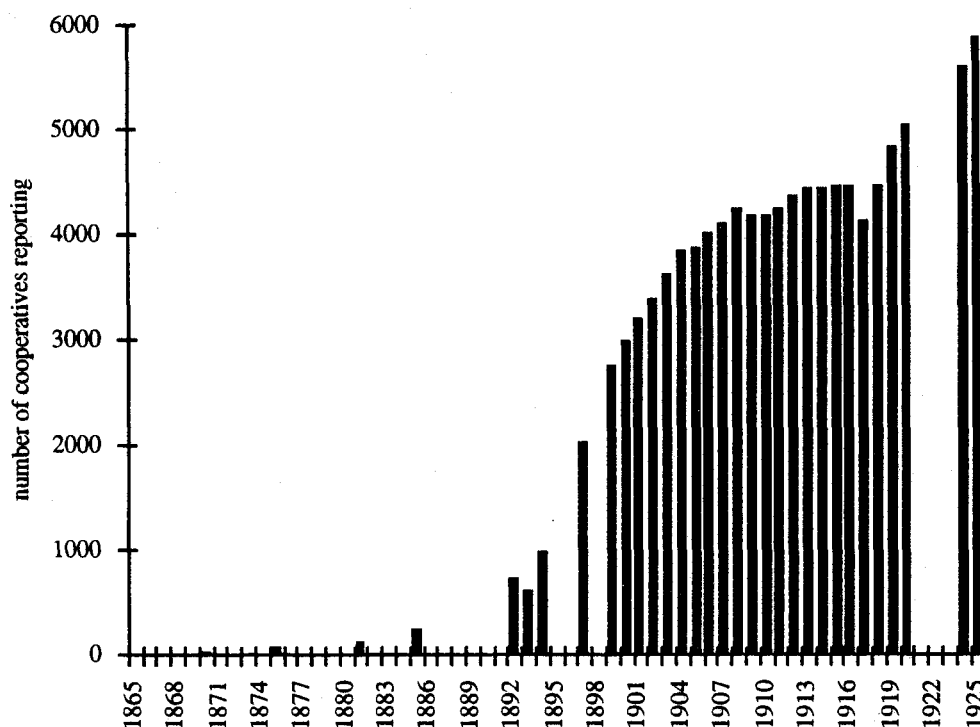
SOURCE: Max Mehler, "Ausbau der inneren Einrichtungen der Schulze-Delitzsch'schen Kreditgenossenschaften in den Jahren 1850-1875" (Ph.D. dissertation, Erlangen, 1910 [Berlin, 1911]).

introduced into a new environment; it is apparently true of human innovations in general, and it certainly applies to German cooperatives. In 1858, Schulze claimed twenty-five well-developed credit associations. As Figure 1 indicates, Schulze's credit cooperatives spread from minuscule beginnings in 1850 through what looks like rapid growth in positive feedback, surpassing 700 cooperatives in number by 1869. At Schulze's death in 1882, 905 credit associations were listed in the annual report of the Allgemeiner Verband, representing six or seven hundred thousand members and 2 billion marks annually in loans. (By one estimate, there had been perhaps twice this many credit cooperatives in total inspired by Schulze, but many had been transformed into banks or share companies.⁶⁹) Twenty years later, the Allgemeiner Verband's membership figures were little changed, indicating a movement that had reached a plateau in Schulze's

the curve for cooperatives looks exponential: the speed of growth depends mainly on how many established cooperatives there are from which the idea can spread, until environmental limits are reached.

⁶⁹ "Schulze-Delitzsch," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

Figure 2
Raiffeisen Credit Cooperatives, 1865-1925
 (incomplete data)



SOURCE: *Fünfzig Jahre Raiffeisen 1877-1927* (Neuwied, 1927), 196.

own lifetime.⁷⁰ Schulze-Delitzsch cooperatives had expanded in positive feedback until the available social niches were filled.

Raiffeisen's cooperatives also grew, in the beginning, in positive feedback (Figure 2). In 1865, there were two Raiffeisen associations active, representing 592 members and employing some 108,000 marks in capital. The numbers grew at an accelerating rate for three decades as the associations spread throughout the Rhineland, into other regions, and from regional centers out into localities in all parts of Germany: 20 associations in 1870, 121 in 1881, and 245 in 1885 with 24,466 members.⁷¹ From 1877 on, Raiffeisen's growing movement was united in the Generalverband, or General Federation of Rural Cooperatives for Germany, based in Neuwied. For the Generalverband, the period of stabilization set in after the turn of the century, with another spurt of activity in the unsettled economic times after the end of World War I. Despite ups and downs, the real-life data on numbers of affiliated cooperatives again approximate, over time, a logistic curve.

⁷⁰ Kulemann, *Die Genossenschaftsbewegung*, 1: 32.

⁷¹ *Fünfzig Jahre Raiffeisen 1877-1927* (Neuwied, 1927), 196.

Perhaps seeing the spread of cooperatives as something that ought to be expected to follow a logistic growth curve can clarify some difficult issues.

Schulze and Raiffeisen both expected their cooperatives to change the world. Their followers responded to the clarion call, and yet their movements reached limits well short of a reordering of society. Using the hierarchical, contest-for-domination paradigm, one might reconcile this apparent contradiction by saying that cooperatives were a failure. They tried to change society, but society did not much change. Or, using economic individualism as a guideline, one might claim that the founders' ideals were a smoke screen, and the only real purpose was the achievement of small, tangible economic benefits for limited groups. (In which case, they were a roaring success.) Neither explanation is wholly convincing. To say simply that cooperatives failed would be remarkable, given that they were the largest social movement of the period. Millions of Germans went so far as to pledge everything they owned to join one.⁷² The people of the time apparently considered them worthy of effort, risk, and continued support over a period of generations. Similarly, to suggest that these members were concerned only with saving pennies flies in the face of the press, pamphlets, books, and speeches of the period, which placed the founders' social and moral goals in front of all readers and listeners. And, if small economic benefits were the only motivation, why did not every German join a cooperative? Cooperatives must have meant something more, in a social or ideological or psychological sense, to the groups that took risks and invested time and money to create them.

WHILE THE MOVEMENT FOUNDERS SPOKE GLOBALLY of reordering society, members acted locally within the framework of their communities. Perhaps, then, the standard of success is not indefinite growth but specific growth in specific places—the spread of cooperatives to those social-environmental niches in which members found the global objectives relevant. In this view, it is normal for a social movement to reach limits; doing so may be a necessary and inevitable part of fulfilling its function. Reaching the limits indicates that the available niches have been filled, and niches are defined both culturally and economically, in terms of receptiveness to cooperative ideas as well as need for the tangible benefits. Rationalism, intentionality, and choice are not excluded, for these were part of what defined the available niches and facilitated the spread of the innovation, but the fact remains that the overall pattern (the logistic growth curve, the particular niches in which the innovation was adopted) was no one's specific intention. Rather, it was a pattern created when human intention and motivation encountered a particular social ecology. At a higher level than that of individual human action, the spread of cooperatives illustrates a dynamic social system. The founders'

⁷² Both Schulze and Raiffeisen emphasized the principle of unlimited liability of members for any debts or losses by their cooperative. This was intended to provide the cooperative with a good credit rating and thus access to capital beyond what the members could raise from their own savings. It meant, however, that in the case of the failure of the cooperative, creditors could pursue any or all members for the full amount of the cooperative's debts. Limited liability was first permitted in 1889, after which many consumer, supply, and marketing cooperatives took this form. The original credit cooperatives were generally converted to limited liability only in the 1920s.

ideals and rational goals helped motivate and unify, but in their expansion cooperatives changed to suit different populations. They benefited from and reinforced—grew interdependent with—values, institutions, and ideas in their host communities.

In the case of the *Mittelstand*-oriented movement begun by Schulze, cooperatives spread in a highly selective way and mutated in their politics and relations with the state. With respect to forms of cooperatives, Schulze had advocated not only credit cooperatives (*Volksbanken*, or people's banks, as they became known), but also input-purchase, warehousing, production, marketing, and consumer cooperatives. Yet only the credit cooperatives and, to a lesser extent, the consumer cooperatives caught on, and it was not always among artisans that they did so. In 1882, all of the trades-oriented cooperatives (input-purchase, etc.) in the Allgemeiner Verband totaled only 954, mostly modest in size and hardly more in number than the 905 credit associations; and there were 621 consumer associations. The reason for the selective diffusion of credit and consumer cooperatives is probably that these were the most general in appeal, whereas the trades-oriented cooperatives had to be organized trade by trade, and many of the trades themselves were in decline. In 1882, of the hundreds of thousands of members represented by Schulze's Allgemeiner Verband, perhaps only one-third were the kind of master artisans at whose benefit Schulze had aimed.⁷³ Already at Schulze's death, two-thirds of the members of his most successful cooperatives, the people's banks, consisted not of artisans but of groups such as farmers, industrial workers, and civil servants. Farmers and industrial workers soon had their own, competing federations of cooperatives. As for the *Mittelstand*, Schulze's favored constituency—it changed after the 1890s, and the cooperatives that thrived in the changed circumstances were not Schulze's.

Far from rescuing the *Mittelstand* for liberalism and progress, some cooperatives became vehicles for an organized *Mittelstand* that was increasingly illiberal and eager for aid from the state. Schulze's vision of cooperation, a vision of business-like, capital-amassing cooperatives entirely separate from the state and promoting an independent, liberal *Mittelstand*, encountered a limit. The politics of protecting the lower middle class (*Mittelstandspolitik*) became a conservative and governmental cause in the 1890s.⁷⁴ Intervention by Prussia and other states, welcomed by a new generation of *Mittelstand* activists, helped to split the cooperative movement and create a new, illiberal cooperative federation. This was apparent in the formation in 1901 of a new Hauptverband, or Chief League of German Trades Cooperatives, under organizer Karl Korthaus, with the help of the Prussian government. While the Hauptverband never rivalled the Schulze-Delitzsch Allgemeiner Verband in size, and eventually merged with the older federation in 1922, it did represent as many as 1,430 cooperatives and 189,000

⁷³ "Schulze-Delitzsch," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*.

⁷⁴ On *Mittelstandspolitik*, see Heinrich August Winkler, "Der rückversicherte Mittelstand: Die Interessenverbände von Handwerk und Kleinhandel im deutschen Kaiserreich," in *Liberalismus und Antiliberalismus: Studien zur politischen Sozialgeschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen, 1979), 83–98; Dirk Stegmann, *Die Erben Bismarcks: Parteien und Verbände in der Spätphase des wilhelminischen Deutschlands; Sammlungspolitik 1897–1918* (Berlin, 1970), 40–46, 143–44; and David Blackbourn, "Between Resignation and Volatility: The German Petite Bourgeoisie in the Nineteenth Century," in Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt, eds., *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (London, 1984), 35–61.

members in 1919.⁷⁵ It took in the majority of new *Mittelstand* cooperatives and provided a platform for a less liberal view of self-help. Hauptverband cooperatives accepted state aid and merged into the state-sponsored system of guilds and artisans' chambers. The new cooperative movement grew interdependent with the culture and the structures of officially sponsored artisanal self-help. The Schulze-Delitzsch liberal form of self-help could not establish such interdependent linkages and did not thrive.

The organized workers' movement also appropriated a form defined by Schulze, the consumer cooperative, and transplanted it in modified form into an entirely new context. Here, it grew in ways that Schulze could neither have foreseen nor would have approved. Schulze had originally argued that his cooperatives were for "workers" and "artisans," terms he used almost interchangeably. He glossed over a divergence of interests that became more obvious in the decades that followed, between wage laborers who put their faith in collective action and artisans who increasingly resembled small businesspeople. The workers' movement did not, at first, officially approve of cooperatives—the Social Democratic leadership had opposed them ever since Karl Marx took issue with Ferdinand Lassalle on this question in the 1860s—and yet, despite party dogma, consumer cooperatives eventually sank roots in the world of organized workers.⁷⁶ Seeds were sown by a Jewish banker's son, Eduard Pfeiffer, a leading figure in the Württemberg German Party who visited the Rochdale cooperative in England in 1862.⁷⁷ Pfeiffer provided clear rules and organizational models for worker-oriented consumer cooperatives, a philosophy of cooperative social reform, and leadership for consumer cooperatives to band together in federations and wholesales; but, despite success on a regional scale in the 1860s and early 1870s, working-class cooperation remained thin and scattered. Württemberg in the early years of its industrialization was stony ground for a workers' movement: wage laborers were too few and too fragmented. Consumer cooperation flourished only a generation after Pfeiffer, when social and economic trends favored the mass organization of wage earners. The rate of formation of new consumer cooperatives increased sharply in the late 1880s and early 1890s and took another jump after the turn of the century.⁷⁸ Interdependently with the mass expansion

⁷⁵ Kulemann, *Die Genossenschaftsbewegung*, 1: 89–97. The Prussian Central Cooperative Bank, discussed at greater length below, sponsored Korthaus's efforts and helped the new cooperatives. One should also mention the organization of shopkeepers after 1907 into the EDEKA wholesaling cooperative, another example of conservative *Mittelstand* cooperation. Shopkeepers were militantly opposed to Social Democracy and consumer cooperatives. Robert Gellately discusses shopkeepers' mobilization in *The Politics of Economic Despair: Shopkeepers and German Politics 1890–1914* (Beverly Hills, Calif., 1974), 65 and following.

⁷⁶ Scattered examples of working-class associations in the 1840s–1850s were short-lived and often dissolved by the police; see Erwin Hasselmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Konsumgenossenschaften* (Frankfurt am Main, 1971), 41–71.

⁷⁷ On Pfeiffer, see Karl Bittel, *Eduard Pfeiffer und die deutsche Konsumgenossenschaftsbewegung*, *Schriften des Vereins für Sozialpolitik*, Untersuchungen über Konsumvereine, 151. Band (Munich, 1915). The German party in Württemberg was the governmental party equivalent to the northern German National Liberals.

⁷⁸ Heinrich Kaufmann, *Kurzer Abriss der Geschichte des Zentralverbandes deutscher Konsumvereine* (Hamburg, 1928), 332. It was significant that the new cooperative law of 1889 provided for limited liability. This was important to working-class cooperatives because they wanted to be large, and being large was risky if every individual member was exposed to unlimited liability in the event of failure.

of the Social Democratic and trade union movements, the consumer cooperative movement erupted in exponential growth.

Key changes in consumer cooperation in the 1890s created a new strain of cooperation suited to the Social Democratic milieu and led inevitably to a split from the Schulze-Delitzsch movement. The new version of consumer cooperation was developed not by the party or other national institutions but by activists within the network of working-class organizations. These included Heinrich Kaufmann, an adult educator in Hamburg (after his death, some spoke of the "Kaufmann Era" of consumer cooperation)⁷⁹ and Social Democratic Party (SPD) trade unionist and Reichstag deputy Adolph von Elm.⁸⁰ The most significant departures came in 1894 when the Wholesale Society of German Consumer Associations (*Grosseinkaufsgesellschaft*) or G.E.G. was founded and in 1899 with the Produktion cooperative—both sponsored by the Hamburg-area trade union movement. The G.E.G. represented the aspirations of consumer cooperatives to grow vertically and create their own central wholesaling and manufacturing enterprises, while the Produktion association embodied an ideal of large metropolitan cooperatives expanding horizontally—opening many branches, collecting savings from members in savings accounts, even building housing for them. This expansive, consumer-oriented model, referred to as the "Hamburg Tendency," is familiar in its resemblance to the Rochdale movement in Britain, by which it was inspired. The Hamburg Tendency advocated the eventual socialization of society through the growth of consumer cooperatives. Huge, integrated consumer cooperatives appealed to workers who desired to create an economy driven by service, not profit; and large institutions expressed the power of the organized working class. But, while such cooperatives suited the working-class culture, they appeared to threaten to drive out of business the *Mittelstand* that Schulze had sought to help.⁸¹

The split between the worker-based movement and the liberal cooperative movement came shortly after the turn of the century. Schulze's successor Hans Crüger brought a motion to the 1902 meeting of the Allgemeiner Verband calling for the expulsion of cooperatives that undermined the *Mittelstand*. (This was a reference to consumer cooperatives that expanded so aggressively as to seem to threaten the socialization of broad areas of the economy and that were associated with Social Democracy.) After the motion was passed, the ninety-eight expelled consumer cooperatives (joined by others) formed their own federation in 1903, creating the Zentralverband, or Central Federation of German Consumer Associations.⁸² It swiftly surpassed the entire Allgemeiner Verband in number of

After 1889, working-class people risked only their shares, not everything they owned, to join cooperatives. As an aside, the growth curve for consumer cooperatives, though more turbulent than those shown earlier, also appears generally to be logistic.

⁷⁹ Dr. Arnulf Weuster, *Theorie der Konsumgenossenschaftsentwicklung: Die deutschen Konsumgenossenschaften bis zum Ende der Weimarer Zeit* (Berlin, 1980), 157–58.

⁸⁰ Weuster, *Theorie der Konsumgenossenschaftsentwicklung*, 234–35.

⁸¹ The association of the workers' movement with Social Democracy reinforced this impression. The Marxist rhetoric of the SPD claimed that under capitalism the *Mittelstand* would inevitably be eliminated; this sort of language was taken by the SPD's opponents to mean that the party wanted and aimed to eliminate it.

⁸² F. Staudinger, *Von Schulze-Delitzsch bis Kreuznach: Eine Festgabe zur Errichtung des Gesamtverbandes*

people and volume of business: by 1914, the Zentralverband organized almost 2 million German households, or half the cooperative members of all types in Germany.⁸³ Germany's largest cooperative membership, then, was mobilized outside of mainstream liberal and conservative federations, whose concept of cooperation could not accommodate the vision and aspirations of working-class organizers. The structures bent to fit the niche: the most successful urban cooperatives were those that grew interdependently with organized labor.

The Hamburg-style cooperatives filled their niche and benefited their members materially and psychologically as the cooperatives benefited themselves from growing business. Through the cooperatives, wage earners paid lower net prices and amassed capital, retail outlets, housing complexes, and factories under their collective control, making an impact on the urban environments in which they lived. As historians, we would like to have proper economic impact studies of the effect of consumer cooperatives on, for example, price levels—such are unavailable—but perhaps we can gauge the magnitude of their impact from the vociferousness of the opposition they aroused from shopkeepers.⁸⁴ Price was not the only issue: consumer cooperatives also changed trading practices in matters such as quality guarantees and consumer protection, and they taught consumers how to manage money and make informed choices. Consumer cooperatives provided tangible economic benefits—economic reinforcement to working-class households—while also fitting a social-cultural niche, giving an expression to the desire of the working-class movement that the economy should be controlled in the interest of workers. In so doing, consumer cooperatives provided a social feedback mechanism. They compensated for what was seen as a deficiency of the market, the consumers' powerlessness, and thus helped change the market. Cooperatives could succeed at this, providing financial, psychological, and market-structural benefits, even without achieving the utopian cooperative society of which their leaders spoke. Within the limits of the logistic growth curve, they altered the economic environment, reinforced the communities that adopted them, and grew interdependently with those communities' ideas and institutions.⁸⁵

der deutschen Konsumvereine am 17. und 18. Mai 1903 (Hamburg, 1903). The expelled cooperatives had a membership that was 78 percent working-class (Kaufmann, *Kurzer Abriss*, 341).

⁸³ This likely made it the second-largest consumer movement in the world (Schill, "Internationale Statistik"). Following this growth, the SPD eventually became reconciled to consumer cooperatives and passed a resolution at its Magdeburg conference in 1910 to encourage party members to join. Consumer cooperatives were eventually acknowledged as the "third pillar" of the workers' movement, alongside the SPD and the Free Trade Unions. See Heinrich Kaufmann, *Die Stellungnahme der Sozialdemokratie zur Konsumgenossenschaftsbewegung* (Hamburg, 1911), 40–49; Weuster, *Theorie der Konsumgenossenschaftsentwicklung*, 164, 235; Adolph von Elm, *Die Genossenschaftsbewegung* (Berlin, 1901), 16–18.

⁸⁴ See below, esp. note 111.

⁸⁵ Not all workers and not all consumer cooperative members were SPD supporters. After 1902, a separate Catholic consumer's cooperative also emerged under Peter Schlack, a Cologne trade unionist. This led to the creation of the Reich Federation of German Consumer Associations in 1913. It was strongest in the Rhineland, based on the support of the Catholic trade unions. See Weuster, *Theorie der Konsumgenossenschaftsentwicklung*, 255–57.

By 1903, then, out of Schulze's broad cooperative idea had come three forms of cooperation interlinked into three, mostly urban social environments—liberal small business, conservative *Mittelstand* organizations, and the Social Democratic labor movement (the last being numerically far the largest). It is not for any of these movements, however, that German cooperatives are best known but rather for the agricultural cooperative movement that arose in the 1890s simultaneous with the political mobilization of Germany's farmers. Like Schulze, Raiffeisen would not have approved of what social evolution made out of his idea. Rural cooperatives were only a qualified success, if viewed in the founder's own idealistic terms.⁸⁶ Raiffeisen-inspired cooperatives spread, but secularism, materialism, and urbanization did not lessen, nor did Christianity notably increase. It is tempting to interpret Raiffeisen's increasingly thunderous sermons in the 1880s as a sign that he sensed the failure of his movement as a specifically Christian force. After his death in 1888, the rural cooperative movement exploded in numbers—exactly as if his death had freed it of a constraining hindrance. Three factors were at work: the energy of new styles and forms of cooperatives, released by Raiffeisen's death to expand more aggressively; the German agrarian movement; and the beginnings of an active state interest in furthering rural cooperatives. Once again, human intentions were one of the driving forces behind the manic diversification of cooperatives; once again, there were patterns at a higher level, in which human intention interacted with the pattern of social forces and community environments.

From the beginning, many of Raiffeisen's cooperatives were founded, sponsored, or led by members of the clergy, rural officialdom, state-sponsored agricultural associations, and in some regions the aristocracy.⁸⁷ Raiffeisen's inclusive communitarian vision—all members of the rural community were to be drawn into the cooperatives, not just the needy—encouraged the structural interlinkage of rural cooperatives with rural and agricultural agencies and interests. This provided a ready network of priests, administrative officials, and agricultural leaders along which cooperative ideas began to spread in the 1860s and 1870s. As they increased in number, rural cooperatives became so interdependent with these agencies that it was no longer possible to clearly separate the cooperative movement from the state, official farm agencies, agricultural leagues, and interest groups: the personnel, to a degree even the budgets, overlapped. With interdependence, cooperatives changed in form and concept and fragmented on regional lines.

The first and most important breakaway from the Raiffeisen rural cooperative movement began in the 1870s, led by Wilhelm Haas, a civil servant in Hesse and a National Liberal Reichstag deputy. Haas was careful to pay homage to Raiffeisen. Nevertheless, his movement was based on four principles that deviated from Raiffeisen's teachings. Instead of multifunctional cooperatives, Haas encouraged

⁸⁶ Peal, "Self-Help and the State," 265, judges the credit arm of the movement a qualified success, but even this is perhaps too charitable if the exclusive standard is Raiffeisen's own claims.

⁸⁷ Raiffeisen complained in the 1860s and early 1870s that officials ignored or resisted his cooperatives, and some influential provincial officials took the field against him in the *Systemstreit*. He gained the support of the Agricultural Association for the Rhine Province in the mid-1860s, however, and soon after the support of Prince Wilhelm zu Wied; by the 1880s, he had the support of the Prussian agriculture ministry in Berlin. From then onward, Raiffeisen cooperatives were systematically promoted by the Prussian civil service, and this practice was emulated in other federal states.

specialized new forms of cooperation, especially rural consumer cooperatives (that is, farm supply cooperatives through which farmers could purchase their farm inputs) and dairy cooperatives. In some regions of Germany, including Hesse, agricultural organizations did not see credit as the primary rural need but welcomed the possibility of other kinds of cooperatives different from Raiffeisen's savings and loan banks. Second, the Hessian cooperators emphasized what they saw as practical or businesslike elements of cooperation and referred to Raiffeisen's ideals as mystical and utopian. Equally, they opposed the Raiffeisen federation's centralism and promoted the idea of regional and provincial federations under a nationwide umbrella—a three- (or more) tiered organization, giving regional interests more weight. All of these characteristics met the approval of local authorities, who had their own inclination to promote practically oriented cooperative federations coterminous with their administrative units. And this was related to the fourth difference of Haas's new organization: a greater willingness to cooperate with the state, which facilitated the new movement's growth. In 1883, Haas's cooperatives were numerous enough to form a new national federation, the Reichsverband, or Imperial League of German Agricultural Cooperatives.⁸⁸ With Raiffeisen's death in 1888, Haas's federation expanded its activities in rural credit cooperation, and it thereby became a direct competitor with the Raiffeisen movement. The Reichsverband cooperatives grew rapidly in the 1890s, creating a central wholesale in 1897, and by the early 1900s surpassed the Raiffeisen federation in membership.⁸⁹ The penetration of new segments of rural society had been made possible by new forms and a new approach.

Cooperatives came to the notice of political institutions and movements that had roots in rural and small-town society. Besides National Liberals such as Haas, Conservative and Catholic Center politicians took notice of cooperatives, praising them, promoting them, and mentioning them with approval in their national political programs in the 1890s.⁹⁰ Peasant leagues helped organize local cooperatives and operated their own central wholesale and supply operations to serve affiliated local associations.⁹¹ More radical groups also organized cooperatives: these included the Bund der Landwirte (Agrarian League, which had its own central cooperative),⁹² and—interestingly enough—rural anti-Semitic parties.

⁸⁸ Kulemann, *Die Genossenschaftsbewegung*, 1: 50–52. The Reichsverband is commonly known by that name although it was not officially adopted until 1903. Earlier names included the Vereinigung (Union) or Allgemeiner Verband (General Federation) of German agricultural cooperatives. The seat of the federation was in Darmstadt for most of its existence.

⁸⁹ The two did attempt to cooperate, forming a loose alliance in 1905, but this collapsed in 1913, the year Haas died.

⁹⁰ The Conservatives' anti-Semitic Tivoli Program of 1892 called for "the founding and promotion of cooperative associations" as one measure to help artisans; the 1894 Center Party social-political program called for the "cooperative organization" of agriculture as one of its leading demands. See Wolfgang Treue, ed., *Deutsche Parteiprogramme, 1861–1954* (Berlin, 1954), 74–77. Baron Edmund von Broich, a Conservative official, founded the "Deutsche Zentralgenossenschaft" in 1889 in a failed attempt to create a statist, Conservative cooperative movement from the top down. See Alfred König, *Das sozialreformatrische Genossenschaftswesen der neunziger Jahre: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Genossenschaftswesens und des Konservatismus* (Ph.D. dissertation, Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft, Halle-Wittenberg, 1926).

⁹¹ For a summary of the early regional organizations in Bavaria, see *Raiffeisen in Bayern, 1893–1968* (Munich, 1968), 31. Bavaria was a particularly interesting case because of the cooperative federation and centrals founded by the leader of the Bavarian Peasants' Association, Dr. Georg Heim.

⁹² See Hans-Jürgen Puhle, *Agrarische Interessenpolitik und preussischer Konservatismus im wilhelminischen Reich (1893–1914): Ein Beitrag zur Analyse des Nationalismus in Deutschland am Beispiel des Bundes*

David Peal has drawn attention to the fact that the political anti-Semitic movement in Hesse endorsed cooperatives beginning in 1887–1888, as part of a campaign against allegedly Jewish usurers.⁹³ An inquiry by government officials in 1892 showed, for example, that in the rural area around Marburg (one of the strongest centers of political anti-Semitism) as many as eleven of the forty-one existing consumer and credit cooperatives could be connected in some way to anti-Semitic agitation.⁹⁴ As Peal correctly notes, mainstream cooperative leaders including Raiffeisen denounced anti-Semitism and denied that cooperatives were anti-Semitic in inspiration; Peal even argues that the practical accomplishments of the cooperative movement undermined the populist appeal of the anti-Semites by relieving social-economic distress.⁹⁵ At root, the Hesse example reveals that cooperatives had become ubiquitous by the late 1880s: no rural populist movement was complete without them.

IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY, rural cooperatives could not grow very far without becoming intimate with the state. Agricultural cooperatives, federations, and centrals began to receive some small subsidies from the Prussian provincial governments in the 1880s. These increased in the 1890s, particularly after 1892, when the Prussian agriculture ministry made a concerted effort to get its officials to support cooperatives.⁹⁶ This was small-scale aid: a few score or a few hundred marks to help organize a new cooperative, a few thousand a year to help a regional federation pay for its auditing service and newspapers, a few tens of thousands to help capitalize the most important provincial central banks. This aid generally did not come with strings attached, with one major exception: cooperatives were heavily pressured to join federations. In this way, the state reinforced the institutionalization of the movement. Policy and commercial decisions were little affected; cooperatives remained formally autonomous, even if local officials sat on their governing bodies. In 1895, however, the state became more overtly involved.

The Prussian Central Cooperative Bank came into existence in the midst of the rapid expansion of German rural cooperatives and of the farm movement

der *Landwirte und der Deutsch-Konservativen Partei* (Hanover, 1966), who, however, discusses primarily the league's right-wing, nationalist politics and little of its cooperative activities.

⁹³ David Peal, "Antisemitism by Other Means? The Rural Cooperative Movement in Late Nineteenth-Century Germany," in Leo Baeck Institute *Yearbook*, 32 (1987): 142.

⁹⁴ Staatsarchiv Marburg, Bestand 165 (Königliche Regierung zu Cassel, Präsidial-Abtheilung), Nr. 765: Landwirthschaftliche Genossenschaften Nicht-Raiffeisen'sche Systems, letter from Landrat for Landkreis Marburg to Regierungspräsident in Kassel, November 12, 1892.

⁹⁵ Peal, "Antisemitism by Other Means?" 152–53. While official cooperative leaders and publications consistently disassociated themselves from anti-Semitism, the imagery used in some popular publications to describe evil rural moneylenders suspiciously resembles anti-Semitic rhetoric, without actually referring to Jews. More analysis is needed; perhaps cooperative principles intermingled with rural prejudices despite the leaders' pronouncements, and not only in Hesse.

⁹⁶ *Fünfzig Jahre Raiffeisen*, 250; and Klaus Kluthe, *Genossenschaften und Staat in Deutschland: Systematische und historische Analysen deutscher Genossenschaftspolitik bezogen auf den Zeitraum 1914 bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1985). On the policy supporting cooperatives in 1892, see Geheimes Staatsarchiv preussischer Kulturbesitz Rep 87 B (Landwirtschaftsministerium) M (Merseburg documents) Nr. 9787: "Die Lage des landwirthschaftlichen Genossenschaftswesens in den einzelnen Provinzen, 1892–97," agriculture minister's memorandum of June 5, 1892.

generally. In the decade after the bank's founding in 1895, thousands of cooperatives were founded, helped by the bank and by the willingness of the Reichsverband cooperatives in particular to accept the state's aid.⁹⁷ The bank was a creation of Prussian Finance Minister Johannes von Miquel and was supported politically by rural-based Conservatives who favored state action to help rural society. But it was not only Conservatives who supported the bank and the associated cooperatives: Catholic Center, National Liberal, and unaffiliated rural leaders were also prominent supporters. As set up by Miquel, the bank was a public-sector institution with its basic capital provided by the state. Its purpose was to take deposits from regional cooperative banks that had surpluses, pay interest on the deposits, and lend the money to other cooperatives that were in need of capital. Backed by this liquidity, and aided by exceptionally low operating costs, the village banks were able for extended periods to lend at rates less than the Reichsbank's discount rate—a remarkable fact, even in the relatively segmented economy of a century ago. In addition, the Prussian Central Cooperative Bank offered financial services to cooperatives that commercial banks would not provide, helping to tie the cooperative system into larger capital markets. The political calculation in all this was that the bank would help (and earn gratitude from) “those classes that support themselves at their own risk with modest capital and by their own labour,” in Miquel's words, while bolstering a state-sponsored cooperative system in which opposition parties would find no organizing base.⁹⁸ The Prussian bank was opposed vociferously by Crüger at the Allgemeiner Verband, who was, like his predecessor Schulze, a left liberal.⁹⁹ The Raiffeisen Generalverband adopted a reticent posture and emphasized the need to maintain cooperative independence—the Prussian bank, after all, was taking on the role of national central bank that Raiffeisen's organization had always aspired to fill. So it was the Reichsverband that developed the closest partnership with the state.¹⁰⁰

Because of the mutually reinforcing interplay of forces—politics and ideology, new cooperative federations, political mobilization of agriculture, and state intervention—agricultural cooperatives developed in Germany in the 1890s and 1900s to an extent unsurpassed at that time in any other country.¹⁰¹ As they did so, they became part of a web of rural social organization that included clerical and secular authorities as well as technical and political agrarian institutions. With the massive expansion of the Reichsverband, the growth of rural cooperatives

⁹⁷ One has to be careful not to overemphasize the role of the state. The forms of cooperatives *against* which the state campaigned—consumer cooperatives, subject after 1895 to increased taxation and legal restrictions as well as political discouragement—succeeded just as well, up to 1914, as those that the state helped! State aid has to be evaluated in a context in which other factors were also favorable to cooperative success; perhaps the state was climbing onto a bandwagon.

⁹⁸ Peal, “Self-Help and the State,” 252–53.

⁹⁹ Hans Crüger, *Grundriss des deutschen Genossenschaftswesens* (Leipzig, 1908), 85.

¹⁰⁰ Virtually every farmers' and peasants' organization also had its own cooperative or network of cooperatives, usually independent of the Reichsverband. (These included the Bund der Landwirte or Agrarian League, the Bavarian Peasants' League, as well as Catholic regional peasant associations.) The Raiffeisen federation also grew markedly in its membership of noncredit cooperatives (the graph in Figure 2 is only of credit cooperatives); see *Fünfzig Jahre Raiffeisen*, 196.

¹⁰¹ Except, proportionate to population, in Denmark. On Danish agricultural cooperation, see Michael Tracy, *Agriculture in Western Europe: Challenge and Response, 1880–1980*, 2d edn. (London, 1982), Part 1; and Lionel Smith-Gordon and Cruise O'Brien, *Co-operation in Denmark* (Manchester, 1919).

leveled off only when rural Germany was saturated. By 1914, Germany had over 15,500 officially reporting rural cooperatives with over 1.5 million members. These were split among various regional and national federations and a bewildering variety of cooperatives that included everything from electric utilities to threshing-machine cooperatives and fruit-marketing associations. It was estimated that half of German farmers were cooperative members: a large change, most of it in a single generation.¹⁰² This saturation had been achieved by progressive modifications to Schulze's original cooperative idea: simple structure, Christian legitimacy, and long-term credit (courtesy of Raiffeisen); practical emphasis and regionalism (from Haas); organizational aid and political legitimacy (courtesy of farm organizations and state sponsorship). These modifications made cooperatives more socially and politically legitimate in rural communities, more credible, more interdependent, and broadly speaking more effective. The result was cooperatives far more secular than Raiffeisen wanted, far more intertwined with the state than Schulze would have accepted, and far more numerous than either likely ever dreamed. The mutability of the cooperative idea had gained for it a rural niche, the niche in which it remains strongest (in Germany and many other countries, inspired by the German example) to the present day.

As in the case of the other cooperatives, the failure to achieve a new society was not surprising—much more important was the role that cooperatives came to play in their host communities. Rural cooperatives offered services on-site in small villages where no services had been available before. They reduced the cost of goods, services, or credit by making these things locally available, in forms suited to agricultural needs, with minimal administration and with few losses. It would be helpful to have systematic data, but perhaps some impressions can be gleaned from a British observer, M. L. Darling (the man who later brought the Raiffeisen model to the Punjab), who toured Germany in 1920–1921 and was struck by the fact that Raiffeisen-model village banks could offer credit at 4.5 to 5 percent interest, when banks were charging 7 to 8 percent.¹⁰³ They could do so because they operated on only a 0.5 percent differential between interest rates on deposits and those on loans—an extremely narrow spread that speaks both to their efficiency and to the ample capitalization of the Prussian Central Cooperative Bank behind them. Darling also noted that the movement was in the vanguard of the push for rural development and agricultural modernization. He cited the example of a society that had “its own hulling machine and flour mill, both driven by electricity . . . There are a dozen other machines which members can hire, and that is one reason why the land is so productive and a high standard of living can be maintained.”¹⁰⁴ Rural cooperatives also conducted general adult education. The Regensburg courses of Dr. Georg Heim's federation (associated with the

¹⁰² Prof. W. Wygodzinski, *Die neuere Entwicklung des landwirtschaftlichen Genossenschaftswesens* (Hanover, 1913), 8. Wygodzinski estimates that there were 2.5 million rural coop members in total, including those who purchased cooperatively through agricultural associations.

¹⁰³ M. L. Darling, *Some Aspects of Co-operation in Germany, Italy and Ireland (A Report)* (Lahore, India, 1922), 8.

¹⁰⁴ Darling, *Some Aspects of Co-operation*, 23.

Bavarian Peasants' Association) were among the most ambitious.¹⁰⁵ The beneficiaries of all this activity were for the most part middle-level peasant proprietors.¹⁰⁶ Through modernization, improved use of fertilizers and machinery, and through more intensive forms of agriculture, all facilitated by rural cooperatives, the middle peasants enjoyed a revitalization before World War I.¹⁰⁷ As part of this revitalization, cooperatives nurtured the local social ecology in which they were rooted, strengthening and stabilizing it so that peasants and communities could survive better under changing local and global market conditions.

THE SUDDENNESS OF THE EMERGENCE OF COOPERATIVES was expressed by a contemporary in 1891, who wrote that cooperatives "are growing to be a power in our fatherland," yet a decade ago one hardly heard of them.¹⁰⁸ By the early 1900s, there was no ignoring them. A study in 1905 revealed the massive growth of German cooperatives, especially credit cooperatives, in the preceding decade. In 1905, 12,660 reporting credit cooperatives together had 1.4 billion marks in capital. This was over half that of Germany's five big note-issuing banks (2.7 billion marks) and was growing at remarkable speed, 477 percent from 1894–1905, which made the cooperatives the fastest-growing arm of the German financial industry. This growth was based, moreover, on a highly decentralized system that mobilized mainly small savings in rural communities and offered mainly small loans—on average, only 1,400 marks—to a million rural people.¹⁰⁹ Although other arms of the cooperative movement were newer than the credit cooperatives, the other rural cooperatives already handled something like one-quarter of the German market in fertilizers and one-eighth in cattle feeds.¹¹⁰ Urban consumer cooperatives, meanwhile, were opening branches, recruiting millions of members, and financing new houses and factories at a rate their small-business critics found alarming.

¹⁰⁵ Günter Link, *Das Bildungswesen des ländlichen Genossenschaftssektors in Deutschland: Funktionen, Formen und Probleme in historischer und aktueller Sicht* (dissertation, Erlangen, 1969), 206 and following.

¹⁰⁶ Assertions by contemporary cooperative and government leaders to this effect are borne out by the fact that agricultural cooperatives were concentrated in those parts of Germany that had numerous and prosperous peasants, areas such as the Rhineland and Westphalia, Hesse and Württemberg, and most parts of Bavaria. This makes sense: large estate owners did not need cooperatives to obtain credit or volume discounts on goods or services. (The prominent membership of aristocrats in many cooperative federations is to be understood for the political or social, not economic, gains that this brought them.) Owners of small plots, or agricultural laborers, might not have the collateral, the volume, or perhaps the social standing needed to invest in a cooperative or obtain credit.

¹⁰⁷ While most agricultural histories of the period have emphasized the national politics of grain and tariffs, modernization and more intensive agriculture were improving the lot of the peasants after about 1880. See A. J. Perkins, "The Agricultural Revolution in Germany, 1850–1914," *Journal of European Economic History*, 10 (1981): 71–118. Cooperatives played a critical role in the dairy industry, cattle marketing, and other areas central to the agricultural development of the period.

¹⁰⁸ Georg Mahlstedt, *Die landwirtschaftliche Genossenschaften und deren Vereinigung zu Verbänden: Ihr Nutzen, ihre Errichtung und ihr Betrieb; Ein Rathgeber bei der Errichtung landwirtschaftlicher Genossenschaften und Verbände*, 2d edn. (Oldenburg, 1891), 1.

¹⁰⁹ Max Grabein, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Bedeutung der ländlichen Genossenschaften in Deutschland* (Tübingen, 1908), 20–23.

¹¹⁰ Grabein, *Wirtschaftliche und soziale Bedeutung*, 29.

Cooperatives had their origin in a symbiotic innovation, the combining of the ideas of association and enterprise. They were based on earlier social and economic forms, including banks, partnerships, mutual associations, guilds, and rural communities. Schulze and Raiffeisen were the first to conceive of this innovation in precise terms and to implement it in experimental form; from there, the innovation evolved beyond their control to suit the conditions, and needs, of many sectors of society. The remarkable growth and spread of the German cooperative movement was due to the *diversity* of different forms this innovation took and the diversity of organizational cultures they embodied. Every major arm of the cooperative movement grew to become intertwined and interdependent with its social environment, whether that environment was the rural community and its institutions, the network of working-class organizations in the city, or the new guilds and artisans' chambers of the turn-of-the-century *Mittelstand*. Cooperatives were sponsored by these wider social institutions and reinforced them. These adaptations started out as conscious constructs on someone's part, but they took root and spread in communities according to the degree to which they suited local conditions and met local needs. Each colonized and exploited the niche to which it was suited and grew exponentially to the limits imposed by the economy, support from members, or encroachment by competitors. What followed was a period of stability in which the cooperatives, though apparently not meeting their founders' expectations of unbounded growth, were meeting local needs and sustaining a web of ecological community relationships.

Of course, not everyone benefited from workers', artisans', and farmers' cooperatives. Those who competed with cooperatives, especially small traders, experienced them as a keen form of competition and one they regarded as unfair. While farmers' cooperatives were included in the criticism, opponents of cooperatives concentrated on the politically more vulnerable consumer cooperatives, which—owing to their association with the working class and Social Democracy—were accused of being subversive. Shopkeepers organized politically through “Protection Leagues” (*Schutzverbände*) to lobby for increasing legal restrictions and punitive taxes on consumer cooperatives, department stores, door-to-door sales agencies, and other modern forms of retailing. They also organized economically by creating “Discount Savings Associations” (*Rabattsparvereine*) and—ironically (or understandably)—through their own cooperatives of shopkeepers, the forerunners of the EDEKA cooperative wholesale group.¹¹¹ That is to say, even shopkeepers, in opposing consumer cooperation, formed cooperatives. While small retailers claimed the new forms of enterprise were “unfair,” the truth appears to be that cooperatives were simply more efficient: they could sell at prevailing market prices, even bring market prices down, while still paying a 5 or 10 percent rebate on purchases to consumers at the end of the business year.¹¹²

¹¹¹ See Gellately, *Politics of Economic Despair*. For examples of the propaganda against consumer cooperatives, see, for example, E. Suchsland, *Los von den Konsumvereinen und Warenhäusern: Eine Mahnung und eine Bitte an alle Vaterlandsfreunde zur Erhaltung des gewerblichen Mittelstandes in Stadt und Land, als des Fundamentes unseres Staatswesens und unserer Kultur* (Halle am Salle, 1904). On the punitive taxes, see Hermann Fleissner, *Zur Geschichte der Umsatzsteuer in Sachsen: Nebst Urteilen und Gutachten über die Umsatzsteuer* (Hamburg, 1904).

¹¹² On the patronage rebates (and other forms of discounts or dividends) offered by German

This is not surprising, since the cooperatives, with aggregated buying through their central wholesales, could achieve economies of scale that only modern chain stores can match. Their competitors, for the most part small retailers, must have been operating on inefficient scales or fat margins. This deduction is supported by a study done in response to shopkeepers' grievances by Reich officials in 1914, which concluded that shopkeepers were responsible, through their inefficiency, for their own plight.¹¹³ From the economic point of view, the spread of cooperatives in Germany can be interpreted as the competitive success of a fitter and more efficient organism—but, also, an organism that related by new means to its social environment, reinforcing communities in specific material and social-psychological ways as it propagated itself.

"When the activity of an organism favors the environment as well as the organism itself, then its spread will be assisted; eventually the organism and the environmental change associated with it will become global in extent," wrote Lovelock. The key to the nature of German cooperatives is the way in which their spread and growth, in the conditions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, necessarily reinforced the communities from which they drew their members. An innovative adaptation was eagerly taken up where it fit and where it was needed, reaching a stasis when it had filled the niche allowed to it by social and economic structures, attitudes, and people's needs and desires. The benefits offered by cooperatives included better credit or trade terms than the members would otherwise have obtained, amassing of capital in their individual names within the cooperatives, return of surpluses to members, improved business efficiency, and a sense of collective power or confidence. (These benefits were in exchange for certain sacrifices of time, investment, and opportunity.) Artisans, farmers, and consumers who were adversely affected by the changing global economic environment joined movements that grew exponentially to fill their social niches. The cooperatives reduced some of the negative impact of change and, at the same time, furthered the modernization of retailing, marketing, and farm production. In both ways, they helped stabilize communities undermined by change and accommodate those communities to a new economic order.

The change hardly appears revolutionary, but could it be that the difference made by the cooperatives is hard to see because it was "global in extent"? How do we know what local economic conditions would have been like without the activity associated with cooperatives? Typically, cooperatives provided economic benefits by increasing competition, eliminating middlemen, and providing alternatives to monopolists. A single cooperative in the early twentieth century might make a difference of only 5 percent in prices and rebates. But for economically hard-pressed groups, a few percent might be enough to constitute an effective social feedback mechanism. The impact of a consumer cooperative on a working-class

consumer cooperatives, see the annual reports and *Jubiläumsschriften* collected in the Bundesarchiv, Abteilungen Potsdam, Geschichte Konsumgenossenschaften.

¹¹³ Sächsisches Staatsarchiv Dresden, Finanzministerium Nr. 6204: Untersuchungen über die Verhältnisse im Kleinhandel, 1914, "Besprechung am 9. Juni 1914 wegen Veranstaltung einer Erhebung über die Verhältnisse des kaufmännischen Mittelstandes." The Reichsamt des Innern hosted a conference of national and state politicians and officials on the subject.

budget and a working-class neighborhood could be significant. Farmers benefited even more from cooperatives, because they could gain both on the supply side (through cooperative purchasing and credit) and on the marketing side (through cooperative selling). By 1900, farmers were surrounded by a supporting web of member-owned, community-based businesses that shaved a few percentage points off input costs, added a few to sales receipts—and the increased income of the farmer was recirculated within the rural community, multiplying the effect. In an era of rationalization and modernization of agriculture, the cooperative safety net must have helped keep peasants independent and on the land. Cooperatives-as-associations were rooted in local communities and allowed members to dictate goals and structures; cooperatives-as-enterprises altered the local economic environment. The dualism provides the feedback mechanism: economy affects people, people organize in cooperative association, cooperative business affects the local economy. In this way, the movement altered conditions to the benefit of groups that felt disadvantaged by change. Perhaps in the 1990s, we might invoke the concept of “social impact” (as in “social and environmental impact assessment”) and refer to these cooperatives as providing for the “social sustainability” of German economic development. To moderate the adverse effects of change, to promote sustainability, is to influence a social system toward stability.

IT SEEMS INTUITIVELY APPROPRIATE to model human society as a complex, evolved system: an ecology rather than a mechanism, an organism, a purely competitive struggle for existence, or some other simple metaphor. Making the assumption that society is a complex, evolved system—a Gaia, perhaps—leads to a way of analyzing the German cooperative movement that is rich with meaning. Cooperatives cease being a problem—Why did cooperatives appear so suddenly and spread to so many social environments? Why did they claim to revolutionize society yet spread no further than they did? Why did they turn out so differently than their founders intended?—and become instead a way to gain insight into the ecological tensions and balances of society. Their origins in symbiotic innovation, their growth in positive feedback, their filling of niches and meshing with community relationships, their influence on the economic environment illuminate a larger social order, just as the study of a single species illuminates relationships within an ecology. This article has only scratched the surface. It has developed a view of cooperatives that is based essentially on ecological systems theory. And, to the extent that the illumination of one social feedback mechanism bears out the initial hypothesis, it has provided one suggestive piece of evidence concerning the possibility that a social Gaia may productively be assumed to exist.

Full of human intention, pride, politics, and utopian motives, German cooperatives can be understood as one equilibrium-maintaining function (among others) of a self-regulating, complex social organism. “This rapid, almost explosive tendency to expand to fill an environmental niche acts as an amplifier. The system moves rapidly in positive feedback to approach a balance,” wrote Lovelock. Cooperatives spread rapidly, almost explosively to fill an environmental niche,

helping the social system to move in positive feedback toward a renewed balance. Or did they? Should German society before 1914 be considered balanced or "stable"?¹¹⁴ Two observations are in order.

First, a homeostatic system will never reach stability in the sense of unchangingness. The model is dynamic. The character of self-regulation suggests only that when a system is disturbed, processes will come into play trying to move the system toward some equilibrium, conceivably a quite different equilibrium than before. No society undergoing industrialization should remotely be considered static, but it remains important to analyze what forces for stability it contains and what temporary equilibria it may attain. Our one example in this article, the German cooperative movement, suggests that, on a large, macroeconomically significant scale, there were forces in German society actively responding to change and striving to create an equilibrium between social structures and market forces. This was not a question of resisting change but of adapting. If cooperatives can be understood in this way, there are likely also other actions that make sense in the same light, particularly social movements. These others probably also involve cooperation of some kind and social or economic or cultural action instead of (or in addition to) the political. Perhaps, like cooperatives, they do not easily help historians identify winners and losers. And perhaps they have been as neglected by historians as cooperatives generally have been.

Second, although a self-regulating system will move toward stability, there is no guarantee that it will attain it. Stresses can exceed capacity. Even Lovelock's Gaia, the largest such unit, has apparently come close to dying and will certainly one day do so—"catastrophic" episodes are part of the life cycle of a Gaian ecology, and recovery is not guaranteed. In the case of Germany, historians have debated whether, before 1914, inherent instabilities existed that contributed to that country's later catastrophes. In this debate, it is surely useful to identify what forces existed for social stability—for adaptation, not for reaction—and how successful they were. Interesting questions may result. For instance, it might be that Germany's massive cooperative movement and later social and political turmoils are related. Might the magnitude of the system-stabilizing responses be proportional to the destabilizing forces? Was Germany a model of cooperative development precisely because its problems of economic and social development were acute? Democratization was clearly an issue in late nineteenth-century Germany. Cooperatives embody an inherently democratic ethos: one member, one vote. Does the acceptance of cooperatives by conservatives and government officials after the 1880s suggest even a partial "democratization" of society? Germany's cooperatives suffered a malaise in the 1920s, undermined by hyperinflation, agricultural indebtedness, and (for urban consumer cooperatives) attacks by interest groups, taxes, Nazis, and Communists. Does the malaise of these particular popular institutions exemplify a wider failure of self-regulating forces in German society? At this point, we can only ask, and ask as well what other social and cultural phenomena make sense in an ecological-systems framework.

¹¹⁴ My thanks to the anonymous reviewer who posed this question.

As Lovelock says, the test of a hypothesis is whether it leads to the asking of new questions.

The concept of proof is naive. Heuristics are more important than the final outcome. The heuristics of the Gaia Hypothesis will lead to new insights.

William Thompson

I have searched electronic and print databases to find applications of ecological systems theories like Gaia to social structures. When broaching topics that are interdisciplinary in scope, it is easy to miss important previous or parallel ideas by others. I would be grateful for all pointers and suggestions. I also wish to express my gratitude to the AHR's outside readers for their suggestions and challenging questions and to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, which funded parts of the research on which this article is based. The opening and closing quotations are from Lawrence E. Joseph's helpful popular overview of the Gaia debate, *Gaia: The Growth of an Idea* (New York, 1990), 202 and 79 respectively.



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Contributing Editor

EUROPE

35 Up. Produced and directed by Michael Apted for Granada Television. 1992 (U.S. release); color; 128 minutes. British. Film distributor: Samuel Goldwyn Co. (310) 552-2255; video distributor: Academy Entertainment (310) 273-2170.

In 1963—inspired by the Jesuit maxim “give me the child until he is seven and I will give you the man”—Paul Almond made *7 Up* for Britain’s Granada Television, a series of interviews with fourteen children of different backgrounds. Hoping for “a glimpse of England in the year 2000,” Michael Apted has reinterviewed these children at seven-year intervals, making *14 Up*, *21 Up*, *28 Up*, and now *35 Up*. The resulting remarkable cycle of films records the history of everyday life while creating a unique visual language founded on the recurrent examination of each participant. Apted inquires about similar topics in every film, such as love, marriage, children, money, profession, and education; each new film contains material from previous chapters, thus capturing vividly the physical and mental transformations of these people over time. The subjects are not asked simply to tell their story, as in most documentaries, but are urged every seven years to look back and to give—to the camera and themselves—a critical account of their lives. The participants’ acute self-awareness and constant self-examination make these otherwise ordinary lives riveting. Not surprisingly, the films themselves have become part of the participants’ lives, and some find it hard to live with the program. For others, the films have become a sort of psychologist, as Paul’s wife explains: “This is one thing that the show has done to us . . . it makes you analyse things . . . We can see what we were like a long time ago.”

The subjects’ self-consciousness makes the *7 Up* films a first-rate historical document of our age. Imagine having a visual document spanning the lifetime of fourteen Quattrocento Florentines who were explaining, analyzing, and justifying the course of their lives. Moreover, the visual structure of the cycle represents time itself effectively. While film can be a difficult medium for capturing a sense of time because it can blend past, present, and future, the *7 Up* films overcome this problem by showing concretely, and at times pitilessly, how childhood evolves into youth and adulthood. These are, essentially, films about time’s passage, the essence of every historical work. While the cycle should not be seen as a sociological study—because the fourteen children chosen in 1963 were not representative of British society—the films do successfully capture changes in ways of life and attitudes toward love, marriage, children, family, education, money, profession, class, and privilege.

One problem with the history of everyday life in documentaries and historical writing has been its frequent inability to show how personal experience was shaped by the distant and larger processes in society. The *7 Up* films find a solution here as well. The latest installment, *35 Up*, is one of the most engaging pieces to have appeared in recent years about the relationships between individual will power and the social, economic, and cultural conditions we inherit at birth. None of the films' participants who remained in Britain was able to break loose of the resilient bonds of class society. The often intangible structures of family ties, status, education, and dialect have directed these lives in quiet but decisive ways. The subjects are conscious of it. Indeed, the most striking, and painful, revelation of the film is how predictable the course of most of these lives has been: the reality of *35 Up* is often the *7 Up* child's prediction of the future. John is an upper-class boy who delineated at seven his career with unmistakable confidence and motivation. He planned to go to Westminster Boarding School and then to Trinity College at Oxford; he went to Westminster Boarding School and studied law at Christ Church, Oxford. At seven, John defended the public-school system in a memorable sentence, "I think it's not a bad idea to pay for school, because if we didn't, schools would be so nasty and crowded." He grows up to be a staunch defender of the inequalities of British society. At twenty-one, he explained the equal choice in the education system: "I do believe parents have a right to educate their children as they think fit. I think someone who works on assembly line . . . and earns a huge wage can well afford to send their children to private school—if they wanted to." At the other end of the social scale, we saw Paul start out at a Children's Home in London. At seven, he wanted to be a policeman, although he was concerned about "how hard it will be to join in"; at twenty-eight, Paul set up his own business in the building trade. After the business failed, he reflected on his professional career: "The confidence was never there . . . a mark [that] runs in the family." The role of higher education in his life was also delineated early. At seven, Paul asked, "What is a university means?" (*sic*). Twenty-one years later, his daughter raises the same query. So much for equal choice.

This pattern of predictable social development is broken by the remarkable stories of two participants whose experience represents the exception that proves the rule. The story of Nick, the farmer's son who becomes a professor at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, shows the possibilities opened for individuals of will power and talent. As a boy, Nick studied in a one-room village school in Yorkshire; we saw him walking to school amid the mud and taking care of the cows. At twenty-one, he studied physics at Oxford; at twenty-eight, he conducted nuclear research at Madison, and at thirty-five he is an associate professor. Similarly exceptional but devoid of a happy ending is the story of Niel, an articulate and charming boy who has not found his place in society, has dropped out of college and become unemployed and homeless. Now thirty-five, he lives in the Shetland Islands, attempting, as the director of the small local theater, to reestablish normal ties to society. In spite of, or perhaps because of, his eccentricity, Niel is one of the most intriguing and reflective characters in *35 Up*. He provides the most elevating story, and it comes from the least expected source. To the question whether he feels like a failure, he answers after a long and excruciating pause, "Well, my life isn't over." Whatever will happen to Niel in the future, and he was not optimistic, his answer epitomizes a common human hope for a better future.

The stark realism of the *7 Up* films is a construction of memory—a distinctly postmodernist topic. Vincent Canby aptly labeled *35 Up* "post-modernist realism" (*New York Times*, February 16, 1992, section H, p. 14). The films are about how people remember the past and how they tell it to themselves and to others. Here, the visual language of the film is pertinent. Unlike most documentaries, the camera shows us not a world that once existed but one in the making; this is a film in progress about lives in progress. Consequently (and again in contrast to most documentaries), the story in *35 Up* is not closed within a narrative framework of beginning, middle, and end but is open ended, for life goes on after thirty-five (there are plans for *42 Up*). Also absent is a voice-over that narrates the "true story," because there isn't one; we are not asked to judge which of the witnesses are to be believed. On the contrary, the film is interesting because of the contradictions embedded in the stories. In short, the camera does not mean to

show us the past "as it really was" but as it has been experienced by the participants and, most important, as they choose to tell it.

35 *Up* therefore lends itself to a discussion about the relationships between contingency and predetermined conditions. Postmodern thought has privileged meaning over structure in the understanding of society and culture, viewing the last two as self-validating and self-referential systems of meaning. The 7 *Up* films do not give credence to this view. They seem instead a classic demonstration of Karl Marx's famous dictum in *The Eighteenth Brumaire* (it seems appropriate to think of Marx, given the pervasive class structure of British society): "Men do make their own history, but they do not make it as they please, not under conditions of their own choosing, but rather under circumstances which they find before them, under given and imposed conditions."

Alon Confino

University of Virginia

L'oeil de Vichy. Produced by FIT Production, Institut National de l'Audiovisuel, TFI Films Production; directed by Claude Chabrol. 1992; black and white; 110 minutes. French with English subtitles. Distributor: CiBy Sales, 10 Stephen Mews, London W1P 1PP; tel. (071) 333-8877, fax 071-333-8878.

Vous avez la mémoire courte, "you have a short memory," Marshal Philippe Pétain was fond of saying to his French auditors. He said this in the effort to remind French men and women of the awful condition that the country had fallen into *before* the war, a condition that led to their ignominious defeat at the hands of the German armies. Pétain wanted the French to make a great effort and turn the country around, to renew the true sources of French greatness and to assume their just place in the New Order being created by Hitler's Germany. Only if the French could truly remember the past would they be willing to make the sacrifices necessary to build a healthy, vigorous future.

Political leaders often appeal to the memory of their subjects or citizens in the effort to rally them for one cause or another. Pétain was no exception in this regard. In addition to remembering the role of republican decadence in defeat, the French people were to rally round the new authoritarian government. Claude Chabrol's film *The Eye of Vichy* is composed almost entirely of films made on behalf of the Vichy government and shown in French cinemas between August 6, 1940, and August 10, 1944. These short newsreels were meant to build support for the new regime and its German ally and to stimulate hatred for its enemies. Although some contextual information is provided in the course of the film by its writers Jean-Pierre Azema and Robert Paxton, *The Eye of Vichy* presents the face of Vichy as made up by the regime itself. This is not, as we are told early in the film, France as it really was but France as Vichy wanted to present it. In this year of the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of France's liberation by the Allies, one is also struck by how this is *not* France as it wants to remember itself. For this and many other reasons, the film is a major achievement in historical representation and recovery, and it can be a significant addition to courses on the Vichy period and on historical filmmaking. Chabrol's film shocks because it says little in addition to what it presents from films of the Vichy period. It almost lets Vichy speak for itself, and for this reason it was criticized in the French press for not condemning the past it brought back to the public's attention.

One of the early tasks of the Vichy propagandists was to turn France toward Germany and against the English. The sinking of the fleet by the British at Mers el-Kébir and the heroic efforts of German firefighters in France and of the German Red Cross are juxtaposed as

France's new connection to the Reich is defined. Much effort was made to glorify Frenchmen who volunteered for work in Germany. Not only would their efforts reduce unemployment and make a contribution to the new Europe being forged by the Nazis, they would make it possible for more French prisoners of war to be sent home. The newsreels emphasized that French patriotism and German interests fit neatly together.

The Eye of Vichy takes us year by year through Vichy propaganda films. Pétain is the star, and he is shown surrounded by wildly enthusiastic French throngs or by the finest flowers of French youth. The shifts in the French government and the stages of collaboration are visible in the films as the years pass. The National Revolution of Pétain spreads through society. We see labor leaders and writers talking about the new Europe and the role of France in its grand unity. We see young people with their "purity and energy" going back to the soil, dancing, cheering. The fascist salute sweeps through the French crowds as they cheer their new leaders.

The Vichy films are particularly vicious in stimulating and tapping into anti-Semitic energies. The founding of the Institute for the Study of Jews is a sign that "the scientific study of the Jewish issue" formed an important part of the general project of collaboration. Jews are like rats, we are told by one of the films, dangerous to public hygiene, insidious. With the German invasion of the Soviet Union in the spring of 1941, anticommunism also became a prominent feature of the propaganda films. French volunteers against Bolshevism are shown leaving for the Eastern Front. Chabrol spends much time on the role these volunteers played as the militarist avant-garde of Vichy ideology.

French volunteers against Jews were organized differently than their anticommunist counterparts. They were told that France had been *enjuiver* since 1936 and that Jews were responsible for the lack of preparedness and for "plunging" the nation into war in 1939. The real French had to learn how to detect the real Jews; to pick them out so they could be isolated, at least. Of course, if Jews had blue skin, there would be no need for them to wear the yellow star. But, the films insist, we must know who they are so that they can no longer lead France astray and destroy the possibilities for a French Renaissance within the heart of the new Europe. The propagandists and the country warmed to the anti-Semitic themes. With no prompting from the German authorities, anti-Jewish laws were promulgated and Jews were portrayed as bloodsuckers of the French people, living on the Côte d'Azur while the poor French suffered and sacrificed. Pure French boys and girls are shown working in the fields, while statutes against Jews are represented as an important part of the efforts at authentic French renewal.

In the summer of 1942, the French were urged to redouble their efforts to send schoolchildren to the countryside to have a truly healthy and inspiring holiday. The voice-over that Chabrol inserts tells us that at this time Jewish men, women, and children were being brought to the Vélodrome d'Hiver. As we watch smiling children boarding trains for their summer vacation, the voice-over tells us that Jewish children were separated after arrest from their parents. As we watch films explaining the creation of charcoal from lumber, we are told that Minister of State Laval would convince Hitler to deport even Jewish children and that those gathered in the summer of 1942 would be exterminated in Auschwitz. While we learn from the voice-over commentary about other arrests, we are shown films from the period about the ingenuity of French wartime recycling: discarded hair can be turned into slippers, sweaters, and gloves. The cheerful voice of the propagandist says, "you may be wearing the hair of your beloved."

The metaphor of recycling is an important thread in *The Eye of Vichy*, as it shows how one substance can continue to have an existence in another form. This is often how the persistence of the past works—transformed, the past continues to have effects. After a section on anti-Semitic propaganda films, Chabrol shows us movies made about wartime recycling, especially the recycling of old films into other products (such as nail and shoe polish). Old films can be recycled, says the newsreel, into useful products during the scarcity of wartime. Chabrol, of course, is also recycling old films in his *Eye of Vichy*. And his montage raises the question of how the vicious anti-Semitic attitudes this film has re-presented have been recycled in contemporary France.

As the war progressed, the short films on current events tried to find some good news about the Germans on the Eastern Front even as they underlined the impossibility of ever breaching the German defenses along the Atlantic coast. The British and Americans are portrayed as callous about sacrificing their own soldiers and as barbaric murderers of French civilians by bombardment. Fortress Europe required French solidarity and sacrifice to repel the English-speaking invaders. In Pétain's Christmas message of 1943, however, we can hear that the threats to French unity are also from within, as he warns against the dangers of civil war and communism. But he wants to conclude on a hopeful note that stresses essential French unity: "you will love each other again." And, into the spring of 1944, Pétain does seem to inspire unity and love; he is greeted by enormous, enthusiastic crowds in his travels across the country.

The Eye of Vichy shows us the France that Vichy wanted to project on the screen. It is a picture, of course, that the French wanted to forget as quickly as possible. The most ironic moment of the film comes near its final frames, when the newsreel shown is no longer in the service of the Vichy government. After watching the seas of people cheering wildly for Pétain, his ministers and supporters, we see de Gaulle arrive in a liberated Paris to huge crowds of vigorous support. De Gaulle made use of much the same rhetoric as Pétain when he proclaimed that the capital liberated itself and that all of France, the real France, the eternal France, had struggled to liberate itself. De Gaulle wanted the French to love each other again.

He did not remind his people that they had a short memory.

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Tango of Slaves. Produced and directed by Ilan Ziv. 1994 (U.S. release); color; 111 minutes. English, Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, and German (with English subtitles). Video distributor: Tamuz Media (212) 864-7603.

Korczac. Produced by Regina Ziegler, Janusz Morgenstern, and Danielle Toscan DuPlantier; directed by Andrzej Wajda. 1990; black and white; 113 minutes. Polish with English subtitles. Distributor: New Yorker Films, 16 W. 61st St., New York, N.Y. 10023 (212) 247-6110.

Schindler's List. Produced by Steven Spielberg, Gerald R. Molen, and Branko Lustig; directed by Steven Spielberg. 1993; color and black & white; 185 minutes. Film distributor: Universal Studios (818) 777-1293; video distributor: MCA Home Entertainment (818) 777-4300.

The Holocaust and its representation have provided a parable of modern existence. Elie Wiesel keeps reminding us that the Holocaust cannot be represented, that only silence can convey the enormity of the event. Words—the world has been told by the master narrator—are simply insufficient to describe the uniqueness of the Holocaust. This question of uniqueness, and what precisely was unique about the Holocaust, has occupied the historical profession most intensely over the last decade. In Germany, the Historians' Debate (*Historikerstreit*) became an

intellectual soul-searching to a degree that can hardly be envisioned in the United States. Here, one of the more visible responses occurred at a UCLA conference later edited by the organizer Saul Friedlander into a collection called *Probing the Limits of Representations* (1992). At the conference, some of the most prominent theoretically inclined historians struggled with the question of why the Holocaust should not be viewed as just one more terrible disaster in a long sequence. The success of the published volume was partly its failure to answer the question and provide the sought-after intellectual and theoretical basis for the uniqueness of the Holocaust. Instead, the reader finds even the great relativists Hayden White and Dominick LaCapra subscribing to certain moral commitments, social and cultural beliefs, as well as political considerations, all of which resulted in the participants arguing for a notion of uniqueness but one that remained mysterious and intangible.

The more extensive and successful the literature on the Holocaust is, the more doubtful the assertion of its unrepresentability. Similarly, as more aspects of the Holocaust are described, the substance and meaning of its uniqueness are questioned. But such observations are not received merely as descriptive statements. Personal and national politics of maintaining or losing the claim of the uniqueness of the Holocaust are at the core of many of these debates, and not only in Germany and Israel. A significant component of the emotions generated by these debates is the awareness that these are the last few years when survivors of World War II can present their version of the events. This group of survivors includes some of the leading historians in the field, and their personal opportunity to shape opinion is ending. The struggle for communal memory is undertaken with the full awareness that the stories of the witnesses, survivors, bystanders, and perpetrators will count more for "history" than will future analysis. The public stakes are high and the time is short.

Similar to what these historians have been doing, films have been part of this formation of identity through the production of historical material. Among those with the greatest impact were the television miniseries *Holocaust: The Story of the Family Weiss* (1983) and Claude Lanzmann's *Shoah* (1985). For different reasons, these have become benchmarks in the representations of the Holocaust. While the miniseries dramatized and therefore supposedly trivialized the event (despite the cathartic effect of its broadcast in Germany), Lanzmann has achieved an iconic status for evoking the uniqueness of the tragedy by refusing to use historical footage and without the sacrilege of representing its memory through artificial construction. The notion that you could only approach the memory of the Holocaust indirectly and at best approximate it, as well as the idea that its uniqueness is unrepresentable, has been dramatically enhanced by Lanzmann's circumventive approach.

Tango of Slaves is a documentary that takes Lanzmann's approach of building on survivors' stories, with a significant addition of problematizing the historical footage, while both *Korczak* and *Schindler's List* are biographical dramatizations of real stories that provide a moving docudrama and blur the demarcation of the historical and the fictional. Examining these three films together allows us to consider important questions about historical representations and memory.

"Tango of Slaves" is a popular Yiddish song. It is used as a reference to a recurring dream the producer of the film has of his family reunion before the Holocaust and of how through their dance his family evokes the life of the Warsaw ghetto, including its orchestra and restaurants. The tango envelops the story, providing the theme for an unsuccessful search for family roots. But that is the end of the story. Its beginnings are in a young boy's bedroom in Tel-Aviv, where the producer, Ilan Ziv, is experiencing for the first time his Holocaust memories through the public commemoration of the repression of the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto. The date of the defeat of the uprising, with its validation of resistance and rejection of passive victimization, has come to symbolize the Holocaust. For Ziv, the child of a survivor, the images of heroism and slaughter are confusing, blurring the personal and the "national." Two decades later, in Israel, a country that has become politically more secure and culturally somewhat self-reflective, Ziv

combines the professional and the personal in an attempt to create a survivor's film. He decides to document his father's memories of life in the ghetto.

Ziv travels with his father (whose name never appears) to Poland, a trip upon which the father is very reluctant to embark. The justification for the trip is Ziv's effort to reconstruct the family story for Ziv's own daughters. Although the father is afraid of the trip even forty-eight years after leaving Poland, afraid of the memories and of the confrontation with the terrible past, he accepts his duty to the living, to his grandchildren and to future generations. He is persuaded to make a try at recording his memories.

In Poland, it soon becomes clear that there is nothing tangible, especially in Warsaw, to bring back the father's memories. There are no visual traces that would enable the filmmaker to record any of his father's experiences. Futile efforts to find the family's earlier hideout in a sausage factory turn up nothing but an apartment building and three confused workers. The story is a variation with a twist on the story of Oskar Schindler, which was told from the perspective of grateful survivors. Julia, who ran the sausage factory during the war where twenty Jews worked by night and hid by day, was supposed to hide Ziv's grandmother. She did not. Her story and the victim's are never told. After the war, Julia continually sent Christmas cards to Ziv's father in Israel, asking for forgiveness, which he never granted.

After a short time in Warsaw, the father becomes frustrated at their inability to find any visual evidence of his lost world, and consequently he becomes less and less cooperative. All the filmmaker can find are street addresses and people who say in effect that contemporary Warsaw does not easily recall its past. The growing unease of the father is manifested for the camera. We see him tell ghetto stories, replicating the earlier fears he expressed in Tel-Aviv when the trip was initially planned of being haunted by the recall of memories. Occasionally, the reserved and dignified elderly man breaks down and turns away. Watching the increasingly uncooperative father, we cannot help but empathize with his efforts to balance his apparent relief at not having to confront the visual memories with the frustration of not being able to complete the journey and perhaps confront the horror through the documentation process. At times, he refuses to recall the past; on other occasions, he dryly refers to certain incidents. Having gone half-way, he seems relieved at not having to recount his experiences in more gruesome detail. His son Ziv leaves much to the viewer's imagination. The memories seem to slip out unexpectedly, when the father is faced for example by an address that recalls the worst days of hunger and the horrors of fighting with neighbors over rotten potatoes ("you could stick your fingers into their mush") dumped on the streets by the Nazis in lieu of proper food. "I was always hungry." That is as close as we are allowed to come to the ghetto experience.

The father's stories are a failure. Since he does not really cooperate, and Warsaw does not lend itself to such a reconstruction, Ziv turns to historical footage. There is relatively little evidence available of life in the ghetto; most was lost in the wartime destruction. With the precious little that is left, Ziv takes us on a deconstruction trip. For historians, this is a fascinating exercise in evaluating historical documents. Ziv turns out to be more successful as a historian of film than a recorder of his family history. The story he tells of the existing footage in Poland about the Warsaw ghetto is perhaps the most problematic for historians. From the pre-war years, there seem to be only two films that have survived, one of which was produced by the Jewish council for its own purposes. The only wartime film is Nazi propaganda, shot in May 1942, which the Nazis recorded with the intention of showing how comfortable life was in the ghetto. Ziv skillfully traces back the making of the footage, and we watch one of the survivors who acted in the Nazi film describe her role and the shooting of this type of film, we hear fragments from contemporary diaries from the ghetto about the filming, and we hear Ziv's father describe the horrible existence of the dozens of hungry people standing outside the ghetto restaurant. Ziv reminds us that "we inherited the memories but not the visual images." And what is one to do with Nazi images that were fabricated, staged propaganda, yet are the closest we can get to contemporary images? What is the status of these images as authentic representations? Any answer to such a dilemma is kept in the realm of the personal by the image of Ziv's father describing life in the ghetto while he watches the footage. He finds it very affecting and "true" to life.

"'Great Lives are just like legends—difficult but beautiful,' wrote Polish Jewish doctor, writer and educator Janusz Korczak (Henryk Goldszmit)." As the publicity material for the film *Korczak* continues, "On August 6, 1942, his life became a legend. On that day, the S.S. forced him to gather the two hundred orphans he was tending in the Warsaw ghetto. Refusing to save his life, he defiantly led 'his' children behind the Star of David flag to the train that was to take them to Treblinka. He died there with them." Janusz Korczak was a hero during his own life, and he became a symbol of goodness for future generations. There is very little historical ambivalence about this successful doctor, writer, and pedagogue. He devoted his life to the discovery of childhood and to educating orphans. As a writer of children's stories, he captured the minds of many. When the moment of truth came, he maintained his commitments and ideals, dying with the children in his charge.

Korczak's success in pre-war anti-Semitic Poland as a physician, his status as a novelist (*King Matt the First* was his best work), and his fame as a reformer devoted to orphans all merge into an exemplary film history. Andrzej Wajda, the prominent Polish director turned politician, focuses on Korczak as the embodiment of goodness. As a director, Wajda says, "I simply tried to rediscover the simplicity and honesty of my early black and white films. Over the last three decades, European cinema has stunningly renewed its language, improved its technique, but it has lost its naive faith in the audience's desire for beautiful and simple stories." *Korczak* does not pretend to be suspenseful entertainment. It is the story of a hero told by an admirer who has a message to deliver about the possible victory of goodness over evil, using a not inappropriate role model for a budding politician in modern Poland, emerging from the struggle of the 1980s, looking forward to a free society. The film has no moral ambivalence. The Germans are all bad, the Jews are all good, and the few Poles are mostly good. The Polish radio director who is forced to fire Korczak before the war under anti-Semitic pressure reappears in a Gestapo prison cell with Korczak, who declares that everything before the war is forgiven and that he, Korczak, believes that never again will a Pole act against a Jew. The war morally purifies its victims and creates equality, opening the possibilities for a new postwar Poland. Compare this to Steven Spielberg, who in *Schindler's List* attributes to the war the sadism of Amon Goeth the Nazi commandant, and it is clear that the war provides a narrative device able to serve divergent ends.

Tango of Slaves and *Korczak* were produced before *Schindler's List*, which, whatever its merits or shortfalls, has created a new era for movies about the Holocaust. Perhaps more hyperbolic statements have been voiced in response to Spielberg's *Schindler's List* over the last year than to any other historically informed film. Since it has been viewed by so many, I will not retell Schindler's story here. Yet its cultural impact makes it the perfect vehicle for examining the problematic nature of historical films. The contrast between Spielberg, the foremost entertainer, and his theme of Holocaust, especially coming on the heels of his most successful box-office movie, *Jurassic Park* (1993), made numerous viewers very skeptical. Many reviewers have felt the urge to put their own perspectives into writing. I, too, have to disclose my ambivalence over having been moved by the film while trying intellectually to maintain a critical posture. I resolved the ambivalence by trusting my emotions and deciding that my formal criticism of the film should be made secondary. Here, I want to explore *Schindler's List* for its historical representations, which are possibly Spielberg's main achievement in the film. By his use of near-documentary language, a "real" story, the impact of the black and white format, and a photographic technique that aims at a realistic representation, Spielberg has made a strong rhetorical claim on the viewer to judge *Schindler's List* as a true story, as history.

The two films discussed above provide the context in which to evaluate *Schindler's List* as a historical movie. Although we have overabundant memories of the Holocaust, we inherited, as Ziv reminded us, few images to provide an anchor for our memory, a vehicle for the present to comprehend the past. Memory is visual, and Spielberg, through his citations of known images and the constructions of new "authentic," "true" images, expands our (public) available imagery. His invention in this case is more a translation of verbal memory onto film, as historical

fiction or docudrama that intends to come very close to what historians, and subsequently the public, may accept as "truth." And it is Spielberg's artistic mastery that makes his rhetorical claim for truth so persuasive. His success depends in large measure on a fondness in the audience for the conventional truth about the Holocaust (despite the revisionist historians' efforts) and on the construction of the movie as a complex narrative that avoids easy solutions. Given the controversies over the Holocaust, the judgment of Spielberg's as a new master narrative may be subjective, yet the overwhelming public response shows that it is fast becoming a standard.

One way of contextualizing the "historical veracity" question is to examine the historical record of the story. While Schindler was not a world-famous figure before Spielberg chose to tell his tale, he was not totally unknown. In fact, one may pause for a moment on "The Real Oskar Schindler" by Herbert Steinhouse ("Excerpt of the 'Real Oskar Schindler,'" *Saturday Night*, April 1994). A Canadian journalist, Steinhouse came across Schindler's story in the late 1940s via two survivors who worked to secure Schindler's safety and facilitate his emigration. Steinhouse was intrigued, followed the story as a journalist, interviewed Schindler and certain survivors, and ended up writing a story of a heroic German. But "good German" stories were not in great demand in the late 1940s, and the story went unpublished. Spielberg and novelist Thomas Keneally have been criticized for placing Schindler on a pedestal, yet Steinhouse's version is even more favorable to Schindler. We are told, for example, about Schindler's attempt on one occasion to kill a local SS commandant. Perhaps the surprise may lie less in the discrepancies between the two versions than in their similarities. Four decades apart, a world away, unknown to each other and constructed for different purposes, "The Real Oskar Schindler" and *Schindler's List* look quite similar.

The frequent debate concerning the film has been over whether it validates or manipulates Schindler's story as a historical drama. Is it a melodrama that entraps the public, as Spielberg's science fiction films have done previously? Was Schindler accurately portrayed? What about Stern (the Jewish accountant who runs Schindler's business)? How is one to evaluate Amon Goeth (the SS commandant whose sadism represents the Nazi evil against which Schindler's evolving character provides a polarized representation of a German)? What about good and evil? Schindler's moral ambiguity, his closeness to the SS, his drinking and womanizing, his greedy motives (which will be transformed despite himself) make him into a hero we love to despise. Yet it is Schindler's ambivalence and his redeeming features—the fact that his greed is redirected to save his enslaved workers and that he in a limited way subverted the Nazi machine—that make him, and the movie, so believable. They create a larger-than-life figure whom we all yearn to see (if only there had been more Schindlers . . .). From the German perspective, the film brings to prominence a different kind of German, one who acted virtuously in the midst of the war. It is, after all, a story of survival, not extermination; the Jews are largely of secondary importance to the film, and none is explored in great depth. The audience looks the horror in the face, yet this is a story of hope, even at such moments as the small child hiding in the latrine almost covered to his face in feces and the SS shooting everything in sight above him. Does the overdone ending turn it into a "traditional" Hollywood movie? These and other numerous questions are not rhetorical. There might not be sufficient space to answer all here, but their consideration illuminates the role of the visual in historical narration.

Unencumbered by historical professional standards, Spielberg mix-n-matches historical drama with numerous visual footnotes to recognizable figures and places. In the film, the audience follows the story at the director's pace, without the luxury—or the burden—of being able to examine the particulars. Despite ourselves, we are left with certain striking scenes, which become our new memories. For those who are familiar in any way with the Holocaust, the most memorable images are the ones that "remind" us of previous knowledge. And that is one reason why Spielberg has been successful. The numerous stories in the media of the survivors' emotional response to having had their story "finally told" gave Spielberg a legitimation that can hardly be surpassed. This emotional involvement of the victims and participants of the war in its representations problematizes the perspective of the impartial observer. The stakes are very

different for the two. The dynamics produced by the identity of the participants is both similar to and different from that which sustained the debates known as the *Historikerstreit*. Similar because the participants are informed and motivated by their own role and responsibility to their own identity, different because the claims of historical professionalism are not called upon to justify the argument. Yet the historian may pause before accepting the victims' perspective as a final judgment. Compare the responses to Spielberg's version with the father's emotional validation in *Tango of Slaves* of the Nazi-produced ghetto footage. Given the dearth of Holocaust images, the enthusiastic responses to *Schindler's List* by the victims may suggest more about their frustration than about authenticity and the need for a more nuanced reading of participants' responses.

A comparison of the techniques of recreating realism is instructive. The documentary film *Tango* uses color, with historical footage in black and white. The two docudramas use black and white as an illusion of realism, to present "historical footage" as well as emphasize the grim aspects of the story. Spielberg's achievement in presenting the war horrors in a straightforward manner becomes even more impressive when compared to Wajda's mastery in *Korczak*, which limits the cameras to showing mild physical harassment. Consider also the scene of the resettlement of the Jews in the ghetto. Ziv in *Tango* takes us on a ride over the bridge, with his father telling the story. Wajda focuses on the Germans who guard the gate to the ghetto and refuse to let two Polish servants join their Jewish employers, who enter the ghetto with a cart drawn by a horse loaded with their belongings. In contrast, Spielberg's ghetto scene is overwhelming in its magnitude. Although it is almost a conventional Hollywood crowd scene, its use here is very effective because it evokes a historical reality to which we do not otherwise have access. Clearly, affirming this access through fiction is not an uncontroversial claim. Yet what does it do to our understanding of "the historical record"? We know that a massive violent transfer took place, and Spielberg gives this knowledge visual concreteness. He enriches our historical understanding. Consciously or not, we will recall Spielberg's version, if only to deviate from it. It seems that the professional crisis over representing and narrating finds one possible solution in Spielberg's presentation, precisely because it is so visually convincing. One of the many criticisms of the movie was that the characters lacked depth; Spielberg did not go "far enough beyond the historical record." A favorable reviewer speaks of allowing "the action to speak for itself," maintaining "a comfortable objective distance." While we may define the pertinent "historical record" differently, for us as the public, Spielberg's close affinity to the imagined reality has produced new images, which will now serve as historical knowledge. Spielberg succeeds where Wajda fails because he does not resort to easy solutions. Schindler is not a saint; his story, even though fantastic, is believable. Wajda overuses Korczak's sainthood for contemporary purposes and thereby destroys its credibility.

Can the Holocaust be represented? If so, how? As we move toward the "normalization" of the Holocaust, it becomes apparent that the option of nonrepresentation does not exist. The long refusal of the survivors, such as Wiesel, to accept that what they share as their experiences was the event, and that there is nothing that cannot be represented, has been diminishing as their generation comes close to passing away. Approximation and communication are being recognized as better than the awe of silence. Such a choice is not a simple one. Ziv's narration of his father's struggle is revealing. *Tango of Slaves* can be viewed as a collage of failed efforts, as a vivid demonstration of how memories are unavailable to the viewer, to the historian, even to the survivor, who accepts the perpetrator's staging of the ghetto's life as "true." The challenge presented by the Nazi propaganda footage is highly effective in focusing the problem: what we imagine we know was known through drawing on false (staged, inauthentic) images and changes what we remember. We have visual memories that we feel sure are true, but we cannot show where they existed (in this case, the disappearance of the ghetto). The Nazi footage is evocative because it relies on the preexisting knowledge of the viewer to help the survivor narrate his experience. We come away appreciating the reluctance of the survivor to point to a park in Warsaw and recall the bustling ghetto life that existed at that address fifty

years earlier. Yet we come to believe (at least I did) that we somehow know more about the survivor and his days in the ghetto, mostly through his not telling the story. *Tango's* failure is a success of the claim about the limits of representation. In fact, in the middle of the film, Ziv interviews a historian who pontificates about the impossibility of making a Holocaust movie. Enter Spielberg. His is a colossal reservoir of images for an insatiable public with fragmented, verbal, or non-communicative knowledge, who, too frequently to be ignored, emerges from the theater transformed.

Things are not what they are meant to be. Commemorating the Holocaust is complicated. Normalizing it (in the revisionist sense) in order to minimize its uniqueness has only made the notion of its uniqueness more widespread. Wajda in glorifying Korczak makes him into a saint and therefore more of a myth and less a reality. He does, however, in the process succeed in offering viewers a way to expunge Polish guilt. Ziv tries to retell his family story. He fails while making us aware of what is beyond the limits of existing representations. Spielberg's success normalizes the Holocaust beyond Lanzmann. He brings it down from the sophisticated and inaccessible pedestal and makes it into human-sized—horrific as it was—experience. For Lanzmann's admirers, Spielberg may be a sacrilege. Yet, for the millions who have seen *Schindler's List* but have never heard of *Shoah*, Spielberg has represented the Holocaust in a way that can and will be comprehended. For most of us who recognize that multiple perspectives are better than a pure single view, Spielberg has added much to our understanding of the production of memory.

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One-Way Street. Produced and directed by John Hughes for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. 1992; color; 58 minutes. Distributor: in Australia only, John Hughes, fax 011-613-565-4209.

Making a film about Walter Benjamin that is not a traditional bio-pic is no small order, and John Hughes's *One-Way Street* succeeds admirably. Hughes has composed the film in accordance with specific and central notions of Benjamin's about history, knowledge, fragmentation, modernism, the priority of images, and the impossibility of "seamless" narratives in the modern (post-World War I) world.

One-Way Street shuffles and re-shuffles images, text fragments, documentary sections, dramatic reenactments, and archival footage into a cinematic version of a Benjamin essay. Biographical vignettes are interspersed with evaluations of his work and career by several eminent scholars, including Anson Rabinovich, Susan Buck-Morss, and David Batherick. Visual images central to Benjamin's work—the Angelus Novus, the Parisian arcades, the nighttime cityscape of Berlin—form collages throughout the film, and specific text quotations appear as on-screen titles and are spoken by actors in the dramatic sections.

A central concern of the film (and of Benjamin) is the examination of notions of history that depart from the traditional and chronological narrative forms prevalent in his time. Benjamin regarded that kind of history as intrinsically authoritarian and thus destined to be used (all too successfully) by fascist regimes for the worst ends. Three key quotes occur close to the beginning of the film: "Knowledge exists only in lightning flashes . . .," "Text is thunder rolling long after . . .," and soon after "History breaks down into images not stories."

Recurring thematic concerns emerge as the linchpins of Hughes's (as of Benjamin's) narrative in place of chronology. The film opens with a quote on-screen from Bertold Brecht in 1941 upon learning of Benjamin's suicide. A montage sequence of Berlin at night follows, accompanied by vocal music. A curious and visually striking close-up of two kitschy wooden

dolls opens the montage. At the end of the sequence, the dolls return in a longer shot, which finally locates them in space and time—as part of the decor of a Berlin punk bar. This editing technique of first presenting information and only later contextualizing it by virtue of the accretion or repetition of other images is basic to the film's structure and content. The main titles appear only after this initial montage section (already several minutes into the film), and they are superimposed over a clip from Rene Clair's famous Dada experimental film of 1924, *Entr'acte*, a longer portion of which returns later on.

The first of several biographical snippets is a scene set on the French-Spanish border at Portbou (with a title reading 1940). An actress's voice describes Benjamin falling down during the arduous climb to the border. After this comes the first interview section, with Anson Rabinovich talking about the importance of fragments to Benjamin's work. The film returns twice to the border escape story between two ongoing interview sections. One is of Michael Jennings discussing Benjamin's propensity for taking quotes out of context and recombining them to see what happens, and the other is of Lindsay Waters (Harvard University Press) describing preparation of the first complete edition of Benjamin's writings in English.

Thus *One-Way Street* begins at the end of Benjamin's life. The dramatic sections then tell in flashback the story of his final days while the interview/documentary sections address the story of his ideas and influence on subsequent generations. This nonlinear and atemporal "narration" that continually juxtaposes past and future characterizes the entire film. The story moves to New York in a glittering nighttime montage of the city that echoes that of Berlin in the opening of the film. An interview with Susan Buck-Morss explores the diverse categorizations of Benjamin's work: as literary criticism, critical theory, and cultural theory. A long section of Rene Clair's *Entr'acte* is then cut into the film. *Entr'acte* was made by Clair with Francis Picabia for projection between the acts of a ballet titled *Relache*, performed by the Swedish Ballet in Paris in 1924. One of the leading attractions of this famous Dada theater evening was Marcel Duchamp playing Adam, complete with fig leaf. The sequence used is that of a funeral cortege followed by a long procession of black-garbed mourners. The alternation of slow and fast-motion camera techniques turns the event into a ghostly and absurdist black-and-white ballet. The *Entr'acte* fragment functions in several ways, suggesting a connection between Benjamin's literary and political views and those of the Dada artists, particularly their response to the destruction and chaos of World War I. It offers, as well, a visual example of collage techniques that were enormously popular in the visual art of the 1920s (for instance, in the works of John Heartfield and George Grosz), with which Benjamin was surely familiar.

The interviews continue, leading to a new chapter of the biography: Benjamin's passionate love affair with Asja Lacis, which resulted in the writing of his *Moscow Diary*. It is her account of their meeting that is heard (spoken by an actress), her impressions of him, and her insistence that the future was in Moscow, not Palestine. This question of the choice between socialism and Zionism was a thorny one, not only for Benjamin but for many European Jews of the 1920s and 1930s. That Benjamin never resolved it becomes clear as we hear him read from a letter written by his old friend Gershom Scholem.

At this point, the strategies of *One-Way Street* are clear enough to create a kind of suspense regarding where the film will go next and what manner of story will be offered. In fact, we are propelled toward the end of the biography—the escape from Paris, the final journey to the Spanish border, and a description of the bits of paper on which *Passagen Werke* was scribbled.

In the last sequence, the actor who plays Benjamin slowly downs one sleeping pill after another with innumerable glasses of water—an oddly literal finale in both form and content for this film. The imagery of the dolls and the accompanying music from the opening return as a coda to complete this circuitous journey through a life and times.

One of the most interesting effects of this kind of biography is the lack of any possibility of psychological identification with the protagonist or, indeed, any other character. Given that so much "historical" film tells its tale through individual characters, how does this affect the perception of the historical events? In a recent roundtable discussion of critics and curators about *Schindler's List* as "historical" document, several participants remarked on the degree to which characters dominated the film, often making the actual events seem like a backdrop. The

most interesting remarks were about the degree to which this suggests that characters (major and minor) control events, rather than the other way round, hardly a realistic description of World War II or any other war.

One-Way Street, by eschewing character development and traditional linear narrative, mixes together the personal and political, historical and psychological, past, present, and future. Its portrait of history privileges neither character nor event, featuring instead biography and history as inseparable works in progress.

Wanda Bershen

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Fetus [*Magzat*]. Produced by Budapest Filmstúdió, Polish Television, Hungarian Television, and the Hungarian Motion Picture Foundation; directed by Márta Mészáros. 1993; color; 102 minutes. Hungarian. Distributor: Film Unio.

Why Wasn't He There? [*Senkiföldje*]. Produced by Dialóg Filmstúdió, AB Films, Dom Filmowe, supported by Eurimages, the Hungarian Motion Picture Foundation, Hungarian Television, Duna TV; directed by András Jele. 1992–93; color; 105 minutes. Hungarian. Distributor: Film Unio.

The Rest [*Maradék*]. Produced by Kreatív Media Műhely Kft. and the Hungarian Motion Picture Foundation; directed by Miklós Jancsó. 1993; color; 15 minutes. Hungarian.

Notes of a Lady ("Private Hungary," 8) [*Egy úrinő notesza* (Privát Magyarország 8)]. Produced by Balázs Béla Stúdió, Hungarian Television, Fiatal Művészek Stúdiója; directed by Péter Forgács. 1993; color and black & white; 48 minutes. Hungarian. Distributor: Film Unio.

Children of an Iron God [*Vasisten gyermekei*]. Produced by Hunnia Stúdió and Moszfilm; directed by Tamás Tóth. 1993; color; 78 minutes. Russian with Hungarian subtitles. Distributor: Film Unio.

A collision of contradictory political systems, cultures, and histories can be sighted everywhere in Hungary's capital, itself the result of a linking of ancient, hilly, picturesque, aristocratic Buda and modern, flat, commercially bustling, bourgeois, and working-class Pest. At the apartment that director György Szomjas uses as his office, the color television monitor is supported by a graceful, eighteenth-century curve-legged end table, the VCR balances underneath on a Middle Eastern inlaid pearl plant stand. Oil paintings of an earlier generation of Szomjas's wife's family gaze down from high-ceilinged walls on six foreign journalists, filmmakers, and friends watching a videotape of his prize-winning entry in the 1993 Hungarian Film Week, titled *Roncsfilm*, or Junk Film. "A junk film for a junk country," he remarks in

English, offering his own unflattering synonym for Hungary's tumultuous history and hybrid culture. If the visitors were to look away from the monitor to the window, they would see, in that single frame, the correlative of Szomjas's "junk" film language. A winged Victory statue, commemorating the Soviet liberation of Budapest from the Germans in 1945, dominates the bluff on the Buda side of the Danube, while, on the Pest side, the square tower of a Habsburg-yellow Catholic church imposes itself between Szomjas's office and the river. Hungary has evolved at, or as, the margin of many empires (Roman, Ottoman, Austrian, German, Soviet), yet it retains a fierce sense of a separate national identity (owing in part, perhaps, to its geographic situation and its distinctive, non-Indo-European language). Only recently, it seems, in the context of the hideous wars of ethnic and cultural "cleansing" in the Balkans does this fissured, contradictory construction of national identity begin to present itself as something other than either tragedy or farce.

Each February, for the past twenty-five years (with the exception of 1991), all the films and, recently, videos produced in Hungary over the preceding year have been screened for critics, foreign press, and the general public. These "Film Weeks" have offered a remarkable opportunity to track Hungary's cultural and political consciousness, because filmmaking, even since the 1989 political changes, has been buffered from both market and government pressures by an elaborate subsidy system. In years past, Hungarian filmmakers have obsessed over the nightmarish polysemy of "Hungarian" history (the nightmare to which Karl Marx responded with his transnational, dialectical analysis of capital and class), creating a distinguished body of films that are fascinating for their historiographical ingenuity.

The narrative historian's nightmare can be the filmmaker's dream. Not an expository medium, cinema thrives on difference and contradiction. The dialectical sequencing of images, no one image dominant, and each image quickly replaced with the next, gives film its enormous conceptual flexibility and liberates it from the constraints of bourgeois representation, according to the early Soviet theorists, including Lenin, for whom film was therefore "the most important art." Forty years of Soviet occupation, however, gave a bad name to both Marxist historiography and Soviet film theory among Hungary's mostly dissident artists and intellectuals. The filmmaking community of the 1970s and 1980s looked instead to the French New Wave, American independents, and the emerging cinemas of their Central European neighbors Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Yugoslavia for inspiration. The resulting body of work tends to refract Hungary's twentieth century through domestic and socially marginal characters and narratives. For forty years, so-called private life became by default the locus of resistance to party control (of labor, education, and even sports and leisure), creating for these films an audience of atomized anti-citizens, skeptical of Marxist film strategies that might imply harmony or community and equally dismissive of capitalist Hollywood's one-dimensional narratives and happy endings.

Many of the films screened during the 1994 Film Week seem to be looking from new angles (the horrific lens supplied by the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, for one)—at Hungarian difficulties with difference. While critics and journalists remained more than ever preoccupied with the question of which films are "really Hungarian," particularly now that state subsidies are shrinking, co-productions are the rule rather than the exception, and a new, young community of filmmakers born after 1956 is coalescing, Hungary's "borderland" cultural syncretism is beginning to be visualized as a way out of, not an obstacle to, the linear, monocultural nationalist frame that still haunts the country's political discourse.

The Film Week's opening film, Márta Mészáros's *Fetus*, places gender and reproduction in the foreground in order to call into question the fundamental viability of the binary, self/other logic of the nation-state. Making a metaphor of the "paradox" that from the merging of sperm and egg a new human being is created, the story concerns a young, happily married couple with two children whose lives become entangled in inflation and unemployment, the two scourges of contemporary Hungary. Inflation slows progress on the house they are trying to build, and, with the house only half-done, the husband loses his job. Anna, the wife, gets a job in a supermarket but soon discovers she is pregnant. Reluctantly, husband and wife agree that another child is not economically feasible and that Anna must get an abortion, although she

loves being a mother and would be happy to have more children. A rich, married but childless businesswoman, Teresa, whom Anna meets accidentally, proposes a different solution: Anna (after her presumed abortion) will appear to land a lucrative job that requires her to go to New York for several months. In actuality, Anna will let her pregnancy go to term and give Teresa the baby in return for enough money to finish the house and support her family. Deception is required both because Anna is sure her husband would object to her becoming a surrogate and because Teresa wants to experience the pregnancy as much as possible as her own. Even though fierce conflicts arise between the two women, they also bond deeply, physically and emotionally, growing to like each other despite the completely different worlds from which they come. After Anna has relinquished her newborn baby to Teresa, not, she realizes, for the money but because Teresa wants a baby so intensely, Teresa gives the baby back, realizing that she cannot satisfy her desire with something she has bought.

A vehemently negative response from some of the audience to what seemed (to this non-Hungarian-speaking outsider) a well-acted, innovatively structured film contributed, for me, to the film's resonance. For Mészáros, reproduction fits neither Marxist nor capitalist economic and social categories. It cuts across the lines of rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, buyer and seller, and, in a way, even father and mother. (Teresa is as necessary as either parent in getting this particular baby born.) While rigorously unsentimental about pregnancy and motherhood, the film insists on and investigates the difference between reproduction and the modern organization of production, and suggests the severe limitations placed on people's lives by the habit of relating to each other only via identification and objectification, as only selves and others. Significantly—and this may be a principal reason why some responses to the film were so negative—the audience is not offered either of these positions. Visually, the women are presented so that we can neither identify with them nor objectify them. For example, in a very sensuous nude bathing scene in which the two female bodies are completely visible, there is no male or female gaze on screen through which to channel our response. We see them frontally, getting into and enjoying the tub, but no one in the film is looking on, nor are we given any shots of one character from the point of view of the other. Neither lesbian nor heterosexual, the unconventional erotics of this sequence challenge viewers to acknowledge feelings not categorizable within a conventional gender system and to take responsibility for their responses in the absence (ironically) of an on-screen *surrogate* with whom to identify.

As characters, the women are neither positive nor negative, good nor bad, although Teresa's affective life is encased within a Nancy Reagan-like, anorectic exterior, and Anna's maternal softness seems at first more appealing. What initially looks like a story of cross-class exploitation or a jeremiad against yuppie values becomes a far more radical story of the creation of new life—of two women giving birth to each other out of a messy mixture of bad motives, weaknesses, and cultural and economic differences. Midwived rather than mentored by one another, each gives birth to a newly constructed self that cannot be used as an instrument by the nationalist state or by the consumer culture. Although it was one of the films fiercely criticized as “not really Hungarian” by some of the critics, *Fetus* successfully locates in Hungarian women's difficult lives a virtual (de)center from which to plot ways through the country's current and historical impasses.

This year's Film Week also included a pronounced emphasis on Jewish history and culture, especially pertinent in the wake of the anti-Semitic stand publicly taken over the past eighteen months by well-known playwright and member of Parliament, István Csurka. Two features dealt with the Holocaust—one directed by Hungarian András Jéles, the other by Italian Roberto Faenza—and both go well beyond Steven Spielberg's *Schindler's List* in opening up genocide to historical and theoretical inquiry. Introduced, as were all the features shown in the main theater, by a screening of harrowing videotape footage from Sarajevo, Jéles's *Why Wasn't He There?* was almost unbearably double-voiced. Jéles is well known in Hungary for innovative film language and unorthodox topics. His films include *Little Valentino* (*Kis Valentino*), made in 1979 about juvenile delinquency, and *The Workers' Dream Brigade*, made (but not released) in the

early 1980s about angry workers. In *Why Wasn't He There*, Jeles uses the actual diary of a wealthy, thirteen-year-old provincial Hungarian Jewish girl to refract the escalating harassment and eventual deportation of her family. Although the audience buzz had it that this girl was a Hungarian Anne Frank, the genius of the film is that shallow and privileged Éva is Anne Frank's antithesis. She and her family try to ignore the deportation of one of her school friends fully a year earlier, Éva throwing a tantrum over the confiscation of her bicycle "for the army" but accommodating the departure and subsequent death of her friend fairly coolly. No one in this brittle, dysfunctional family is particularly spiritual or heroic; they tend to go mad and have nervous breakdowns rather than conversions or epiphanies. Éva's recreational reading of *David Copperfield*, scenes from which are intercut with scenes of her daily life, melodramatizes rather than illuminates her situation. It is precisely this campy distance from the struggles into which her young life is drawn (and not the development of moral, intellectual, or spiritual clarity, which, in the context of clear-eyed Nazism, might be a dubious achievement anyway) that makes its sudden disappearance horrifying. It is the fascist dissolution of heterogeneous spaces and heterochronic histories that the film identifies as the locus of the violence that plagues Éva's world. When she and her family are herded into the back of a truck to the strains of *The Magic Flute*, what is mourned is not the destruction of the bourgeois family but the loss of a space in which there was room for adolescent self-absorption and human folly.

Two television documentaries by legendary director Miklós Jancsó focus on Transylvanian Jewish music and a Transylvanian cemetery respectively, and a third by Szomjas features the internationally popular Muzsikás ensemble, which collects and records instrumental Jewish Hungarian folk music. Annexed to Romania since 1921, Transylvania is frequently invoked as the cradle of Hungarian culture, a category set by some nationalists in opposition to "Jewish." Jancsó's televisually witty yet moving evocations remind viewers that "Transylvanian" and "Jewish" are not oxymoric.

Another powerful challenge to any opposition between "Jewish" and "Hungarian" can be found in a new addition to a series titled "Private Hungary," created by independent video artist Péter Forgács. He has been buying up people's home movies from the 1930s and 1940s and alchemizing them into mysteriously charming anti-monuments to the lost tones and textures of everyday life before the war. In *Notes of a Lady*, he takes the "film notes" of a Jewish baroness, his "first aristocrat," and works his magical deepening of the audience's sensual and historical distance from the material through music and editorial rhythm. Without softening the contrast between the parallel lives of lords and peasants, the video/film bears witness, unsentimentally, to the sheer fact of loss. It is a loss that does not, will not, cannot imply restitution or restoration, and, in that sense, the work describes any other historical moment as well. These are "ruins" in the German Jewish theorist Walter Benjamin's sense. They are fragments of lives and institutions that, when intact, concealed the movement of history that their destruction made visible. As ruins, they become readable as signifiers of the limits of their own ideological and historical meaning—of the historicity of historical understanding itself. The physical beauty of the aristocrats (Benjamin's own generation) is one of the most striking aspects of the film, a beauty blissfully at odds with the fragility that we read into their glowing good looks and good health. One wonders whether—if they had shared in the awareness they impart—their fate would have been different. And then one realizes that this "back to the future" game will not work—that, as Benjamin recognized when he pictured the angel of history facing backwards, there is no reason to think that the present knows any more than the past.

The axiomatic nonauthoritativeness of any and all positions is translated into a magnificent cinematic tour de force in Tamás Tóth's prize-winning first feature, *Children of an Iron God*. One of the youngest and most interestingly cross-cultural "Hungarian" filmmakers, Tóth is the son of a Hungarian diplomat who was stationed in Moscow. He graduated from the renowned VGIK film academy there, and his film is a Benjaminian compendium of Soviet and American film styles. If the joke of "revolutionary" or "realist" Soviet cinema over the years has been how little it ever had to do referentially with the everyday lives of people living in the Soviet Union, this story of a young steelworker employed in a huge Siberian steel mill openly scoffs at the attempt to use the medium for hegemonizing purposes while celebrating the brilliance of

the cinematic imagination by putting every trick in the book into play. Neither critical nor accepting, the film extravagantly processes, rather than imitates or resists, Tóth's weird cinematic inheritance.

Ignat, a young factory worker, works at a job that is both life-threatening and boring. He decides to make a change by robbing a train (on horseback!) with some disreputable relatives of his. All they get for their (superbly photographed) efforts (combining the Soviet romance with trains with the Hollywood romance with men on horses) are some plastic chairs that were being distributed to various towns in Siberia. After prosaically selling the chairs in the nearest town, Ignat finally has his moment of glory: an annual boxing match in which he represents the steelworkers against the miners. The match is plotted like Sylvester Stallone's *Rocky* but shot with the sophistication of Martin Scorsese's *Raging Bull*. If this sounds like postmodernism, that's because it is. The entire film has the feel of Ridley Scott's *Blade Runner*, but, unlike other Hungarian postmodern films that have situated themselves in a nonspecific "international" space, *Children of an Iron God* addresses and responds to the particular circumstances of Hungary's forty-year occupation by the Soviets and its mythologizing of the United States as the antidote to all the pains and problems of that occupation. Tóth makes his film a cinematic border region, a kind of holographic projection of the giants that it pastiches. The audience, along with Ignat, eventually comes to reject the single perspective, the monocultural or non-holographic real. The holographic real demands semiotic literacy, not adherence and identification. Less fungible than other constructions of reality, it discourages the impulse to dominate.

Hungarian cinema has proved over and over that film is a potent and flexible medium of historical and historiographical thinking. Neither the political and economic changes (from Communist Party rule to a multi-party system, from a centrally planned to a market economy) nor the changes in the structure and financing of the film industry (from wholly subsidized to partially privatized) have yet domesticated this remarkable institution to simpler polemical or commercial uses.

Marguerite R. Waller

University of California, Riverside

NEAR EAST

The Chronicle of the Years of Embers [*Waqii Sanawat Al-Jamr*]. Directed by Mohamed Lakhdar-Hamina. 1975; color; 175 minutes. Arabic with English subtitles. Distributor: August Light Productions, P.O. Box 891, Cambridge, Mass. 02238 (617) 354-1241.

The Mill [*Al-Tahouna*]. Directed by Ahmad Rachedi. 1985; color; 120 minutes. Arabic and French with English subtitles. Distributor: August Light Productions.

A boy runs in the direction of the mountains that serve as refuge for the Algerian fighters. On the screen, we read, "on July 5th 1962, after sacrificing more than one million martyrs, the Algerian people gained their independence." Thus director Mohamed Lakhdar-Hamina chose to end his film *The Chronicle of the Years of Embers*. This point of closure to the film, as well

as to an era in Algerian history, serves as point of origin for Ahmad Rachedi's film *The Mill*, which deals with Algeria after decolonization from France.

Viewers in the United States are not familiar with Algerian films, partially as a result of a boycott by major American distribution companies of the Algerian film industry following its nationalization. In 1991, a film festival titled "Liberation and Alienation in Algerian Cinema" toured the United States. It consisted of nine films made during the height of Algerian film production, two of which were the films under review.

The Chronicle, winner of the Golden Palm Award at the Cannes Film Festival in 1975, provides an account of the conditions that led to Algerian resistance against a century of French colonization. Although it covers events in Algeria between 1939 and November 1, 1954, the film is by no means a full historical account of the period. It is divided into six sections: "The Years of Ashes," "The Years of Embers," "The Years of Fire," "The Year of the Cart," "The Year of the Massacre," and "November 1, 1954" (the start of the Algerian revolution). *The Mill* is a controversial critique of state bureaucracy in post-independence Algeria. Set in a small town, it offers an account of daily life and struggle, this time not against the French but against those who defeated them. The film was banned in Algeria for two years after its release.

The Chronicle is a monumental three-hour-long masterpiece that narrates the life of a rural man, Ahmad, and his struggle for survival. It begins with him fleeing his village to escape famine and drought. It shows him as a slave laborer in the city working for French employers, and it ends with his death while fighting the French colonizers. Far from being an ideologically motivated activist, Ahmad is simply a man trying to provide for his family. This goal always seems unavoidably to bring him into conflict with the French colonizers.

France's conquest of Algeria in 1830 and its subsequent annexation in 1848 opened the door for French immigration into the country. By 1954, on the eve of the revolution, Algeria was populated by one million French settlers and nine million native Algerians. The relationship of French settlers to Algerian natives was based on racial discrimination, violence, and land confiscation. *The Chronicle* presents a striking contrast between the Algerian peasants' frequent tribal fights over muddy water for their dried fields and the unlimited water resources reserved for the green fields of the French settlers. The film suggests that Algerians had no option but to fight a violent revolution. Colonialism had begun with violence, as the exiled activist Larbi teaches his comrades in one of the scenes, and could only be ended by violence.

Ahmad, the protagonist, is transformed from an illiterate peasant into a revolutionary leader, whose death marks the beginning of the long overdue revolution. Director Lakhdar-Hamina appears in the film as the town's madman, Mieloud. He could be said to represent historical consciousness, for Mieloud not only witnesses everything but often provides a context for the events portrayed on the screen, since he alone, as a madman, can speak freely. The character of the village madman is common in North African literature. His role in the film is also similar to that of the chorus in Greek tragedy. Through him, the birth of the armed revolution is announced; he tells the story of the men who came out of prison and were transformed into ghosts that appear only at night. By the end of the film, he is no longer treated as a madman but is taken seriously and executed by a collaborator.

Another important character is the boy, the son of Ahmad, who appears at the beginning and end of the film. He is often shown accompanied by Mieloud. He rarely speaks, but his stares reveal that he keenly feels the oppression of colonialism. After Mieloud dies, the boy appears running toward the mountains as the sound of shooting is heard. Although only one boy appears in each section, there are two sons of Ahmad in the narrative; one who dies in the plague and the other who survives until the end. The fact that Ahmad appears always with only one son, however, creates a feeling of continuity. Thus we get the impression that the person who suffered in the drought, died in the plague, and later on joined the revolution is one and the same.

The section titled "The Year of the Cart" brings to mind Albert Camus's novel *The Plague* (1947). In the novel, the authorities seal off an Algerian town following the spread of the epidemic. Camus's narrative focuses mostly on the stories of the French who were sealed off. *The Chronicle*, however, seems almost to renarrate the story of *The Plague* from the perspective

of the Algerians. In the film, the authorities evacuate all French nationals from the city, sealing in only the Arabs. While Camus leaves out the colonial context, *The Chronicle* highlights it. Camus's account does not go beyond what Franz Fanon described as the writing of French history in Algeria. "The settler makes history and he is conscious of making it. And because he constantly refers to the history of his mother country, he clearly indicates that he himself is the extension of that mother country. Thus, the history which he writes is not the history of the country which he plunders but the history of his own nation in regard to all she skims off, all that she violates and starves" (quoted in Robert Young's *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West* [New York, 1990], 120). In *The Chronicle*, we see how even the colonized people are made to participate in French history. After a group of Algerian men, Ahmad among them, bombs the dam that had directed the water away from their lands and into the land of the French settlers, they are made prisoners and sent to fight in Europe. In this section, the director uses documentary footage to show World War II and the fall of the Third Reich. In 1945, as we are shown the end-of-the-war celebrations in Paris, we see Ahmad traveling back to his village to learn of a massacre that had taken place there.

The camera as wielded by *The Chronicle*'s director of photography, Marcello Gatti, conveys feelings of fear, anger, and exile. In the series of scenes about the drought, facial expressions of the individuals are captured as they exchange glances, often with the sun at their backs. This powerful effect, when contrasted with the colorful long shots of the green land of the settlers, conveys the extent of deprivation that Algerians suffered under the colonial system. Similarly, Lakhdar-Hamina's use of music to reinforce the effect of the visual is often contrasted by moments of silence that echo the desert landscape of the background.

The Mill offers a critical analysis of postwar Algeria. Focusing on the relationship between the intelligentsia and the political leadership, it is set in a remote Algerian town completely ignored by the central government in the capital. The story starts when the mayor is informed of the plans of the leader (the *Zaim*) to visit the town. A number of officials come directly from the capital to prepare for the visit. They are accompanied by a journalist whose sole mission is to report the success of the visit. The officials from the capital take control of all aspects of government in town and overpower the local leaders. The most important event to be arranged is a visit to a nationalized industrial unit. But, to their surprise, nothing in town is nationalized, since this town never had any major industry and had not been settled by the French. In their attempt to find something that could "save face for the town," the officials learn of an old mill owned and run by a Frenchman named Fabre, who did not leave Algeria after the revolution but chose instead to live among the natives. Although this mill could hardly be described as an industrial project, the officials from the capital decide to nationalize it. Surprising all those who feel sorry for him, Fabre celebrates the decision to have his mill taken over, for he is a devoted socialist who has waited all his life to live in a socialist society. The town's mayor, played by the Egyptian actor Azzat El-Allaili, is troubled by the outside officials' power grab and persists in his attempts to draw their attention to the real condition and needs of the town. Instead of listening to him, the officials continue to be concerned only with the arrangements for the visit. Determined to present the town as if it were undergoing a process of development, they start erecting a wall where none is needed. The mayor decides to expose their acts in his welcoming speech for the leader. To his dismay, when the day of the visit finally arrives and everyone in town, including the proud socialist Fabre, has been waiting in the sun for several hours, news arrives that the visit has been canceled. In the last part of the film, the leader of the local chapter of the ruling party, who had taken the side of the mayor in the conflict with the officials, disappears while the mayor is arrested. Following the decision to cancel the nationalization of the mill, Fabre goes insane and eventually leaves Algeria.

If the case can be made that, as one critic suggested, "nations themselves are narrations," then these two films no doubt form an important contribution to the narrative that reconstructs Algeria as a nation both before and after independence (quoted in Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism* [New York, 1993], xiii). Although stylistically different, both films are faithful to the tradition of socialist realism. Even though, at times, they seem to become documentaries, they nevertheless capture historical events through the subjective and personal eye of the characters.

The films narrate a history little known in the English-speaking world and so bring us insights on unfamiliar events connected to the French colonization of Algeria. We witness both the struggle of the Algerian under class and the complexity of Algerian society. The country is presented as divided and consumed by its many political and social problems.

Whereas *The Chronicle* is a film that deals with a political subject, *The Mill* is a political film. *The Mill*'s long sequences on political meetings, the role of the head of state, and censorship make this work a critical commentary on the political establishment in an Arab country. *The Chronicle*, by contrast, stands as an epic that reflects the discourse of the Algerian resistance movement.

Issam Nassar

Illinois State University

The Summer of Aviya. Produced by Gila Almagor and Eitan Evan; directed by Eli Cohen; written by Gila Almagor and Eli Cohen. 1988; color; 96 minutes. Hebrew with English subtitles. Distributor [16 and 35mm versions]: Ergo Media, 668 American Legion Drive, Teaneck, N.J. 07666 (201) 692-0404.

Personal films, such as this emotionally powerful story of a period in the life of a ten-year-old Israeli girl, provide useful portraits of the historical periods in which they are set. If they gain popularity in the country of origin, they also offer revealing insights into a nation's political culture, because to succeed they must address issues of concern to their audiences. Both premises apply to this short film based on the 1986 autobiographical novella by Gila Almagor, a leading Israeli film and stage actress. (The English translation of the novella is available under the same title, London, 1991.) The film has won awards in Israel and Europe, including a Silver Menorah for Almagor as best actress (1988) and a Silver Bear at the Berlin Film Festival (1989).

Israel stands at a cultural crossroads: a predominantly European-based culture located in the Middle East, with a Jewish population divided between European Ashkenazim and Middle Eastern Sephardim, and a Palestinian population. As such, it reflects parts of the culture of two areas, according to Ella Shohat in *Israeli Cinema: East/West and the Politics of Representation* (Austin, Tex., 1989). With Third World cultures, it shares a penchant for presenting vital issues through allegories, a characteristic of this film. Shohat categorizes many Israeli films of the 1980s as "heroic-nationalist" in genre, such as *Ricochets* (1986), a film about Israeli forces in southern Lebanon by the same director, Eli Cohen. *Summer of Aviya* could also be included in this genre, despite its female protagonists, because it portrays the newly founded Israel as a haven for the persecuted.

In the new and rather primitive Israel depicted in this film, the ghosts of the Holocaust and World War II are both literally and figuratively present. It is a purely European Israel, where there is no hint of a Palestinian presence, much less of the crises that have developed since the *intifada*. A scene early in the film identifies the year as 1951. Radio news in the background refers to battles in the Korean War, and daily broadcasts are made of names of lost and found relatives. The setting is a small town nestled among the pine trees of northern Israel with the air of a British colonial outpost. Wooden bungalows and the occasional two-story apartment building line the unpaved streets. The town center, with its rows of small shops, has an even more European appearance, as does the austere but modern (1940s) hospital. These scenes show careful attention to historical authenticity in sets and costumes, while the cinematography with its low-level lighting and grainy images adds to the overall atmosphere of documentary cinema.

The strength of this film derives from its simple but tightly integrated plot, rather than its

visually dramatic scenes. It opens with Aviya (Kaipo Cohen) as the lead in a play at her boarding school's graduation ceremonies. Her mother Henya (Gila Almagor), who suffers recurring bouts of mental illness stemming from her past as a partisan and survivor of the concentration camps in World War II, unexpectedly appears in the audience. Aviya suddenly forgets her lines and is pushed offstage. Her angry mother takes her to her dormitory room to pack her bags but while doing so discovers "lice" in Aviya's hair. At home, Henya furiously cuts off Aviya's hair, leaving her completely bald, an object of derision to the neighborhood children for the rest of the summer. It seems that Henya supports Aviya and herself by taking in laundry and ironing for neighborhood families. Although she speaks fluent Polish and German, her Hebrew is poor and ungrammatical (represented by deliberate misspellings of words in the subtitles). For the neighborhood, Henya, the "crazy partisan," is no heroine.

Soon, Henya's past is brought back by two arrivals. One is Alter, a pale and ghostly young man from her partisan group, who suddenly appears at their house one night. He is a strange, brooding presence, whose silence comes from more than just a language barrier. A second arrival is a mysterious Mr. Gantz (Avital Dicker), who moves into the neighborhood with his family. When he encounters Henya in the village store, there is a glimmer of recognition between them. Gradually, it becomes evident that they know each other from their days as partisans.

Aviya decides that Gantz must be her father, after poring over tattered photographs of the father who her mother says died in World War II. A large wooden cupboard in the Gantzes' small home looks to her like the one in her father's photograph. Believing him to be a banker, she follows him one day, only to discover that he works at a farm on the edge of town, plucking chickens.

A second fateful figure in Aviya's life is the twenty-year-old daughter of the village's most prominent citizen, Mrs. Abramson. The daughter, Maya, gives music and dance lessons to girls from middle-class families in the town. Aviya longs to join them but is rejected because she does not own suitable clothes. The girls on the balcony tease her; Aviya throws a rock at them, accidentally striking Maya between the eyes. The young woman is taken away in an ambulance, and a rumor spreads that she has been blinded. A frightened Aviya hides in the bushes until dark, while her mother and the villagers search for her. She spends an anguished night praying to God and her father's picture for Maya's recovery.

Aviya's belief that Gantz is her father is revealed to the neighborhood at a party given to celebrate Maya's recovery. Henya arrives as an uninvited guest and dances a few quick waltzes with Gantz before being ordered to leave. Soon afterward, Gantz and his family leave the village to emigrate to Australia, after which Henya suffers a final mental breakdown. The film ends with Aviya's return to the boarding school she had left at the beginning of the summer.

The absent father is obviously the central allegory of the film. As the book revealed, Aviya's unusual name is a feminine version of Avram (father). In a symbolic sense, her real father was World War II, just as it was for the State of Israel. The film suggests that Aviya's identity crisis, her near-orphan status, is a spiritual metaphor for the nation of Israel. It is a nation whose religious justification was the renewal of an ancient covenant with God, but it suffered the misfortune of being born in a skeptical and secular age, at a time when its people wrestled with their own feelings of abandonment.

The film reveals the scars, both mental and physical, that Holocaust survivors brought with them to Israel. The past, however, was consciously repressed in the desire to start a new life, to create a "normalcy" again, as seen in the music lessons for the girls in the neighborhood. For Aviya's mother, her life shattered by the war, normalcy is destined to be an elusive goal, but Aviya, strengthened by the ordeal of the summer, will go on to thrive in her new land, her ties with the past having finally been broken.

David A. Hackett

University of Texas at El Paso

A Door to the Sky. Produced by SATPEC, France Media SA, Interfilms; directed by Farida Ben Lyazid, Morocco. 1989; color; 107 minutes. Arabic with English subtitles. Distributor: Arab Film Distribution, 4022 Stone Way N., Seattle, Wash. 98103, tel. (800) 451-8097, fax 206-547-8607.

The Puppeteer. Produced by Gemini Film Production; directed by Hani Lachine, Egypt. 1989; color; 120 minutes. Arabic with English subtitles. Distributor: Arab Film Distribution.

Set in the context of the clash between traditional Arab-Islamic culture and Western-imposed modernization, these films share a fatalism in which the protagonists are caught in a historical drama over which they have little control. Each film expresses the frustration of modern Arab intellectuals, indeed, of modern Arab life, struggling to reassert a sense of national identity and individual purpose in a world beset by external threats and internal decay and corruption. Although the stories are presented on the basis of individual or familial conflict, each contains themes that go beyond the plight of the individual and raise questions about the future of Arab society.

Nadia, the central figure in *A Door to the Sky*, returns to Fez from Paris to see her dying father for the last time. She first appears as fully westernized, arriving at the airport in black motorcycle garb, part of the Parisian avant-garde. Her family home, a sumptuous enclave decorated in glorious ceramic inlays, harks back to an Arab-Islamic past untouched by the West. The house and her dying father elicit memories, cinematically presented through a kind of magical realism, of an uncomplicated and happy childhood. Her mood and costume change. Chameleon-like, numbed by grief and with little control over her thoughts and actions, she begins to assume the identity of a Moroccan and a Muslim. At her father's funeral, she listens intently to the Islamic mystic Karina chanting verses from the Qur'an. The conversion becomes a conscious act. Nadia returns to Islam and to tradition. Her French boyfriend visits and she rejects him, and France, saying that Le Pen would try to get rid of her anyway.

The house becomes the focal point of Nadia's struggle to reassert the beauty of traditional life and the meaning of faith. Her brother and sister, who inherit three-fourths of their father's estate according to Islamic law, want to sell the house to someone who plans to destroy it. Nadia opposes them and, with the help of Karina and the magical discovery of a treasure box filled with jewels, successfully converts her family's home into a *Zaouia*, a shelter for battered and unwanted women. Despite her discovery of Islamic mysticism and newly developed talents as a faith healer, Nadia remains unhappy and morose until she finds love with a kindred soul, a young man in the throes of depression because of an inability to fulfill modern expectations of success imposed by his family and the outside world. Nadia and her new love are last seen tramping together in the hills outside of Fez.

In a performance reminiscent of Anthony Quinn's in *Zorba the Greek*, Omar Sharif plays *The Puppeteer*, a kindly, wise, and elderly entertainer who delights the local children while taunting the pretensions and power of the village elites. He shares a rich world of humor and folklore with his son, whom he has raised alone since the death of his wife. His meager savings are aimed at educating the son, Bahloul, who goes off to Cairo and succeeds in business school. Bahloul also succeeds in marrying the Mercedes-driving daughter of an unscrupulous, lecherous landowner and urban entrepreneur and in becoming his father-in-law's business manager and pimp. Bahloul is corrupted by the city and by the desire for the wealth and power it breeds. He returns to his village with a project to modernize it by building a shopping mall, which will evict peasants from their land. Bahloul and his backers gain support from the village elite and some of the peasants through the promise of jobs and prosperity. In the village, the conflict between

father and son, between tradition and modernity, between idealism and ambition, comes to a head.

While Bahloul is learning business in Cairo, his father's life also changes. The puppeteer rescues Enaam, a young widow, from the clutches of a wealthy and powerful man who turns out to be Bahloul's future father-in-law. The puppeteer and his new-found love return to the village and eventually marry and conceive a child. As for Bahloul, he finally breaks with his wife and father-in-law and stands isolated from both the traditional world of his father and the world of wealth, power, and corruption of his wife's family. Thinking that he can bring modernity to the local peasants, Bahloul opposes his father-in-law in the village election. Conflict erupts during the final days of Enaam's pregnancy. The father-in-law's henchman tries to kill Bahloul, but Enaam steps in front of him and is shot instead. She dies, but the infant child is saved and the puppeteer has another son to raise. We last see the old entertainer and his second son dancing and singing in the fields outside the village, just as he did earlier with Bahloul.

Both *The Puppeteer* and *A Door to the Sky* attempt through fantasy to resolve the tensions surrounding modernity and tradition in Arab life. Neither the birth of a new son nor the discovery of a kindred love really deals with the issues raised in the films. Will the new son eventually treat the puppeteer exactly as Bahloul did? What does modernization mean in the context of Egyptian village life? What is the role of feminine spirituality rooted in Islam in the complex world of modern Morocco? And can it be expressed without a man? Both films leave the central issues dangling by imposing contrived endings on otherwise powerful personal narratives that illustrate issues integral to the survival of a unique Arab culture in the modern world. Perhaps the solutions to the pressing problems raised in both films are so elusive that the only alternatives available exist in the realm of make-believe.

Leonard Helfgott

Western Washington University

Introduction to the End of an Argument. Executive producer: Jayce Salloum; directed by Jayce Salloum and Elia Sulieman. 1990; black & white and color; 45 minutes. English, with some English subtitles. Video distributor: Arab Film Distribution.

This film is a deconstruction of the American and Israeli discourses that have dominated the political and cultural descriptions of the Middle East. It focuses on the created realities of Hollywood and the truncated sound bites of nightly television news in elucidating a history of these discourses. As the film would portray these two sources of information, which feed history to our mass society, the lines that supposedly separate them are becoming more blurred. Both visions seem myopic, with cultural constructions that are fed by political motivations. In turn, the film sees foreign policy as partly shaped by these historical narratives. Thus the sneering devilish Arab with a curved knife stalking Popeye helps justify an anti-Arab U.S. foreign policy, which sets the stage for greater demonization of the "Arab" in later visual portrayals.

Space and time are noticeably unimportant in this cycle. Casbah of Algeria or Nablus of the West Bank, the silent movies or instantaneous television coverage, all are seen as productions of commercialized good and evil that pit the anonymous "Arab" villain against the rational "West." Directors Jayce Salloum and Elia Sulieman emphasize this ahistorical nature of the "Arab" image through their use of a poststructuralist narrative that rejects the traditional time line of beginning, middle, and end. Flitting from Chuck Norris as a lone American eliminating "Arab terrorists" to Rudolph Valentino as a sheik seducing American women, the image of the "Arab(s)" remains rigidly lecherous, devious, and murderous. Anthony Quinn, in his role as an "Arab" in David Lean's *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962), sums up this image with the single phrase "my

mother mated with a scorpion." The unanimity of this image is magnified by the anonymity with which the "Arabs" are portrayed. The only characters to emerge with anything approaching individualized personalities are the most evil personae. In other words, Muhammad and Muhammad can only be distinguished when one is a greater villain than the other. Such evilness is manifested in dark attire, mustaches, and thick accents that are not "American, you know, more like Middle Eastern."

Beyond a catalog of stereotypes, *Introduction to the End of an Argument* makes the point that these negative images justify political domination over Arabs. If "Arabs" are subhuman and if they are terrorists shouting slogans such as "Death to America," then what possible "substantive" dialogue can one have with "them"? The answer, as the film sees it projected on the silver screen and shown on "Night Line," is that no dialogue is possible. "They" only understand violence and as such should be subdued with the power of the American and Israeli military establishment. The film goes on to argue that even when the U.S. State Department or Israeli foreign minister publicly calls for dialogue, the history of unequal cultural representation makes an egalitarian discussion impossible. Rather, what emerges—as many critics of the mid-1990s Israeli-Palestinian accord have pointed out—is an unequal dictation of terms with the Palestinians or other Arabs on the receiving end.

Through the provocative use of archival visual media as well as staged footage, the directors of this film highlight the dialectical relationship between cultural representation and political power. In a way difficult to duplicate in words, the film provides a stark record of the predominantly racist image of the "Arab" in the American media. It presents a powerful criticism of the dissonance between images filtered through the cultural bias of a reporter and the realities of life in the Arab world. Ultimately, the film argues that the reels and sound tracks of half-truths are generated by a political culture that seeks not only to dominate but then to rationalize its hegemony. In the case of the Palestinians, this torrent of fabricated images drowns out any dissenting voices and precludes the possibility for dialogue in shaping the future of the Middle East.

As a critical view of American cultural hegemony, this film succeeds; it is less clearly a history of that hegemony. The lack of an overall historical context against which to place its collage of images weakens the film's argument. By isolating the visual and aural clips from the passage of time, the film leaves the viewer unsure why these images developed at a particular point in history. The relationship between the real political world and the one made in Hollywood is assumed but never clearly articulated or proven. This leaves the viewer grappling with many unanswered questions. Why do the images of the "Arab" change from the romantic imperialist visions of Peter O'Toole as Lawrence organizing Arab resistance in *Lawrence of Arabia* to the harsher and cruder views of the Texas cowboy Chuck Norris on the rampage against all "Arabs" in *Delta Force* (1986). While both visions are equally artificial, there remains a qualitative difference between them—one that emanates from the divergent historical circumstances that led to their construction. In failing to account for such differences, the film does not provide us with a meaningful historical analysis.

Another issue not explored by *Introduction to the End of an Argument* is the change in the social context of seeing. By concentrating exclusively on the projection of images, the filmmakers offer us little understanding of how these were received. How was the idea that "Arabs" are "terrorists" modified into a foreign policy such as that implemented during the Gulf War, in which the United States had many Arab "allies" against Saddam Hussein? In other words, how is the differentiation between "good" and "bad" Arab made through the presumably monolithic discourse? Furthermore, in projecting a monolithic and ahistorical image of Western cultural representation of Arabs, the filmmakers are doing exactly what they criticize. Their focus on selected images from the American print and television media and Hollywood movies excludes the multiplicity of voices that reveal a range of cultural representations. Where does the academic dialogue or personal experience (Joe meeting Ahmad on University Campus, USA) fit into the cultural interpretations of the Middle East? How do Arabs and Arab Americans influence these interpretations through the inroads they have made into the American media? In favoring the voices of the media, Salloum and Sulieman are postulating a

perfect Orwellian society with complete thought control. Although such a view may at times seem justified, I hardly think we are there.

Ultimately, these weaknesses keep *Introduction to the End of an Argument* from clearly demonstrating a link between historical representation and American political hegemony in the Middle East. Along the way, however, it does make a contribution to poststructuralist history. Through narration that moves away from the positivist structure of visual history, the film raises some important questions about the construction of history and ideological motivations. But its greatest success is in its refusal to postulate a single alternative discourse. Salloom and Sulieman see the solution to the political arguments of the Middle East in allowing for a cacophony of authentic voices with a plurality of representations. (In fact, the title of the film, more accurately translated as *Introduction to the Conclusions of an Argument*, reflects this desire for multiplicity of discourses.) The need for other voices is particularly important when information is more clearly than ever the source of power in society and when the constructed threat of "Islamic Fundamentalism" has taken the place of the "Communist Peril."

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NORTH AMERICA

Heaven Will Protect the Working Girl. Executive producer: Stephen Brier. Produced by Joshua Brown; directed by Pennee Bender, Joshua Brown, and Andrea Ades Vásquez. 1993; black and white & color; 28 minutes. Distributor: American Social History Project.

The last quarter-century has witnessed dramatic changes in the writing of American history, especially in the field of social history. Scholars have been brilliantly successful in elaborating the struggles for dignity of previously neglected groups—African Americans, women, labor, and gays and lesbians, for example—and in employing new categories of analysis. Yet that success, some historians argued, was achieved at a cost. By the mid-1980s, they questioned whether the increasing specialization and fragmentation of historical scholarship had not disconnected it from public discourse. Historians, the argument continued, were not only neglecting their obligation to the public that indirectly sustains much of their work but were also missing a great opportunity. A vigorous debate ensued over the need for a new synthesis in American history, the organizing principles for such a synthesis, and the ways historians might communicate their findings and interpretations more effectively to a broader public—indeed, whether a single "public" was identifiable or even desirable.

Historians first had to put their own house in order, however, by integrating the insights of the new social history into the textbooks that customarily serve as charts by which students navigate the American history survey course. The American Social History Project, founded in 1981 by the late Herbert Gutman, took a different tack, creating an entirely new synthesis of the scholarship on labor and working-class history and making it available to students and trade unionists through books, documentary films, and other media.

Winner of the American Historical Association's inaugural John E. O'Connor Film Award, *Heaven Will Protect the Working Girl* is the first of a series of documentary videos designed to complement Volume 2 of the project's acclaimed social history textbook, *Who Built America?* (Seven videos have already been released to accompany Volume 1.) It is an extraordinarily

ambitious work, attempting in the span of twenty-eight minutes to explore the social context of one of the most famous episodes in American labor history—the 1909 general strike of shirtwaist workers in New York City, the “Uprising of the 20,000”—by focusing on the lives and aspirations of two “fictional” participants: Ida, a young Jewish union militant, and Angelica, an Italian immigrant worker in the same shop who, at least initially, does not share her workmate’s passion for the union. “Fictional” is in quotation marks because, although the two characters are composites, the film makes explicit that their words—and those of others—“derive from interviews, memoirs, newspaper accounts, and other historical documents.” The great advantage of having the narrative burden carried by the interaction of the two women is that the filmmakers are able to dispense with the omniscient narrator, a fixture in traditional documentaries. More problematic are the inexplicable animation added to the documentary photographs of the era, the film’s greatest visual resource, and the filmmakers’ apparent reluctance to omit any of the themes highlighted by recent historians of New York’s working women, a decision that results in a sense of clutteredness.

The film begins conventionally enough. Archival footage and still photographs effectively establish the physical environment of those who lived and labored in turn-of-the-century New York, especially the Lower East Side, the teeming street life and congested tenements simultaneously exciting and forbidding to the newly arrived immigrants. The chattering of sewing machines introduces the shirtwaist factory, and the hectoring voice of a foreman refusing Ida credit for a completed bundle of waists because she has lost the ticket for them establishes the harsh regime under which the women—many of them teenage girls—worked and suggests the ruthless competition among manufacturers. Workers were charged for everything from the needles and thread they used to the electricity that powered their machines; they were fined a half-day’s pay for being fifteen minutes late, the cost of a whole length of cloth for spoiling only a fraction, fined even for singing or humming; and the battle to ensure payment for overtime was constant. Owners and subcontractors went out of their way to divide workers and keep a lid on discontent, fomenting suspicion among members of different ethnic groups.

Had the film addressed only the economic grievances that fueled the shirtwaist strike, it would be conventional fare. Drawing on the work of scholars such as Elizabeth Ewen, Kathy Peiss, and especially Susan Glenn, however, the filmmakers broaden their focus and show how the workers’ experience must be seen through its relation to the family and wider community as well as to their own aspirations. Work was not exclusively drudgery; the young women derived pride from their labor and the product. It also connected them to the world, providing a sense of the possibilities of life beyond the factory. More immediately, it offered the opportunity to enjoy some of what urban culture had to offer. Consumerism (sometimes vicarious, sometimes not) and leisure (especially movies and dance halls) were important to the young women, as was romance. At the same time, all the dreams were moderated by the constraints of the family economy and, for most girls, eventual marriage. Whereas Ida and her family contest the amount of her allowance once she has turned her wages over to her mother, Angelica still labors under the mores of her Calabrian father, who forbids her even to walk out unchaperoned, let alone attend a union meeting. Membership in the union and participation in the strike, the cohesiveness and sense of purpose it forged among the strikers, created communal solidarity in some cases and held the potential to disrupt traditional relations of power in others.

My reservations about the film are twofold. Its visual style is so eclectic that often it does not serve the material very well. The animation of the archive photographs—sewing machine needles going up and down, pulleys and belts turning, arms stiffly moving—adds nothing to the originals. Separate segments (films within the film, complete with intertitles to remind the viewer that this was the era of the silents) are particularly unfortunate. One about how Ida finds a job and becomes a victim of sexual harassment is so campy that it effectively trivializes a serious issue. The filmmakers have another crack at the issue—with about the same success—as one of the perils young women face when they allow men to treat them on a date. My second reservation concerns the film’s scope, not the importance of the issues the film addresses—that

is not in question—but its handling of them or, rather, whether a short film can do justice to their complexity and provide a nuanced picture. Some viewers unfamiliar with the monographic literature on which the film is based may see Ida, Angelica, and their cohort, for example, as giddy consumers who are also boy-crazy, notwithstanding the courage they display during the strike. I hope I am wrong, for this is an imaginative and commendable effort to ventilate important issues in American social history through the medium of documentary film.

The irony of the film's title—taken from a popular song of 1909—is further brought home when at the end we learn that a judge, sentencing a woman striker to thirty days on Blackwell's Island, reminded her of the biblical injunction that every man must earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow and declared that the strike was "a strike against God."

Stephen Cole

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Philadelphia. Produced by Ed Saxon and Jonathan Demme; directed by Jonathan Demme; screenplay by Ron Nyswaner. 1993; color; 119 minutes. Distributor: TriStar Pictures, 10202 W. Washington Blvd., Culver City, Calif. 90232 (310) 280-7700.

An Early Frost. Produced by Perry Laffert; directed by John Erman. 1985; color; 97 minutes. Distributor: Fries Entertainment (213) 468-8352.

Our Sons. Produced by Phil Kleinbart; directed by John Erman. 1991; color; 91 minutes. Distributor: Allied Communications, 6100 Wilshire Blvd., 6th Floor, Los Angeles, Calif. 90048 (213) 932-6100.

Silverlake Life: The View from Here. Produced by Tom Joslin; directed by Tom Joslin and Peter Friedman. 1993; color; 99 minutes. Distributor: Zeitgeist Films, 247 Central St., New York, N.Y. 10013 (212) 274-1989.

Savage Nights [*Les nuits fauves*]. Produced by Jean-Frédéric Samie and Nella Banfi; directed and written by Cyril Collard. 1993; color; 127 minutes. French with English subtitles. Distributor: Gramercy Pictures, 9247 Alden Drive, Beverly Hills, Calif. 90210 (310) 777-1960.

It has taken Hollywood more than ten years to produce its first major movie about AIDS. With hundreds of thousands dead worldwide, among them more than 160,000 Americans (many in the film industry), Hollywood's official recognition of the epidemic has been limited to the Red Ribbon, an effortless and risk-free symbol of compassion. The reluctance to confront AIDS has been especially amazing in view of the dramatic issues the AIDS epidemic has brought to the fore of American society. AIDS is not only a matter of medical and epidemiological data. It is the 1980s reenactment of the mythological battle of Eros and Thanatos, the blending together of issues of life and death, justice and injustice, family and

family values, morality and sexuality, compassion and cruelty. In short, AIDS is what good movies should be made of. But AIDS forces America to deal with death and with homosexuality, two major denials in our culture. Hesitations and doubts about how to represent gay love, drug use, bodily fluids, blame, guilt, and, above all, death prevented the country from coming to terms with AIDS and the moguls from dealing with the drama unfolding in their own community. These fears and uncertainties are clearly recognized in the first major studio movie about AIDS, Jonathan Demme's *Philadelphia*.

Philadelphia opens with the meteoric rise and fall of gay attorney Andrew Beckett (Tom Hanks). After being promoted to junior partner in a successful Philadelphia law firm, he is dismissed, allegedly for bungling a case. The real reason is that a partner notices that Beckett has developed Kaposi's Sarcoma, an opportunistic disease that attacks people who are HIV-infected. After nine lawyers refuse to represent him in his discrimination lawsuit against the firm, he finally finds a lawyer, Joe Miller (Denzel Washington), who, between chasing ambulances, passing out business cards, and appearing on late-night TV commercials, is willing to take his case. As expected, Miller wins the case, Beckett dies 5 million dollars richer, and the sympathizing audience is supposedly enlightened and sensitized to the problems of AIDS. But what *Philadelphia* has to say about AIDS is never made clear. "This is not a movie about AIDS, really," Denzel Washington told an interviewer, and he was right (quoted in *New York Times*, January 16, 1994, section H, p. 22). This is a movie about a courageous black lawyer taking on a powerful white legal firm. TriStar, the studio, hyped the movie on two fronts and in two different ways. In gay and liberal newspapers and in the major cities, *Philadelphia* was marketed as a controversial and courageous movie. In mainstream publications and advertisements, however, the studio marketed a courtroom drama. "It was made for the audience in Dubuque, Iowa, not for that in Greenwich Village," explained Tom Hanks (interview in *Frontiers* [Los Angeles], December 31, 1993, p. 83). In order to appeal to what the audience in Dubuque presumably can and cannot deal with, all pro-gay references in the movie were balanced by anti-gay comments, and every positive gay image was carefully pitted against a negative one. For example, when a lawyer for the defense makes a distinction between "innocent victims" who contract AIDS through blood transfusion and less innocent ones (gays), his outrageous comment goes unchallenged. When another lawyer attempts to portray Andrew Beckett as promiscuous and irresponsible, the court and the viewers reaffirm their prejudices about gay men. Furthermore, except for an awkward dance at a party, every visual representation of gay love in the movie (and there were some in the original script) ended up on the cutting-room floor. A scene of the gay lovers in bed was cut so as not to offend potential viewers. As a result of these cuts, Beckett's lover, Miguel (Antonio Banderas), hardly appears on the screen. When the two lovers are portrayed alone, for the first and last time, Miguel kisses Beckett's fingers on his deathbed. (Is it *The Kiss of Judas* or *The Kiss of the Spider Woman*?)

The refusal to address gay life also ruins the most powerful scene in the movie. Beckett and Miller are shown rehearsing for the trial in Beckett's loft, listening to Maria Callas singing an aria from Umberto Giordano's *Andrea Chenier*. Both are transformed by the power of music. Beckett is crying, hoping against hope, or realizing that his own death is near, and Miller understands that gay people aren't all that bad after all. Beautiful camera work focuses on their faces, as emotions and ecstasy take over. But then Miller goes home, kisses his infant daughter, and crawls into bed with his wife, while Beckett is left alone in his empty apartment, attached to his IV stand. Miguel is nowhere to be found. Apparently, the aria's comforting words "You are not alone! I'll wipe away your tears! I'll walk beside you and support you! Smile and hope!" do not apply to gay life. Only straights have families and homes to go back to; gays are doomed to die alone. Beckett's identification with Callas collapses his persona into *Andrea Chenier*'s heroine, whose kiss is "the kiss of death" and who laments, "My body is the body of a dying woman."

The shortcomings and timidity of *Philadelphia* can best be illustrated by comparing it to the first two prime-time network television dramas to address gay AIDS—*An Early Frost* and *Our Sons*.

Like these early movies, *Philadelphia*'s producers chose to deal with gayness and death by focusing instead on heterosexuality and the living. *An Early Frost*, an NBC production, was aired in November 1985 and was the first time the television industry addressed the AIDS epidemic. This is the story of Michael Pierson (Aidan Quinn), a young, handsome, and successful Chicago lawyer who discovers he is infected with HIV. The movie follows the major developments in the lives of Michael and his lover, Peter, after the diagnosis: Michael's hospitalization, medical check-ups, his coming out to his family, and Peter's refusal to get tested for the virus. The major dramatic episodes, however, take place not in the couple's apartment in Chicago but in Michael's parents' home in rural America. We first meet Michael during a holiday dinner, for which Peter is not present. Michael then goes back to his parents' home to deal with his mortality, pain, anger, and loneliness. Finally, he tries to commit suicide in his parents' garage and is saved by his father. A real family drama, *An Early Frost* seems to say, can only take place in real (read: nuclear and heterosexual) homes. As the late gay film critic Vito Russo, himself an AIDS activist and casualty, pointed out, "In *Early Frost* we see how AIDS affects a young man's mother, father, sister, brother-in-law and grandmother. There is no consideration given to the fact that this is happening to him" (*The Celluloid Closet: Homosexuality in the Movies*, rev. edn. [New York, 1987], 277).

Similarly, *Our Sons* deals mainly with the relationship between the mothers of two gay companions. It was first aired on ABC in May 1991 and told the story of the ailing Donald, his healthy partner James, and their two mothers. Donald had been estranged from his mother, Luanne (Ann-Margaret), since she expelled him from her home in Fayetteville, Arkansas, when she found out he was gay. James and his mother, successful and wealthy California businesswoman Audrey Grant (Julie Andrews), try to reconcile mother and dying son. Audrey flies to Fayetteville and then drives with Luanne back to California. The movie is, in fact, the story of the two women examining their differences and discovering their similarities. It ends with a series of reconciliations: between two women of different classes and cultures, between the dying Donald and his mother, and between James and his own mother.

In both TV-movies, as in *Philadelphia*, AIDS is first and foremost a threat to white, middle-class heterosexual families and only secondarily a disease that brings death upon its victims and destroys homosexual family units. Neither movie deals with the impact of AIDS on the surviving partner, nor is AIDS portrayed as a political or social issue. In all three movies, the gay couples do not have gay friends, they are not part of a gay community or support network, and their only source of support is their biological family. In all three movies, the gay couples do not have sex and hardly even touch each other on screen. All three films offer compassion, much-needed health information, and preach tolerance and acceptance but only within the safe space of (heterosexual) family harmony and reconciliation. In all three movies, the biological family of blood wins over the gay family of choice. Mother Luanne takes her dead son's coffin back with her to Arkansas, while James and his own mother Audrey go home together. Similarly, when Andrew Beckett needs support and affirmation, he goes "home," that is, to his parents' home. Mothers always win, especially when their oedipal victory reinforces the Freudian equation of homosexuality with immaturity and with fixation on the mother. Furthermore, in all three movies, the prairie wins over the city. AIDS only strikes in Philadelphia, Chicago, or Los Angeles, where urban sin, deviancy, and degeneration threaten the American Dream. Michael Pierson and Andrew Beckett find tranquility and support among their loving relatives in their parents' suburban houses, while Donald finds eternal peace in Arkansas (or is it Kansas and Oz?). *Philadelphia*, in short, has not advanced the portrayal of gay life or of AIDS beyond the early TV-movies. When all the hype and self-congratulation are over, we are left with the same old story and same old stereotypes: gay people as diseased, promiscuous, and lonely.

These mainstream representations of gay AIDS, however, have recently been challenged. Not surprisingly, the new visualizations of gay AIDS were created by directors who were themselves infected by HIV (and who died before their finished movies reached their audience). *Silverlake*

Life: The View from Here was produced and directed by Tom Joslin, completed and edited by Peter Friedman. *Silverlake* documents the slow decline and death of Joslin and his lover of twenty-two years, Mark Massi. This very personal movie is a video diary of and about two people who were "camera conscious"—to use Friedman's term—and who recorded their own AIDS experience in order to show that "life is not like in the movies," and neither is death. The movie takes place in and around the couple's home in the middle-class Los Angeles gay neighborhood of Silverlake. The lovers' love and companionship are too stable to be altered by the advancing decay caused by the disease, and the movie documents their love's triumph over AIDS. *Silverlake Life* is not a political movie or even a social documentary. Its realistic portrayal of AIDS presents the biological and physical decay of the lovers' bodies with stark and even brutal realism, and it refuses to sentimentalize death. But in its representation of the normalcy of the couple's lives and deaths, and their deep love toward each other, it renders the invisible visible and thus serves a major political cause.

Unlike *Silverlake Life*, *Savage Nights* is anything but stable. Based on French filmmaker and musician Cyril Collard's partly autobiographical novel, the film has as its main character Jean (played by Collard himself, who could not find an actor willing to play the role). Jean is a bisexual man who is HIV-positive. He simultaneously maintains two love affairs—one with Laura (Romane Bohringer), an eighteen-year-old woman, and another with Samy (Carlos Lopez), a presumably straight man. The movie takes place on the margins of Paris, in the working-class Red Belt that surrounds the city, symbolically occurring both inside and outside the city boundaries. Its characters include recent immigrants from Morocco and Spain, the unemployed, single parents, kids from broken families, some of them petty criminals and thugs. Unlike Joslin, Collard does not have time to record his death. He is too busy living life in full and in total abandon to the end. The movie is refreshingly unrepentant and honest about life with HIV, and it completely ignores the predictable death. Jean has unprotected sex with his girlfriend (once at her request!) and continues to have unprotected anonymous gay sex under the bridges of the Seine and in the deserted docks of Bercy. "My film is not an ad for the health department . . . I show human behavior in all its greatness and vileness," Collard said shortly before his death ("A Dialogue with Cyril Collard," October 1992, in a *Savage Nights* press release, September 22, 1993, p. 13). Collard here follows a uniquely French discourse about AIDS articulated by Michel Foucault, Jean-Paul Aron, and Hervé Guibert, who treated the danger of death itself as sexually exciting and accepted death as part of their life experience. AIDS activists in France and the United States attacked the movie's presentation of unprotected sex but ignored the courageous honesty of these scenes and the movie's powerful display of the intermingling of passion, guilt, and blame.

Where *Silverlake Life* is static, *Savage Nights* is ecstatic. While the former could be read as a manifesto on gay love, death, and heroism at a time of an epidemic, the latter is about a character's inability and unwillingness to locate his and his friends' sexual identities. When Samy, Collard's supposedly straight male lover, is asked by his brother, "So, you're a faggot now?" Samy simply shrugs his shoulders. He neither knows nor cares. This exchange represents two different approaches, not only to AIDS but to gay politics. While Joslin's American movie articulates gayness as a part of identity politics and centers on the bourgeois normalcy and comfort of gay middle-class life, Collard's film situates Jean's bisexuality as one of numerous social instabilities that characterize France in the 1980s and 1990s. Of all the movies under review here, Collard's is the only one that locates AIDS within the surrounding social epidemics of contemporary society. Gay identity is a given in *Philadelphia*, *Early Frost*, *Our Sons*, and *Silverlake Life*. Identities—sexual, ethnic, familial, professional, geographical—are in constant movement and transition for Collard and his characters. This is shown powerfully by the visual transitions from episode to episode. The scenes are related to each other through short shots of high-speed cruising on the highways that connect and separate Paris from its suburbs.

Silverlake Life and *Savage Nights* also include family reunion scenes. *Silverlake Life* romanticizes the scene: parents and son reunite in a snowy New Hampshire home for a Thanksgiving meal. Together, they recall their past quarrels over the son's sexuality but also the parents'

acceptance. Against all odds, the happy American family is reconciled once again around the dinner table while the snow keeps falling outside. No sentimental reconciliation in *Savage Nights*. Jean is still angry at his mother for her refusal to let his boyfriend spend the night many years before. His anger is raw, and forgiveness is not really on his mind, thank you. With his father, the hostility is even more explicit, and in a powerful scene we witness the two having dinner together without exchanging a word. (What is the role of the fathers in AIDS movies—and, for that matter, in the real lives of gay people with AIDS? Fathers are absent in *Our Sons* and from Mark Massi's life. When they do appear, as in *Savage Nights* and *Early Frost*, they are their gay sons' enemies, unforgiving and unforgivable.)

Like most homemade videos, *Silverlake Life* raises the question of who its intended audience is. It is too personal, intimate, and self-centered on Joslin and Massi's love story to address the social and political aspects of AIDS. *Savage Nights*, by contrast, locates AIDS within other contexts, from skinheads' racial violence to unemployment. Luckily, it rejects moralism and "political correctness" and therefore manages to carry the political messages without preaching. Together, both movies show that AIDS can be portrayed without erasing the gayness of the characters or turning them into stereotypes.

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Forbidden Love. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada; directed by Aerlyn Weissman and Lynne Fernie. 1993; color; 85 minutes. Distributor: Women Make Movies.

Some American Feminists. Produced by the National Film Board of Canada; directed by Luce Guilbeault and Nicole Brossard. 1977; color; 55 minutes. Distributor: Arthur Mokin Productions; presenter: Lila Karp (310) 392-3934.

The lurid, campy covers of lesbian pulp novels of the 1950s—a golden age of lesbian publishing—set the frame for a brilliant documentary of lesbian lives in Canada in the 1950s and 1960s. *Forbidden Love* uses three different genres in a wonderfully contrapuntal weave. Opening with a dramatization inspired by the pulps (but transformed at the end), the film dissolves periodically into still shots of the steamy covers of such novels as *The Girls in 3-B* and *Satan's Daughter*. These shots are followed by interviews with nine women recounting their coming out stories and survival strategies. Their complex stories provide a powerful counter-narrative both to the tragic tales of the pulps and to the dramatized romance.

The covers of the novels supply a metaphor for the "cover stories" used by many of the women and suggest the importance of reading in their lives. As several narrators point out, books, even homophobic ones, were often the only evidence lesbians saw that there were other women like them, and reading was a first hesitant step toward connection and community. The author of the popular Beebo Brinker series, Ann Bannon, argues in an interview that such novels broke down isolation and indicated to women, 'this is who your sisters are.' Sharing such novels was sometimes a way of coming out to a friend or even of coming on to a prospective lover. Although the novels usually ended tragically, with retribution for the "forbidden love," lesbian readers sometimes managed to read against the grain, and writers such as Bannon occasionally evaded the formula by including a few characters who did not die or go mad.

Many of the narrators' stories center on survival strategies. In this sense, as the film observes, these women are probably not typical, since they were successful in carving out public

space for themselves in a homophobic culture and connecting with a persecuted gay community at a time when most lesbians were compelled to lead intensely private lives. Part of the appeal of the film comes from the narrators' wit and sense of humor, which is evident in their accounts of double lives and clever strategies to outwit police and evade repressive codes of conduct. The erotics of the closet emerges in stories of love pursued in places such as the Vanport, a sleazy gay bar in the skid row section of Vancouver, where the constant danger of police raids created a tension that was both frightening and exciting.

By contrasting newsreel, newspaper, and dime novel constructions of homosexuality as sickness and criminality with the narrators' retrospective accounts of their lives, the film challenges stereotypes of lesbians as lonely and frustrated. Engaged with feminist and lesbian theory, the film also resists easy conclusions about the meanings of butch-femme roles, showing some narrators uncertain about which role to assume. Snapshots from the past offer powerful evidence of shifting identities, as older women who might be identified as butch show younger versions of themselves not so easily classified.

Both visually and verbally, *Forbidden Love* is eloquent on the ways in which race and racism, class and ethnic identity, shaped lesbian experiences. Amanda White, who grew up on a Haida reservation north of British Columbia but was educated in the "white man's schools," tells how she came out in an ostensibly straight black working-class bar in Vancouver that attracted an ethnically mixed clientele from the streets. She felt more comfortable in this setting than in the local gay bar, which was predominantly white and middle class. The film also acknowledges the pain and violence in many narrators' lives. One of the most searing stories is that of a white, middle-class mother and former Toronto housewife whose husband, devastated by his wife's coming out as a lesbian, condemned her (and their lesbian daughter) to everlasting damnation. Lesbian lovers were sometimes inclined to use their fists, as one woman discovered when she became involved with a particularly hot-tempered butch. Part of the power of this film is the narrators' lack of sentimentality. Their willingness to reflect on their lives without romanticizing suggests the intelligence and sensitivity of the filmmakers, whose questions about identity, access to public spaces, and the material details of experience elicit compelling responses.

Forbidden Love stays close to the personal stories of its narrators, although its imaginative use of popular songs, newspaper clippings, and newsreel footage, the last both archival and simulated, offers some historical context. Yet the homophobia of the 1950s is presented as if it had always existed in similar form. It is worth recalling that, in the United States, at least, the 1950s saw an intensified persecution of gays and lesbians in the context of McCarthyism and the Cold War obsession with "containment." The film makes little effort to relate the emergence of gay and lesbian communities to Canadian experiences during the Depression or World War II, which, according to historian John D'Emilio, constituted something of a national "coming out" moment for gay people in the United States. The film does eloquently suggest the ordinariness of lesbianism, for, in the words of the African-American singer Nairobi Nelson—who never found herself at a loss for lovers while on tour—"there were sisters everywhere." Without being activists in a traditional sense, these women found some public spaces in which lesbians might exist and even flourish. Their experience suggests the preconditions for the gay liberation movement, which blossomed in the 1970s.

The film has broader implications as well. If the covers of the lesbian pulp novels evoke the closet in which most homosexuals were compelled to live in the 1950s, the Fifties' obsession with "the homosexual menace" reveals something of the political tensions of an era locked in Cold War combat. American competition with the Russians was played out partly on the terrain of gender, with anxieties about masculinity and femininity—arising out of the Depression and World War II—displaced onto the conflict between capitalism and communism, with which homosexuality was often metonymically linked. By starting from the perspective of lesbian lives, *Forbidden Love* powerfully illuminates the larger contours of containment in a decade hostile to dissent of every sort.

In a very different style, *Some American Feminists* illuminates the 1970s by looking closely at the politics of feminism in a particular year, 1974–1975. The timing is crucial to understanding this film, since most of the narrators, now famous in the annals of feminism, engage the

question of feminism's relationship to the more extreme wings of the New Left, an issue that loomed large at that historical juncture. Kate Millett, Rita Mae Brown, Ti-Grace Atkinson, Margo Jefferson, Lila Karp, and Betty Friedan speak honestly, sometimes eloquently, in this film made by two Canadian feminists, Luce Guilbeault and Nicole Brossard, a well-known lesbian feminist poet and an experimental novelist. Although it follows a more conventional documentary form, intercutting talking heads with selected newsreel and television footage, this film offers a powerful sense of the tensions within the feminisms of the mid-1970s, between women's liberation and gay liberation, and between feminism and black liberation movements.

The distinct vantage points of *Forbidden Love*—a retrospective documentary, filmed several decades after the events in question—and *Some American Feminists*—filmed in 1975 in the midst of the issues it discusses—offer an interesting juxtaposition. The tone of *Some American Feminists* is militant, urgent, even angry, more like a newsreel than a documentary. Its strength is its immediacy and intensity, as if we were sitting in a room with these women, participating directly in their debates. (We can, in fact, discuss the film with one of its figures, Lila Karp, now of Venice, California, who presents it in venues throughout the country.) Even though *Forbidden Love* also portrays anger, its tone is reflective and often funny. The multiple narrative strands of the film, both documentary and dramatic, visual and verbal, and musical as well, and its imaginative use of the 1950s pulp novels, capture the multiplicity of lesbian lives, which no longer are compelled to remain “under cover.”

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SOUTHEAST ASIA

Heaven and Earth. Produced by Oliver Stone, Arnon Milchan, Robert Kline, and A. Kitman Ho; directed by Oliver Stone. 1993; color and black & white; 140 minutes. Distributor: Warner Bros. (818) 954-6000.

Following *Platoon* (1986) and *Born on the Fourth of July* (1989), Oliver Stone has created his third commentary on the Vietnam War, this time purportedly from a Vietnamese point of view. To do so, he uses the memoirs of Le Ly Hayslip, *When Heaven and Earth Changed Places* (1989) and *Child of War, Woman of Peace* (1993), to form the narrative. The film traces Le Ly's life from being a child in a Central Highlands village in Vietnam to a real estate agent and restaurant owner in San Diego. For Le Ly, this serpentine journey is torturous, chaotic, and, finally, humbly triumphant. For the viewer, it is more torturous than triumphant.

Stone uses an array of filmic techniques that have come to characterize his movies: a swelling score, visually distinct flashbacks or dream sequences, and recurring iconographic motifs (in this case, a searing, flaming missile). In addition, *Heaven and Earth* features a voice-over by the main character, Le Ly, to guide the viewer through events and hasten a full and long story into a reasonable movie length. The story suits Stone's penchant for epics, but this version ultimately fails to provide depth to the central theme. That theme—“lasting victories are won in the heart”—simply does not serve to hold together the variety and enormity of the tragedies in this story. It is a sentimental glaze over a complex of emotions. Unfortunately, the newcomer chosen to play Le Ly, Hiep Thi Le, does not help in getting beyond the portentous tone. The role demands characterization of a wide range of ages and emotions, abilities she does not yet possess. But even Meryl Streep could have done little; the overloaded plot suffocates the simplistic thematic framework.

The movie, however, does portray the war atrocities borne by women: rape, unwanted pregnancy, botched attempts at abortion, prostitution, and the agony of waiting for beloved soldiers. These elements of the Vietnam War are given center stage for much of the picture, which concentrates on the ways in which the war tore families apart. The physical destruction of land and home take on emotional resonance in the fracturing of Le Ly's family. Its members suffer from trying to assuage two groups of infiltrators to the village—the Vietcong as well as the South Vietnamese government and American forces. Actions meant to save the family earn the distrust of other villagers, the Vietcong, and the Americans. To the credit of Le Ly Hayslip and Stone, none of the many sides of this war comes off more virtuous than any other. Vietcong soldiers rape, American soldiers ruthlessly burn houses, and villagers throw hand grenades. But the shame of having one daughter unwed and pregnant and another selling sex to American GIs rends the hearts of the mother and father far more than the painful but honorable deaths of sons fighting the war for the North. Through numerous tragedies, Le Ly and her mother depict the travails of survival for women in war. The agonizing compromises of morality and honor forced by life in a war and its aftermath achieve a resonant humility in the portraits of Le Ly and her mother. And, in this, *Heaven and Earth* provides a welcome addition to the male soldiers' point of view that has received attention in other films.

Completely absent for the first half of the movie, Tommy Lee Jones appears as an American soldier in Vietnam and adds a certain comfort level to Stone's filmmaking. The pacing of the story slows and gathers weight. It is as if, by focusing on the familiar terrain of the American soldier, Stone can ease his anxieties about the distance between his own position in the war and that of a Vietnamese woman. He better trusts his visions and thus creates more intriguing passages after Jones's appearance. In fact, Stone's talents with the film's narrative coalesce most successfully in the section of the movie in which Jones's character, Steve Butler, brings his new Vietnamese wife to America. Here, Stone's luxuriant cinematic eye captures the visual splendor and abundance of a supermarket in San Diego. He brilliantly conveys the visceral appeal of American consumerism: a collage of Warhol-like Campbell's soup cans, rows of Coca-Cola, and women in curlers and spandex becomes a pictorial ballet performed to a Strauss waltz. The section ends with a bird's-eye view of an overflowing Thanksgiving dinner table, complete with Debbie Reynolds as Mom.

Some aspects of Vietnam have traveled with Le Ly to America, most notably, Buddhist monks, who seem to be as populous in southern California as they were in Southeast Asia. Throughout the film, in fact, Buddhist teachings are meant to give substance to and tie together disparate, tragic events. While something is needed for just this purpose, only a superficial, Americanized veneer of Buddhism emerges. (Tran Anh Hung's film *The Scent of Green Papaya* [1993] succeeds far more convincingly in portraying Buddhism in Vietnam.) Even mentioning the strife between Catholics and Buddhists in the Vietnam War is more than most popular movies have done. But *Heaven and Earth* uses Buddhism only to provide truisms rather than to explore the vast difference between Vietnamese and American cultures, much of which is shaped by their different religious traditions. Most incongruous is the casual use of the word "God" by proclaimed Buddhists, even in the early village scenes. Eliding differences between Buddhism and Christianity serves the thematic end of the film (by having faith in God, the voice-over by Le Ly says at the close, we can achieve our victories of the heart), but it is a distressing misrepresentation of religions and their crucial role in Vietnamese culture and the Vietnam War.

Stone's vision of the past and the Vietnam War in particular cannot be relied on for historical accuracy, even when he is making a movie from someone's memoirs. But Stone does excel at offering historians a valuable lesson in the symbolic power of the moving visual image. Pictures of rows of packaged Uncle Ben's rice on a grocery shelf tell us little about Uncle Ho and the rice paddy workers who believed in him. But a Vietnamese girl standing precariously atop the back of a water buffalo, a cone hat carried away over fields of rice paddies by the winds of helicopter blades, capricious and ephemeral, these are images that haunt me.

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Featured Reviews

ALLISON BLAKELY. *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 327. \$35.00.

At its height in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Dutch seaborne trading empire nearly girdled the globe, from the East Indies and a foothold in Japan at the western edge of the Pacific Ocean, through southern and western portions of Africa, to Brazil, Suriname, the West Indies, and New Netherlands on the western shores of the Atlantic. The peoples responsible for this empire lived chiefly in the three most maritime provinces of a polity that had come into existence only a few years before this imperial expansion began.

The term "peoples" seems apt for those who drove this expansive enterprise, because the Netherlands was a newly forged and disparate nation comprised of various groups of differing linguistic and religious backgrounds. Although the privileged Reformed church dominated the political arena, its Calvinist members were seldom in the majority. Roman Catholics were. But there were various smaller religious groups: Jews, Mennonites, Lutherans, Baptists of several sorts, and other varieties of Protestants. They came from Scandinavia, the Rhineland, the Baltic coast, England, France, the Walloon country, and some from elsewhere in Europe. In many cases ethnicity overlapped with religion, most conspicuously in the case of the Jews, many of whom came from Portugal and even Spain.

This new political entity was dominated by the trading and artisan middling classes. Financial and political power was less connected with ownership of land than in the other nations of Western Europe. The Netherlands' maritime orientation was grounded in its fisheries as well as, ironically, in its struggle to protect and expand the land against the waters of the North Sea. Its mood was also rooted in the prolonged struggle for independence from the dominion of Roman Catholic Habsburg Spain.

By 1600, the Netherlands had acquired a reputation for toleration of religious and ethnic diversity. The reputation was deserved, but the term "diversity" should not be taken here in its present politicized

sense. Over the centuries, as Allison Blakely makes clear, "The operative principle in Dutch society concerning minorities has not been that of 'the melting pot.' The tendency has been to accommodate rather than assimilate," and he refers to a Dutch "consensus that disagreement and diversity need not mean disharmony" (p. 10).

When this society came into contact with darker-skinned peoples as the result of its overseas expansion, the result was a bewildering collage of complexities, both as to actual treatment of the peoples who were exploited and as to attitudes toward them. Blakely deals with both of these related but separable matters, although in the end he seems more interested in the latter. He sets the stage in the first chapter, "The Dutch World," which focuses on the metropolis, the East Indies, the Cape Colony, the forts on the West African coast, the two very different but ultimately unsuccessful Dutch colonies in Brazil and in what became New York, and in the more durable ones in Suriname and in Curaçao and other islands in the Antilles.

Some of these complexities derived from ambiguous traditions in Dutch culture that were much older than overseas expansion. The most conspicuous and enduring concerned St. Nicholas, whose visiting day was (and is) celebrated on December 5. In this very old Christian and partly pagan tradition, *Sinterklaas* was always accompanied by his servant, *Zwarte Piet*, who helped hand out gifts to good children and switches for those who were not. Black Peter was, and still is, portrayed in word and pictures as a "Negro," and his master was not, but *Zwarte Piet* remains today a figure who brings smiles to adults recalling their childhood encounters with him. Blakely also discusses the precolonial Dutch tradition of publicly displayed carvings and sculptures of the heads of "Moors," some as external household decorations, some in heraldry, and others elsewhere, and later (and more understandably) in connection with tobacco. On this matter, however, the discussion cites instances from

the thirteenth century to the eighteenth century, and most in between, without remarking on change over time, leaving the reader with a rather miscellaneous platter. The author also provides (in a different chapter) a discussion of the three Magi, one of whom was portrayed in the art of medieval Western Christendom as an "Ethiopian" with thoroughly Negroid features—a remarkably durable tradition if one looks carefully at Christmas crèches made in the late twentieth century.

The problem of chronology that the reader first encounters concerning "Moors" appears again and again throughout this study. It is not that the discussion is *disorganized*; the author has made a deliberate choice to group his vast array of data largely on the basis of the nature of the source materials. After an introduction and survey of "The Dutch World," his discussion is shaped by separate chapters on folklore, art, literature, religious traditions, and the presence of blacks in the Dutch empire and especially the homeland. Inevitably there is a good deal of chronological backing and filling. What emerges is a dizzying array of topics. Some of them are discussed in more than one place, as the text makes clear that they will be or were.

These topics include: African-influenced place names in the Netherlands; black bogeymen in Dutch culture; the images of blacks in Dutch songs, nursery rhymes, and commercial products; Dutch reactions to African music; verses sung by slaves in Suriname and the West Indies; black dances in Curaçao; the image of blacks in Dutch cartoons and jokes; blacks in the Netherlands as portrayed by Dutch artists; the story of Noah, Ham, and Canaan, and other biblical themes such as the Queen of Sheba, the washing of an Ethiopian, and the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch; sketches of cities in Africa and of slaves in Suriname; Africans as soldiers in the Dutch East Indian army; black intellectuals in the Netherlands; maroons in Suriname; Dutch overseas missionary efforts (Reformed, Roman Catholic, and Herrnhutter); black servants in the Netherlands; and black sailors.

Although it is easy to regard such a collection as a mere *omnium-gatherum*, it is hard to conceive how such a massive and disparate body of evidence about such a complex, diffuse, and subtle set of problems might have been better assembled. After all, Blakely's study encompasses a mere six continents over at least three-quarters of a millennium. With range such as this, there is bound to be some to-ing and fro-ing. Partly, what ties the whole together is the persistent focus on blacks in the Dutch world. In addition, the book includes numerous very instructive illustrations,

many more than in the author's earlier and somewhat parallel study, *Russia and the Negro: Blacks in Russian History and Thought* (1986). And as a counter to the centrifugal tendency created by dealing with both the experiences of blacks and at the same time with attitudes toward them, there is also a band of interpretation that helps bind the material into a coherent whole.

The author's interest is in modernization, which he says has profoundly influenced Dutch attitudes about blacks. He dates these changes from the beginnings of overseas expansion—a time when the Dutch provinces were the most "modern" in the world—and finds that Dutch views about blacks continued to bear signs of their original ambiguity and at the same time continued to harden into increasing hostility. He also argues that there are signs of derogatory images of blacks many centuries before this modernization began. His historical analysis seems haunted by the great wave of immigration from Suriname to the Netherlands in the 1970s, a time when the old ambiguities and devotion to tolerance seem to have been breaking down. At times this analysis does not seem entirely clear, and the book's greatest strength lies in its insistence on ambiguity about racial attitudes, in its refusal to opt for such an obvious thesis as that a Calvinist/capitalist world view resulted in especially rigid racial attitudes. Blakely's interests are in complexities and ambiguities, rather than in making some overarching case. He would say, although perhaps not in such terms, that Dutch racial attitudes were shaped not only by socioeconomic experiences but also by very old cultural traditions, and that this peculiar society is now undergoing unprecedented and powerful pressures that need to be understood and resisted.

This study is impressive not merely because it is by an American scholar who knows more than one or two European languages—itself a phenomenon—but because it delves into a nearly vacant arena of inquiry. The Dutch and Africans? After all, they were merely the predominant participants in the transatlantic slave trade in the seventeenth century, at a time when slavery was becoming firmly entrenched in all the Americas. And the twentieth-century collapse of the Dutch empire is today producing profound changes in the homeland, as well as in another place that has attracted world-wide attention. Blakely's book was published just too early to permit his commenting on the irony of the joint Nobel Peace Prize, shared as it has been by Nelson Mandela and F. W. de Klerk.

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RICHARD TERDIMAN. *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 389. Cloth \$48.95, paper \$18.95.

ROBERT GILDEA. *The Past in French History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. xiv, 418. \$40.00.

"Today, the space for interpretation has stretched to the horizon," concludes Richard Terdiman in his volume. "What is necessary now is to see how it might be bounded." The two books under review, the one by Terdiman, a student of French literature, the other by Robert Gildea, a historian of France, propose ways, if not to bound, at least to configure, the space where memory, history, and theory coexist. Gildea attempts to bridge the chasm between culture and politics in chapters on moments and movements in the history of French political culture. Terdiman, in a series of essays on Alfred de Musset, Charles-Pierre Baudelaire, Marcel Proust, and Sigmund Freud, offers us a sophisticated discussion of what he calls "the memory crisis" of the nineteenth century. The flaw of Gildea's work is its theoretical innocence, which leads him to accept a radical historical relativism; that of Terdiman's is that a few nineteenth-century figures must bear the weight, but cannot do so, of his analysis of the crisis of knowing engendered by modernity.

Patrick Hutton, in an interesting review essay of Pierre Vidal-Naquet's *Assassins of Memory: Essays on the Denial of the Holocaust* (1992) and Jacques Le Goff's *History and Memory* (1992) (*History and Theory* 33 [1994], 95–107), distinguished two relations possible between history and memory. In one, as in the case of Vidal-Naquet's book, the persistence of memory (here the memory of the Holocaust) is witness to omissions and falsifications in the writing of the history of the events. Memory is subversive of history's nineteenth-century tradition of totalizing; it is both the conscience and the test of narrative constructs. In the other, as with Le Goff's work, memory is the pool from which scientific history selects; it is the raw material from which we can construct a more or less truthful account of history. The books by Terdiman and Gildea allow us to add two other dimensions of the current perplexity over the memory-history relationship: memory as myth, that is, the truth does not matter because we cannot get at it; and memory as the antidote to runaway synchronic theorizing in the study of culture. First, let us examine Gildea's presentation of memory as political *Rashomon*.

Gildea champions a renewal of political history. He briefly reviews and critiques the modern schools of French historiography: the old positivist school of Charles-Victor Langlois and Charles Seignobos; Marxist history writing; the tradition of the *Annales* in its first version and then the second generation dominated by Fernand Braudel; the scholars concerned with questions of modernization such as Stanley Hoffmann, Charles Tilly, or Eugen Weber; and fi-

nally the strongly empiricist trend, which he wittily terms "English miniature" (p. 7), associated with Alfred Cobban, Richard Cobb, Theodore Zeldin, and recently Simon Schama. But whereas the new French political history emanating from the *chapelle* of René Rémond hyphenates politics with ideas, Gildea wants to draw on social anthropology. Following Keith Baker's notion of political culture, he wishes to study how "communities competing for political power" (p. 8) in France hold together against other communities and work to make their myths prevail against the myths of rival communities. For Gildea memory is the key concern in this scheme, as he believes that in collective memory, not in race, class, or even creed, political communities find their unity. And, following the pioneering work of Maurice Agulhon and, especially Pierre Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire* (1984), for him the prime element reinforcing collective memory is commemoration. In his introduction he claims, in contrast to Agulhon, Nora, and other students of commemoration, the value of his contribution to the study of French memory will be his attention to the rivalry of contending political cultures and the divergent memories they foster.

Gildea then presents chapters organized around what he considers to have been the main issues in contention in French politics: "revolution and counter-revolution, national identity and nationalism, centralization and regionalism, and Church and State" (p. 10). Chapter 1, beginning with François Mitterrand's and the Socialists' theatrical bicentenary celebration in 1989, chronicles the struggles of Left and Right since 1789 to make their myth of the meaning of the revolution prevail. Chapter 2 explores the vicissitudes of the Napoleonic myth(s) in French history. The chapter called "Grandeur," among other things, brings together the story of the antagonistic mythologies of Joan of Arc. Exploring rival political affinities ("communities") in a similar manner, Gildea gives us chapters on regionalism, Catholicism, anarchism, and, finally, one on the varieties of the Right, called, curiously, "Bridging the Revolution?" His conclusions, that political communities try to make their interpretations of the past hegemonic, that they often attempt to impose their own reading on an event or figure shared with other groups (for example, Joan of Arc or the French Revolution) and that the collective memories of groups change with events, is unexceptionable, if not new.

Indeed, for all the discussion of political communities and their cultures in this book, one could replace these anthropological tropes—that's the only

trace of engagement with cultural anthropology in the volume—with the old Gramscian ideas of “hegemony” and “ideology” and not much distort Gildea’s extended narratives of different political stories around nationally important events. Moreover, from his relativistic formulation that “it is not possible to envisage the writing of a universal and objective history” (p. 344), he is not warranted to deduce, as he does, that all we can expect in historical understanding is a world of struggles over which memory is commemorated and how. By collapsing memory into party-political history, Gildea implicitly denies—without arguing the case—the Habermasian project of creating a public place where interests do not inevitably determine the outcomes of conversations about the future of the polity. Moreover, if the scholarship trying to tease out the national things-that-go-without-saying that in one manifestation I have called “True France” has any validity, Gildea’s understanding of political differences as the consequences of French tribalist exclusivism misses the unities that overarch the many culture wars he describes. He appreciates the functions of unity within a political group but misses the contextual affinities that make the very contestation in which he is interested both possible and limited, so as not to reproduce Lebanon or Rwanda. Like Hobbes, his empiricist master, Gildea forgets cultural solidarity, so intent is he on describing the domestic irreconcilabilities.

Historians should welcome Terdiman’s reconsideration of the role of memory in history. Although a work primarily in literary studies, it will be useful for historians to engage with its arguments. Moreover, his work should make textualists in the literary and cultural disciplines climb back a bit from the idealist limb on which they find themselves. Although the book studies important, primarily French, literary texts—Musset’s *Confession d’un enfant du siècle*, Baudelaire’s poem “Le Cygne,” Proust’s *À la recherche du temps perdu*—with the final two chapters on memory in Freud, the interest to historians lies in his reading of the history of European modernity as one of systematic disturbance and distortion of what we want to remember in juxtaposition with what the knowledge authorities say. Terdiman studies ways some French writers and Freud have tried to master the endemic crisis of memory the coming of modernity produced.

At the risk of flattening his nuanced and subtle analysis, Terdiman’s argument can briefly be summarized as follows. Largely as a consequence of the twin revolutions that begin the long nineteenth century, the political revolution in France and the industrial revolution in Britain, Europeans began to experience what he calls a “memory crisis,” a disturbance or break with their links to the past, “a massive disruption of traditional forms of memory” (p. 5). He employs Ferdinand Tönnies model of the movement from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* as the way of describing the vastness of the social change that set off the crisis of memory. So in individualist, urban, and

industrialized settings ruled by bureaucratized state authorities and anonymous market forces, the behavior of others can no longer be transparent; contemporaries cannot understand the current world by either the practices or memories of a lost communal life.

To be sure, we construct the past, but Terdiman argues that we do so from, and with, memory, which, clearly, is always experienced now in the present. So as the title of his book suggests, “memory is the present past” (p. 8). But this formulation makes memory the equivalent of representation. Students of European modernity have concerned themselves in recent years with the crisis of representation. Terdiman proposes to analyze the conditions of the possibility of “historicizing memory” as a way of addressing this Janus-faced problem of memory and representation. He does so by demonstrating that synchrony is impossible: nothing is out of time/memory, and, from Immanuel Kant to scientific psychology to deconstruction, we know that there cannot be meaning or intelligibility without memory as a condition. “No memory, no meaning” (p. 9). As a consequence, Terdiman makes the important point that synchronic understanding—timeless theory—cannot be possible. “Theories focus a culture’s temporal vectors; they register the flow of its history” (p. 27). Theories have histories, are historical; so are the goods made to fill our world.

As he will discuss in his treatment of Proust, for example, objects are often related to our most important and intense recollections. And yet the paradox of capitalist modernity is the fostering of the systematic forgetting of the meaning of objects. To underpin the argument of the book, Terdiman further elaborates the socially amnesiac aspects of reification and the fetishism of commodities as worked out by George Lukács and the Frankfurt school—Theodor Adorno in particular—that the systematic social misunderstanding between the concrete manifestation of commodities in a market society and the complex social arrangements and decisions required to make them is finally a case of forgetting.

To be sure, in the form of uncontested traditions, memory supports the existing order. By recalling remembrances and language alternative to the dominant ones, however, memory can be a resource to challenge the official stories and to topple monuments to the wrong people.

Terdiman’s critique of the workings of the nineteenth-century discipline of history is of the role it played in what he calls the “sedimentation” of the past. “By taking on the function of ‘preserving’ the past, history hid the individual *dispossession* of the past” (p. 31). But his critique potentially gives contemporary history writing just as grand a place in mastering the mnemonic crisis of modernity: because history writing must in some way relate to memory, it can address the crisis of memory and restore suppressed worlds. Indeed, I would argue that a good deal of recent cultural history writing, and before that

much of the best social history, is dedicated to restoring to history voices and visions held only in dimmed memory.

All historians should find the theoretical preliminaries of Terdiman's book useful. Whether they find the metonymic strategy of the book helpful is another question. The burden of this work is the different ways attempted, primarily in nineteenth-century France, to create new paradigms of memory to address the growing memory crisis. His chapters on Musset and the Romantics and on Proust address psychological and sociological ways of knowing. With Baudelaire he discusses semiotics. And for him Freud models the specifically psychoanalytic and hermeneutic.

Terdiman, to his credit, understands the risks he takes. His "book asks metonymies to work very hard. An individual poem of Baudelaire is made to stand for larger bodies of texts by its author. Single authors are made to stand for broad movements in art and culture. Aesthetic and scientific movements are made to stand for entire societies. Theory is taken as a cultural practice" (p. 18). Unjustifiably, and most outrageously, a few literary voices, for example, stand for a rich and varied nineteenth-century social-science heritage. The other stand-ins are equally inadequate to the weight of Terdiman's argument. Most historians do not do this; all our training tells us not to do so. As new brilliant readings of much worked-over authors with a certain connectedness to a problem in the social world, however, the middle chapters of the book are interesting. Terdiman's literary-historical project also does not have to be as flawed as it is. In cultural terms, it seems not erroneous to take as

especially insightful writers brought up in *Gemeinschaft* and educated to live in *Gesellschaft*. The renaissance of southern American fiction during the South's modernization in the interwar years, the explosion of literary creativity in developing Latin America, and the richness of contemporary African literature are just three obvious instances that attest to the bounty that the pains of liminality confers on sensitive intellectuals. But just as social science cannot stand for or replace literature, no rhetorical sleight of hand can do the obverse.

What is important and truly valuable here is that Terdiman's theoretical take will help us better think about the place of our own work between memory and history. It suggests an important role for historians in dealing with the current perplexities in the realm of memory, history, and theory. In this sense, Terdiman's book is useful to think with.

Each of these books—especially their flaws—can aid historians in a discipline that is growing ever more self-reflexive. With Gildea we can learn not to take easy theoretical formulas off the shelf, especially ones that needlessly constrain us into deep epistemological and moral scepticisms. With Terdiman we learn once again the richness sophisticated literary theory can supply to our own reflections on our work, as well as the risks it poses of impoverishing with the short-cuts of great literary texts by great thinkers and artists our considerations about how people think about their lives in time.

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WILLARD STERNE RANDALL. *Thomas Jefferson: A Life*. New York: Henry Holt. (John Macrae Book.) 1993. Pp. xix, 708. \$35.00.

MAX BYRD. *Jefferson: A Novel*. New York: Bantam. 1993. Pp. 424. \$22.95.

Even a short shelf of books about Thomas Jefferson published in the last generation or so would include biographies by Dumas Malone, Merrill Peterson, Fawn Brodie, and Noble Cunningham; specialized studies by Richard Matthews, Garrett Sheldon, Adrienne Koch, Lance Banning, Robert Johnstone, John C. Miller, Stuart G. Brown, William Meyers, and Douglas Wilson; several publications of his writings from the perhaps-to-be 100-volume Princeton edition of his *Papers* and the 1,500-page Library of America book of his writings; as well as numerous shorter selected editions for general classroom use. What contribution, then, one must ask, do the two volumes under review make in such an already saturated field?

Both Willard Sterne Randall, in *Thomas Jefferson: A*

Life, and Max Byrd, in *Jefferson: a Novel*, seek to reveal a more fully human, vivid person than comes through in the specialized, analytical, and perhaps pedantic or iconographic studies. At one level, they both succeed: the writing is lively and lucid, and each has an eye for telling and interesting detail. Both books, too, by concentrating on the more dramatic, humanly interesting, and even exotic parts of Jefferson's life, can sustain the attention of readers likely bored by the politics, diplomacy, and philosophy that were central in his career. Both books are also generally faithful to the voluminous Jeffersonian documents now available in print, and to what good historians have discerned and written about his life, so readers can feel themselves largely in the presence of accuracy.

Of the two books, Randall's study, a biography

generally well-grounded in the sources, is of course much the more useful as a record of events. It is especially good in recounting the first forty-six years of Jefferson's life, down through his return from France in 1789. There are excellent chapters on his courtship and marriage, and on the fruitful period (1762–74) when he practiced law, entered the House of Burgesses, and, most significantly, continued a rigorous pattern of reading wherein he became the most learned and profound public philosopher (John Adams perhaps excepted) in British North America. Using Douglas L. Wilson's recent reconstruction of Jefferson's commonplace book and notes on law cases (*Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book* [1989]), Randall explains Jefferson's intellectual development in the Lockean natural law tradition in a way that makes entirely plausible how his mind would move from the Declaration of Independence to the seminal documents of his public career and on to the founding of the University of Virginia. Randall's first 200 pages, then, are as lively and insightful an account as we have of the first thirty years of Jefferson's life.

That this much space is devoted to a sparsely documented period in Jefferson's life (it fills less than one volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*), and then nearly 200 pages detail his career in revolutionary America, and 125 pages are devoted to his years in France, while only 100 pages cover the thirty-six years when he was secretary of state, vice president, president of the United States, and in busy retirement, is a mark both of the strength and weakness of Randall's work. He shows how Jefferson's brilliant, highly visible, strenuous public career during the revolutionary period was accompanied by momentous, fateful, and often tragic events in his personal life. The story of the burning of his, and his mother's, home in 1770 (Jefferson seemed to mourn mostly the loss of his books), his marriage to a young widow in 1772, and the beginning of the building of Monticello, his being one of Virginia's richest men with the settling of his wife's inheritance (including 135 slaves), the abandonment of his law practice, and the death of his father-in-law, his mother, a sister, his best friend, his brother-in-law (whose wife and six young children then became virtually part of his own family), three of his infant children, and finally his wife (1782), all in a dozen years, provides a significant and traumatic accompaniment to Jefferson's role in the events before and after the Declaration of Independence.

A similar richness and vividness pervades Randall's account of the busy, delightful, and productive years Jefferson spent as American minister to France, 1784–89. There, despite his own protestations, he not only succeeded but replaced Benjamin Franklin as a living embodiment of the Enlightenment, taking a full and creative part in the literary, artistic, and cultural life of Paris. Like numerous Americans since, he learned at least as much about himself and his own country as he did about France—his letters and

conversations were replete with evocations of the United States as he saw, sometimes with delight and sometimes with horror, the contrasts between the Old and the New World.

Max Byrd's novel concentrates even more on the years in France, with only brief flashbacks and flash-forwards to the rest of Jefferson's life. The author tells of the enhancement, sophistication, and incredible insight and creativity that characterized the years Jefferson spent living at the entrance of the Champs-Élysées. Byrd's strategy for telling the story, using the eyes and activities of Jefferson's secretary, protégé, and virtually adopted son, William Short, as his vantage point, is aptly chosen. Short was indeed close at hand during the years in Paris and knew intimately of Jefferson's public and private life there. A considerable collection of his own papers, furthermore, survive in the Library of Congress. This material, plus the full publication (ten volumes) of Jefferson's own papers for that period, and the more than two hundred pages of Malone's biography also on those years, provide an abundant and sure-footed basis for Byrd's novel. He takes only occasional, admitted liberties with known facts, such as putting Short and Lafayette, for dramatic purposes, in places where they were not. Nonetheless, it is a vivid, engaging, and plausible if not fact-based story of Jefferson in Paris on the eve of the French Revolution.

The focus, however, is not so much on Jefferson himself as on the social milieu in which he lived. Through vivid, fictionalized pictures and re-created conversations of the French architect Charles-Louis Clerisseau, Lafayette's young aunt the Contesse de Tessé, the liberal Duc de la Rochefoucauld (and his beautiful young wife "Rosalie"—every middle-aged, upper-class Frenchman had such, Byrd has Short observe), English artists Richard Cosway and Maria Cosway, and many others, Byrd evokes the talk and style of cultured France at the end of the *ancien régime*—and at the high tide of the Age of Reason. Equally vivid is the evocation of the sights and smells and jostling of the streets and alleyways of Europe's most sophisticated and decadent metropolis. By following the lady-killer Short and Jefferson's mulatto slave cook and maître d' James Hemings through the cafés and brothels of Paris, Byrd also re-creates much of the low life of the city. Hemings enjoys a liberty and an acceptance impossible on a Virginia plantation (and upbraids his master for refusing to permit his own freedom), while Short experiences a previously unimaginable "exoticism" as his favorite prostitute, "the Ace of Spades," confirms in the act of love-making that Buffon was in error in supposing that the dimensions of all parts of all creatures tended to be smaller among North American than among European varieties of the same species. The telling details, the bright conversation, the attention to gestures, and the eye for habits and foibles allow Byrd's novel to make real and vivid what must in a strictly factual account remain unstated, or at least muted. The

fictions, suppositions, and creations seem sufficiently plausible and faithful to what might have been to make the novel a worthy addition to the hundreds of volumes we now have about Jefferson. One could safely recommend it to students as, on the whole, more illuminating than misleading.

Both volumes, however, have serious shortcomings. Byrd's novel, by dealing directly only with five years in Jefferson's long life, offers nothing like a full account of him, and in fact leaves a probably off-the-mark impression of him as a cultural connoisseur falling for an exotic English-Italian artist (the famous Maria Cosway episode) as he maneuvered amid the opening scenes of the French Revolution—perhaps a bit recklessly; many of his friends whose revolutionary sentiments he encouraged ended up on the guillotine. Occasional lapses in detail, such as assertions that John Adams "had no interest in science" (p. 67) and that Benjamin Franklin was "short" (p. 77), do not detract seriously from Byrd's generally fine characterizations of Jefferson's famous colleagues. Finally, Byrd's Jefferson seems a bit too self-conscious, detached, and posturing for a Virginia planter legendary for his convivial magnetism among colleagues and for his genial play with children and family.

(Both volumes, incidentally, shy away from, or even repudiate, the allegedly scandalous aspects of Jefferson's life in Paris. Although in each the Maria Cosway episode is told in full and passionate detail, there is reticence on its sexual aspects if not on Jefferson's full commitment of head and heart to the affair. As for Sally Hemings, Byrd barely introduces her as the early adolescent sister of James Hemings, whereas Randall makes clear his rejection of the accusations of James Callender, Fawn Brodie, and others that she was Jefferson's long-time mistress. But Randall's statement that Sally's father was probably a white carpenter at Monticello rather than, as was almost surely the case, Jefferson's own father-in-law, John Wayles, leaves one dubious about Randall's own command of the controversy.)

Some tendency toward far-fetched psychologizing, especially about Jefferson and his mother, also mars both volumes. Byrd has William Short state bluntly: "A little known fact: Thomas Jefferson could not endure his mother" (Byrd, p. 189), while Randall opines that "Jefferson seems never to have forgiven his mother for living after his father died" (Randall, p. 259). Much is made of the fact that Jefferson, fourteen when his father died, seems to have resented finding himself under the thumb of an allegedly dominating mother, which then led to his lifelong preference for submissive, petite, "feminine" women. That virtually no letters or even references to Jane Jefferson are in her son's papers (she survived her husband by nineteen years), is taken as further evidence of coldness and of a kind of psychological damage resulting from a pathology between a tyran-

nical, anxious mother and a resentful son. Another scenario would make more sense. It is not surprising that a teenage boy would resent the control of a recently widowed mother (perhaps he needed it?), nor would it be unusual, as seems to have been the case, that after adolescence the son resumed a more measured and agreeable relationship with his mother. There does not seem to have been a close bond between them, although the fire that destroyed all the family papers in 1770, and the acknowledged fact that both Jefferson himself and his heirs destroyed private papers related to both his mother and his wife, suggest that the relationship between mother and son was not necessarily cold or distant, but rather simply undocumented. It would be more to the point had Byrd and Randall left it at that, instead of making dubious conjectures, one place where the license of novelists and biographers devoted to revealing "the real flesh-and-blood Jefferson" (dust-jacket blurb) has distorted rather than illuminated their subject.

Neither book provides a full or complete understanding of Jefferson because they largely ignore the essence of his greatness: his brilliant, creative contribution, in theory and practice, to the public (political in Aristotelian terms Jefferson would have understood) life of the new nation after 1789. As a holder of the highest offices in the land for nearly twenty years, and then as a venerated national sage and builder of the University of Virginia for seventeen more years, he set forth a vision of how a self-governing polity might also achieve good government (no more a certainty in our day than in Jefferson's). With amazing fidelity and effectiveness, he put much of the vision into practice as he filled high office, setting patterns for both leadership and citizenship that have ever since been ideals striven for, if seldom realized. Although the very force and clarity of his conception of nationhood of course created controversy, provoked counter-conceptions (most notably Alexander Hamilton's), and suffered from Jefferson's limitations, it has been the most compelling motif in more than two centuries of government under the Constitution. It is doubtless unfair to complain about the absence of what neither author set out to do, but no effort to reveal the "real" Jefferson can come near the mark without paying attention to his post-1789 public career.

Byrd and Randall offer volumes of genuine merit, providing lively, insightful, and generally fact-faithful accounts of important, dramatic, and humanly interesting aspects of Jefferson's life. Both the novel and the popular biography will thus be especially appealing to those who want easily readable introductions to the man Jefferson, but serious students will still need to go to the more profound and complete volumes by Dumas Malone, Merrill Peterson, and others.

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MERRILL D. PETERSON. *Lincoln in American Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 482. \$30.00.

In 1960, Merrill D. Peterson concluded *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* with the observation that while Americans remember Thomas Jefferson and venerate George Washington, they love Abraham Lincoln. Three decades later, using much the same approach as in *The Jefferson Image*, Peterson has traced the course of Americans' multifaceted love affair with their sixteenth president from his death in 1865 to the present.

Peterson leads his readers on a walk through the Lincoln image in biography, history, fiction, art, and politics. Sifting through the enormous amount of material about Lincoln produced over the past 130 years, Peterson identifies five themes that have remained central to the Lincoln image because they remain central to Americans' conception of themselves as a people: Lincoln as nationalist (savior of the Union), humanitarian (emancipator of the slaves), democrat (champion of the ordinary citizen), archetypal American (child of the frontier), and self-made success (victor over poverty and obscurity). Along with these five enduring themes, Peterson identifies two critical periods in the making of the Lincoln image. One was the 1870s and 1880s, when reminiscences about Lincoln were first collected and put into writing, and the body of Lincoln stories was more or less set, in anthologies such as *The Lincoln Memorial: Album Immortelles* (1882) and popular biographies such as Horatio Alger's *Abraham Lincoln: The Backwoods Boy* (1883) and William Herndon's *Life of Lincoln* (1889). Peterson movingly portrays the emergence in the North of the folkloric Lincoln, familiar and compassionate, in response to the trauma of the Civil War. The second critical period in the evolution of the Lincoln image was the 1920s and 1930s, when academically trained historians such as James G. Randall sought to create a scholar's Lincoln apart from the folk Lincoln of family stories and popular reminiscence. Beginning with the academics' struggle in these decades to distinguish their fledgling enterprise from an explosion of popular works about Lincoln such as Carl Sandburg's *Lincoln: The Prairie Years* (1926), D. W. Griffith's film *Abraham Lincoln* (1930), and a boom in reconstructed Lincoln pioneer villages, Peterson carries his judicious survey of the changing Lincoln of the historical profession through the latest psychobiographies and an appreciation of Garry Wills's *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (1992).

But if the image of Lincoln has changed over the decades, so too has the study of American memory. Peterson's *Jefferson Image* appeared in the midst of a number of studies examining popular images and uses of the American past as myths and symbols that united Americans. These studies of the American mind were soon eclipsed by studies of the historical

consciousness of particular groups, such as Lawrence Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (1977). Peterson approaches his Lincoln study aware of the importance of cultural pluralism and identifies distinctive black and white, northern and southern Lincolns, even a Jewish Lincoln—although he neglects the emergence of a women's Lincoln, evident in the powerful identification with Lincoln among women of the Progressive era such as Jane Addams and Ida Tarbell. Lincoln seems to have been the first American hero to cross gender lines (women identified with Martha Washington, not George), and the folk Lincoln's emotional, compassionate character, shaped amid the outpouring of consolation literature after the Civil War, included stereotypically feminine traits. While acknowledging the divergent historical visions of various groups, Peterson's story remains focused on Lincoln as a symbol that united Americans, with only occasional discussion of the conflicts between groups over whose Lincoln would be the public Lincoln. Peterson's use of "Negro" instead of "black" or "African American" contributes to the dated feel of his discussion of Lincoln's image among minorities; the even more antiquated use of "colored" to describe someone writing in 1986 (p. 348) ought to have been caught by his copy-editors.

As the study of American memory has expanded to encompass more divergent viewpoints on the American experience, it has also expanded to include a wider range of evidence, including non-print sources such as film, music, ritual, and material culture. Karal Ann Marling's *George Washington Slept Here: Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876–1986* (1988), a study of Washington in American memory similar to Peterson's project, is especially adept at the analysis of objects and iconography. Peterson discusses the Lincoln of radio, television, film, and public ritual, but his heart is not in it; although he lavishes attention on the most obscure of books, he offers only perfunctory analysis of the popular culture Lincoln, or of how the form of the media may have affected the message. Peterson devotes nearly five pages to Reverend William Barton's *Soul of Abraham Lincoln* (1920), a work he confesses was influential with neither scholars nor the public (p. 222), but only a paragraph to John Ford's widely distributed film *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939).

Not only has the study of American memory expanded to include more groups and types of sources but it has also employed theoretical insights developed in other disciplines such as psychology, communications, and the sociology of knowledge to ask new questions about the nature and organization of historical consciousness. Peterson cites several examples of the new historical literature on memory, including

the March 1989 *Journal of American History* issue on "memory and American history," but he does not incorporate its questions in his study. One set of questions, suggested by the pervasiveness of the Lincoln image, concerns the circulation of historical information in society. Peterson notes that Gore Vidal's novel *Lincoln* (1984) was the most widely read account of Lincoln in history. Forty million Americans tuned in to Ken Burns's film *The Civil War* (1990), and countless others have seen it in reruns or in school. From these numbers, can we conclude that more Americans know more about Lincoln than at any time in American history? What are the implications of this for contemporary laments about the loss of American memory, and assertions that today's Americans are less historically literate than past generations? Can we generalize about the circles in which Lincoln knowledge travels, and the extent to which they intersect? How have mass communications, including paperback books and mass college education after World War II, affected consciousness of Lincoln and the relative balance between the "folk" and "scholarly" Lincolns? The pervasiveness of the Lincoln image also offers historians an opportunity to explore how the emergence of commercial popular culture in the early twentieth century reshaped the form of public historical representations. Consider how the supply of Lincoln historic sites grew rapidly in the 1920s to meet a new tourist demand facilitated by automobile travel. Or how the decade's celebrity publicity machinery seized on the tale of Lincoln's alleged love affair with Ann Rutledge as another human interest story. Historians might also use Lincoln lore to study the relationship between public history and family history. How often has Lincoln been revered within families as a representative of the Civil War generation, a symbol of the families' own fathers and grandfathers? Do public and private memories merge so that Lincoln stories become family stories and vice versa?

Peterson observes that the central thing that sepa-

rates history from memory is the present-mindedness of the latter, and he offers shrewd analysis of the most blatant political uses of the Lincoln image: how civic leaders in Atlanta and Birmingham in 1909 used the commemoration of the centennial of Lincoln's birth to voice their aspirations for the New South and northern capital, or how Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1963 sought unsuccessfully to persuade John F. Kennedy to mark the centennial of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation with an executive order outlawing racial segregation throughout America. But Peterson appears reluctant to analyze Lincoln-talk as a language that addressed other cultural concerns. The insatiable desire in the postbellum North for the details of Lincoln's life could be read as part of a larger hunger to fill gaps in the family circle left by the war; the revival of interest in Ann Rutledge in the 1920s as discourse about modern marriage; and the prevalence of the scene showing Lincoln pardoning the sleeping sentinel (in virtually every motion picture, according to Jack Spears's *The Civil War on the Screen* [1977]) as discourse about child-rearing. Staying close to the surface of his texts, Peterson avoids the deeper meanings that might enrich his explanation of the intensity of the Lincoln cult and its changes over time.

Peterson's book tells readers a lot about Lincoln—no small accomplishment—but not nearly as much as it might have about the making and organization of American memory. The best aspect of the book is its discussion of the historical profession and popular memory side by side. In chapters that focus on the canonization of Lincoln stories in the late nineteenth century and the effort by professional historians to break free from the grip of those stories in the twentieth century, Peterson invites his readers to consider the changing relationship of professional and popular history over time.

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DAVID J. GARROW. *Liberty and Sexuality: The Right to Privacy and the Making of Roe v. Wade*. (A Lisa Drew Book.) New York: Macmillan. 1994. Pp. v, 981. \$28.00.

David J. Garrow has told us more than we ever wanted to know about any number of things in this study, and while it will undoubtedly be a gold mine for future researchers in this area, the very mass of the material makes it in the end a disappointing book.

An indefatigable researcher, Garrow begins his story in Waterbury, Connecticut, with Katherine Hepburn (the mother of the actress) organizing the first birth control clinic in a state that outlawed both the sale of contraceptives as well as the dissemination of information about them. He takes the story down

through the various legal and political maneuvers by opponents to have the laws either repealed or invalidated, and the success of their campaign in the landmark case of *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965). He also notes the amazing amount of infighting that occurred between the Birth Control Federation of America and its Connecticut affiliate, with the national offices constantly trying to second guess the local officers and lawyers.

He then goes on to trace, in often quite astounding detail, the campaign to have the right of privacy

enunciated in *Griswold* extended to grant women full control over their reproductive functions, a campaign that led to the *Roe v. Wade* decision in 1973. There is a final chapter on "Liberty and Sexuality" since *Roe* that includes the battle for gay and lesbian rights, the nomination of Robert Bork to the U.S. Supreme Court, and various state efforts to circumvent the *Roe* decision.

There are, to do Garrow justice, some exceedingly well done parts of this book. The modern reader will be appalled at the extent to which the Catholic church involved itself in the fight against the reformers during the 1940s and 1950s, with letters from the pulpit denouncing those who would make birth control information accessible in Connecticut. Moreover, the church had no compunction about pressuring Catholic legislators to vote against repeal or modernization of the laws.

Similarly, the infighting among the lawyers involved in the various suits that led up to *Roe v. Wade* is fascinating for the pettiness and jealousy displayed. Legal scholars have known for a long time that the first time *Roe* was argued in the Supreme Court neither side did a particularly good job; given Garrow's research, we might well wonder that the case got to the Court at all.

If Garrow is such a good researcher (which he is), and if he has amassed a treasure trove of details (which he has), then why is the book on the whole disappointing? The answer lies both in style and substance.

One of the hardest things that a graduate student must learn is that not every fact uncovered has to be included in the thesis. Rather, we discover everything we can, and then from that welter of data we construct a story that reflects what happened as accurately as possible and highlights those parts of the tale that will make it more easily understandable. Garrow has certainly gathered the data—from manuscripts, newspapers, secondary materials, law briefs, and dozens of interviews—and gives the reader what seems to be every single thing he has found.

We learn about the college careers of people who make only a brief appearance in the story. At times it is hard to differentiate what is important from what is trivial, until one is so overwhelmed that it all appears trivial. There are sections where Garrow details how some event occurs, and in the end one does not understand what has happened because the main idea has been drowned in a sea of research notes. This would have been a far more riveting story—and a far more informative one—had it been half the size.

Although future researchers in this field will no doubt be grateful to Garrow for all he uncovered, they will not, I predict, look at all to this book for any analysis of these events. The great shortcoming here is that the story goes on and on and on without the author ever stopping to answer the question, "What does this mean?"

The battle for birth control took place in a rapidly changing society, but there is little to connect the struggle in Connecticut to larger currents of reform in postwar America. This was an era of great prosperity, of many people moving out of their blue-collar jobs and into the middle class, and they were willing to assume more liberal notions regarding birth control. Connecticut itself was undergoing rapid transformation as it became a major bedroom area for the expanding New York suburbs. It was also an era of civil rights struggles that led other groups, especially women, to seek greater freedom both in their private and public spheres. Placing the battle for birth control in these larger contexts would have made the story far more intelligible; too often it appears that the fight in Connecticut took place in a vacuum.

The legal analysis of the *Griswold* case is particularly weak, and it fails to discuss adequately the various notions of autonomy and due process that made it difficult for the Court to articulate a coherent theory of privacy. Although Garrow gives us so much trivial detail about minor personalities, he fails to explore the men who sat on the high court at the time, because their backgrounds and personalities played a role in how *Griswold* developed.

In the last chapter Garrow assembles excerpts from many people who have commented on both *Griswold* and *Roe*, but it is little more than a compendium with little or no effort made either to impose some order or to draw out lessons. Listing what other people say is not a substitute for one's own analysis.

One of the ongoing debates about *Roe v. Wade* is whether the Court should have decided the case at the time. As Garrow makes clear, efforts at repeal or reform had been making headway in a number of states, although opponents had been able to stop the movement in some locales. Garrow does a good job of showing how all these campaigns were progressing, or failing to progress, a better job in fact than I have seen anywhere else.

But what does he make of it? Does he believe that given the cultural and social changes then taking place that the campaign to liberalize abortion laws would have succeeded or failed? What are his views on the charge that the Court would have been better off postponing a decision on the issue until there had been a greater opportunity for the political machinery to act? What does he think of those who say yea or nay to this charge?

One of my colleagues has suggested that Garrow may have been trying to emulate Richard Kluger's magisterial *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (1975), but unfortunately failed to note what a tight rein Kluger kept on his material. There is a tautness in Kluger's story, an effort to make sense of the events, an ongoing analysis of the facts to place them in a broader context. Kluger took a mountain of raw material and shaped it into a masterpiece; Gar-

row has given us the mountain without any guides on how to climb it.

In the future, I will have no hesitancy pointing students toward this book to help them gain some understanding of the many and complicated threads that are woven through the legal, political, and social

battles over privacy and sexual autonomy. But I will also warn them that they must look elsewhere to find the tapestry that those threads have woven.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

SANDER L. GILMAN. *The Case of Sigmund Freud: Medicine and Identity at the Fin de Siècle*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 298. \$31.95.

SANDER L. GILMAN. *Freud, Race, and Gender*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 277. \$24.95.

One's immediate reaction to these books is to wonder why there are two of them. If a single publisher had sent both manuscripts to a single reader, I would assume that the reader would have advised reworking them and turning them into one. Both speak to the same fascinating question: how Jewish male scientists, and in particular Sigmund Freud, confronted the biology of race which, Sander L. Gilman claims, stood at the center of the nineteenth-century "science of man"; how they came to terms with "the fact that the arena of endeavor that gave them status as scientists also demanded that they acknowledge (or refute) their inherent inferiority" (*Case*, p. 5). To have treated this question in one book would not only have been more economical but it would also have been more effective.

In both volumes Gilman spends most of his energy laying out late-nineteenth-century racial biology. His method is pointillist: with myriad details, selected not at random, but with no announced methodological guidelines, he puts together a powerful representation of Jewish pathology, or rather of Jewish male pathology; the Jewish female and the anti-Semitic rhetoric devoted to her at the time are curiously absent. In this representation, from head to toe, from the nose to the penis to the foot, the Jewish male body is the site of difference and potentially of disease. The penis is given pride of place (and Gilman discusses circumcision at considerable length and with considerable overlap in his two books). The mind of the Jew also has its peculiar susceptibilities to particular forms of psychopathology. Contra current received wisdom, Gilman argues that the male Jew is the subtext underlying the image of the hysteric as female. And finally there is sociopathy: Jewish marital practices, chief among them the emphasis on endogamy, smack of incest and turn Jews into sexual criminals. From

such strictures how can the Jewish male scientist find an escape?

In the conclusion to *The Case of Sigmund Freud*, Gilman enumerates four different strategies for resisting stereotyping of this sort, which was not solely a "Jewish problem": romantic reversal, outright rejection, recontextualization, and universalization. In *Freud, Race, and Gender*, he demonstrates that his list is not exhaustive and that displacement, albeit a less benign form of resistance, should be added. At one time or another Freud, it would appear, adopted four of these five techniques (romantic reversal alone was not part of his armamentarium). Gilman implies that rejection is at work in Freud's reading of two texts: William Jensen's *Gradiva* and Daniel Paul Schreber's *Memoirs*. In both instances Freud simply excludes the racial and/or anti-Semitic sides of the texts. Likewise, something resembling recontextualization is operating as Freud gradually moves from the biological to the psychological. But these two techniques are ancillary. Universalization and displacement are the real weapons of choice.

In *The Case of Sigmund Freud* universalization figures as the principal strategy and the Oedipus complex as the principal gain. Where does Gilman locate a subtext of Jewish pathology beneath the psychoanalytically transformed Greek legends? His argument falls into two parts. Initially he turns to Freud's self-analysis, during the course of which Freud recalled his Czech Catholic nursemaid, his first teacher in matters both sexual and religious (conversion generated a substantial medical literature and fitted neatly into the theme of pathology), and at the same time he referred to the Greek tragedy. "The Oedipus myth," Gilman argues, "has its origin in the tale of seduction (through conversion) of the male Jewish child by the Catholic servant rather than in the seduction of the mother by the male child" (*Case*, p. 78). In retelling the tale, Freud repressed the religious element and reversed the sexual dynamic; in the second part of his argument, Gilman tries to account only for the reversal. He turns to the charges of incest and inbreeding lodged against Jews. In the oedipal complex "the sexual crimes of the Jews, which mark them as diseased, are no longer qualities of

their 'common mental construction'; they are part of the mind-set of all human beings" (Case, p. 207).

In *Freud, Race, and Gender* displacement takes over. By gender, Gilman does not simply mean the standard construction of femininity; he is far more interested in what proves far more elusive: the construction of masculinity, specifically Jewish masculinity. With regard to femininity, Gilman claims that Freud displaced his internalized Jewishness onto the image of women and supports the argument with the fascinating detail that the clitoris was known in Viennese slang of the time as the *Jud* (or Jew). With regard to masculinity, displacement is most interestingly at work in turning the tables on anti-Semites. The uncircumcised Aryan suffers a double dose of castration anxiety: he looks at the female and becomes fearful; he looks at the circumcised male and becomes fearful once again. He succumbs, not to pathological penis envy, but to pathological anti-Semitism. As for the more positive work of construction, Gilman comes back time and again to the role of the scientist: "in acquiring the professional mantle of the scientist, the Jew became 'masculine'" (Freud, p. 10).

The aim of the multiple displacements Gilman describes is to remove Jewish doctors from the category of the endangered. How, then, did Freud respond when attacked by cancer of the jaw? Gilman answers by reading *Moses and Monotheism* as evidence that Freud never abandoned "the discourse of science" as his chief "weapon against anti-Semitism" (Freud, p. 199). This is not an altogether persuasive reading.

Taken together, these two books give a new sense to Freud's celebrated profession of faith: "science is no illusion."

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J. B. HARLEY and DAVID WOODWARD, editors. *The History of Cartography*. Volume 2, book 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*. Assisted by JOSEPH E. SCHWARTZBERG et al. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xxiv, 579; 395 plates. \$125.00.

In the second century A.D. the cartographer Claudius Ptolemy emphasized the importance of scientific method, both in determining the locations of the places to be represented on maps and in devising map grids. And his *Geographia*, once rediscovered during the Renaissance, set the standards for cartography. Apart, however, from al-Bīrūnī, whose writings on geodesy and map projection were the most original of that genre until the West's rediscovery of the *Geographia*, Ptolemy's approach found few followers during the intervening centuries. Yet medieval Islam produced an abundance of maps, and South Asia a considerable amount of cartographic material. Most

of this material has been ignored by most historians of cartography, who have limited their study of cartography to works composed in the scientific spirit represented by Ptolemy and al-Bīrūnī.

This series is conceived, and its articles written, according to J. B. Harley and David Woodward's definition of maps as "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes or events in the human world" or, as they later write, in "the human cosmos in the wider sense" (p. xxi). For "world" suggests "Earth," and the maps discussed are not limited to its regions.

The purpose of the series and of the book under review is not simply to contribute to the history of cartography but to argue by example for a new understanding of that discipline, to transform it into a study of the manifestations of what Harley and Woodward refer to in their preface as "the mapping impulse" (p. xxi). Although not defined explicitly, these manifestations include not only the widest variety of terrestrial and celestial maps but also architectural plans of Turkish baths and Indian temples, diagrams of the layers of hell and paradise, diagrams explaining the waxing and waning of the moon, and even representations of categories of quality, quantity, time, and space. At times one wonders if there is any effective way to separate the "mapping impulse" from the simple realization that sometimes it is helpful to display information by means of a diagram of some sort.

In general, however, the spirit of the volume enlivens the essays in this collection. Although the book can be enjoyed simply by leafing through the copious illustrations with their informative captions, it is at the same time scholarly, with extensive bibliographies, abundant documentation in the main text, and well-chosen and superbly reproduced photographs.

Each of the two sections (on the Islamic world and South Asia) is introduced by a historiographic overview. In both cases the authors are aware that, given the current historiographic tradition, they must take considerable pains to bring the reader to consider seriously evidence heretofore dismissed. The situation with Islamic societies is better than with India, however, so Joseph E. Schwartzberg's introduction to South Asian cartography is necessarily longer than Ahmet Karamustafa's introduction to Islamic maps.

The relatively better developed state of the history of Islamic cartography is also illustrated by the number of authors contributing articles. Although G. Tibbetts traces the main story in a series of three articles, there are important contributions by S. M. Ahmed on al-Idrisī and by D. King and R. Lorch on the interaction of exact science with the tradition of a Kaaba-centric geography. E. Savage-Smith contributes an admirable essay on Islamic celestial mapping (her claim, however, that Fig. 2.20 represents "al-Biruni's preferred method for producing a star map" [p. 137]) is incorrect, as the unequal divisions of the central, horizontal axis show), and groundbreaking

surveys of premodern Ottoman geographical mapping are provided by J. M. Rogers and Karamustafa. (The latter also contributes a good piece on cosmographic diagrams, set in the context of the general development of Islamic cosmology.) Finally, convincing pieces by Tibbetts and S. Soucek deal with marine charts of the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. The section on South Asia is written in its entirety by Schwartzberg, although he has benefited from the help of a number of correspondents in both South Asia and the West.

Given the authors' awareness that they are writing to make a case for taking seriously traditions that have been ignored or marginalized, they are to be congratulated for avoiding overcompensation with exaggerated claims. Indeed, Schwartzberg, although he makes a persuasive case for wider Indian cartographic activity than has been acknowledged, also asks why there is, relative to other cultures, so little Indian interest in mapping of any sort. He answers that, although many factors come into play, the primary reason is the Hindu-Jain view of life as a veil hiding the real. In this view the world and its affairs are secondary at best and ultimately unimportant. Perhaps, but then one must explain what eternal significance was found in the abstruse problems in algebra and number theory pursued by numerous Indian writers over many centuries.

Schwartzberg emphasizes what many other contributors clearly feel: that they are breaking new ground and that it is neither possible nor desirable to avoid all controversy. Let us hope that the controversy will stimulate the work that will mark this volume as the turning point its editors deservedly hope it will be.

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LUIS N. RIVERA. *A Violent Evangelism: The Political and Religious Conquest of the Americas*. Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox. 1992. Pp. xvii, 357. \$19.99.

The departure point for this book is the quinqucentenary "celebration" in 1992 of Columbus's first voyage. Using a tactic common to much of the recent literature occasioned by this event, Luis N. Rivera offers a moralistic revision of previous perspectives on the conquest and colonization of the Americas. Rivera's self-assumed "ethical duty" is "to invert the celebration [of 1992] and convert it into a date for meditation" (p. 22) or "critical reflection" (p. 20). Conceived as a critical examination of the sixteenth-century theoretical debates about Indian policies, Rivera's main sources are the juridical and theological writings of key figures such as Vitoria, Sepúlveda, Acosta, Mendieta, Columbus, Cortez, and, above all, Las Casas. The result is a familiar kind of intellectual history by a "humanities" scholar with some training in early modern theology and political philosophy. Unfortunately, Rivera is extremely quiet about the

relations between theoretical discourses and actual practices in Spain's empire, and thus the book will probably be disappointing to social historians.

Rivera proposes an interpretive method that combines the textual analysis of juridical-theological sources with the situating of these sources and their embedded ideas within a sixteenth-century context. Rivera is critical of fellow historians who apply anachronistic twentieth-century heuristic devices for deciphering the past. In the first chapter, therefore, he objects to Edmundo O'Gorman's idea of the "invention of America," which, although superior to the idea of "discovery," is nonetheless "deeply rooted in western ethnocentrism" (p. 5). In contrast to euphemistic, ethnocentric terms like "discovery" and "invention," Rivera offers the idea of "discovery as expropriation," an idea that simultaneously characterizes how the Amerindians experienced the event and how the Spanish actually conceived it. Rivera marshals several descriptions of Spanish "acts of possession" to demonstrate that in the mentality of the period "to discover" and "to expropriate" were considered to be concurrent acts (pp. 7-14).

Rivera's emphasis on interpreting the sources in their contextual milieu is based on what he calls a "basic hermeneutical principle": "that the meaning of a concept [or event] is to be understood according to its contemporary usage" (p. 26). As shown above, Rivera wields this "hermeneutical principle" to slash at scholars who apply modern paradigms to the past. But Rivera also uses it to slash at scholars who find the meaning of a text by tracing its precedents. Thus, Rivera objects to Louis Weckman's understanding of the Alexandrine bulls of 1493 as arising from the medieval tradition of temporal papist authority as found in the apocryphal Constantine Donation (pp. 26-27). Likewise, he takes Joseph Höffner and E. Staedler to task for appealing to medieval precedents of customs and usage as keys to understanding these same bulls. "Such an approach," writes Rivera, would convert the analysis into a labyrinthine philological disquisition" (p. 30). In keeping with his contextualist imperative, Rivera concludes that the Alexandrine bulls—by which a papal donation of spiritual and temporal authority over the Indies was conferred to the Spanish monarchs—originated precisely at the historical moment when the emergent regalism of European nations coincided with rise of ultramontanism in Rome (p. 27).

Unfortunately, Rivera's elevation of contextualist interpretation over philological investigation and "foreign-anachronic" interpretive models is not consistent. In fact, he often uses these modes of analysis as well. For example, while discussing the "indissoluble unity between nation and Catholic orthodoxy" in imperial Spain, Rivera finds illuminating precedents in the *Siete Partidas* of Alonso X (p. 50), and therefore he uses the same philological approach that he condemns in the work of Weckman, Staedler, and Höffner. He also abandons his contextualist-interpretive

stance when he writes that the collusion of church and state was founded on a constant in Spanish history (at least since the reconquest): the intolerance to outsiders, be they Jews, Moors, or Indians (pp. 48–53). This line of reasoning compels Rivera to belittle the Erasmian-Humanist florescence of the early sixteenth century as being a mere evanescent bubble that was quickly lanced by the more permanent phenomenon of Spanish militaristic-orthodox intolerance (p. 51).

Rivera also breaks his earlier vow of contextual interpretation when he engages in some quasi-ideological critique (derived no doubt from a superficial acquaintance with the twentieth-century Frankfurt school). Here, Rivera skeptically questions the representation of evangelization as a charitable enterprise in which the interests of the native souls were primary. Instead, evangelization is viewed as the *sine qua non* legitimization for imperial expansion. Rivera goes so far as to accuse Spain of “imperial denial,” since territorial expansion and material exploitation were never used by major theorists as reasons for imperial expansion. Instead, they used evangelization as a banner to mask the true intentions of the conquest (p. 24).

It is instructive that it is Las Casas who emerges from these pages as the only non-collaborator, as the only true critic of the abuses of Spanish conquest. Whereas other theologians and jurists devised theories of empire in which proprietary rights over the Indies were granted to Spaniards in exchange for their obligation to Christianize the Indians, Las Casas is the only one to make native consent a primary component of the “contract” (pp. 64–70). Furthermore, Las Casas is the only theorist to devise radical measures to protect Indian rights. Rivera recounts the well-known episode when Las Casas, as bishop of Chiapas, issued an *Aviso para los confesores* (ca. 1546; published 1552) that counseled confessors to withhold absolution from Spaniards who had illegally expropriated Indian goods and lands and to continue to withhold it until restitution was made (pp. 249–51). Rivera places a stress on the primacy of restitution of native property and government in Las Casas’s thought after 1550 that is probably not shared by other scholars (pp. 73–76).

Rivera’s regard for Las Casas is also a key to the aforementioned disparity between the author’s avowed faithfulness to contextualist interpretation and his actual adulterous use of quasi-Marxian ideological critique. This is because Las Casas himself practiced a form of ideological critique. According to Rivera, Las Casas’s writings alone escaped from legitimizing the conquest and collaborating with the Spanish ruling ideology of gold, god, and glory. Although these claims are latent throughout most of Rivera’s study, they are finally pronounced aloud in the last chapter. In a section entitled “Birth of a Theology of Liberation,” Rivera casts his vote alongside Enrique

Dussel in pronouncing Las Casas as the precursor of modern liberation theology.

As can be seen from these selective examples of Rivera’s interpretive maneuvers—both his elucidations of primary texts and his criticisms of studies by academic colleagues—the art of hair-splitting is pervasive, so that the book itself seems closer to a scholastic treatise than to a work of intellectual history.

All in all, this is a book lacking in major or original arguments. Its redeeming feature is that it ambitiously covers an enormous amount of ground. In some fashion it manages to treat much of the classic primary literature as well as a substantial body of secondary works, but it treats neither systematically or completely, so that the coverage is extremely selective and uneven. In the end, this is a book to consult as a reference tool rather than to read cover to cover. Its ample and detailed index may be its best feature.

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LISE WILKINSON. *Animals and Disease: An Introduction to the History of Comparative Medicine*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 272. \$69.95.

This book by Lise Wilkinson is mistitled. Many readers will expect a clear, organized discussion of the causes and consequences of diseases in animals either for human history or for natural history. For example, cattle diseases have implications for the economic well-being of many societies, so discussion of transmissible infections in herds would be of immediate concern. Wilkinson often mentions rinderpest, bovine spongiform encephalitis, anthrax, foot-and-mouth disease, and bovine pleuropneumonia, but even careful reading and frequent appeals to the index will not help the uninitiated. One simply needs to know a considerable amount about zoonoses to make useful distinctions among these infections. For example, a typical passage reads: “At various times, and in various places, foot-and-mouth disease and infectious bovine pleuropneumonia were present simultaneously and gave rise to diagnostic confusion. Between them the three diseases, but rinderpest in particular, presented a continuous threat to cattle herds and hence to their owners and communities in general” (p. 37). Neither the text preceding, following, nor the footnote text provides the reader any resolution to “diagnostic confusion.”

The subtitle of the study helps somewhat in understanding the author’s purpose, but fully half of this terse treatise is devoted instead to a survey of veterinary medicine, to how and when humans in Western Europe encouraged the systematic study of animal infections. Veterinary schools, occasional and isolated writings on zoonoses, and sporadic mention of particular epizootics appear as unsorted evidence for

both the importance of "animals and disease" and as a source of ideas and experience for understanding human disease. In order to approximate a history of comparative medicine, a field that in no way existed before the nineteenth century, Wilkinson offers a catalogue, roughly chronological, of all evidence that would persuade readers of the importance of ideas about animal diseases as a prelude to the germ theory. Those who early on wrote on animal diseases are important for their expression of contagionist ideas; well-known figures in the history of medicine, such as Girolamo Fracastoro, may have been "inspired" by observation of epizootics.

By the time we reach the nineteenth century, Wilkinson's impressive attention to detail and to the primary source literature emerges, although usually only in the footnotes. The real benefactors of this book will be those who comb the notes carefully, for the text continues to search for a historical story to tell. Thus far (unexplained) acceleration of the collective European experience with epizootics pressured governments and communities in non-specific ways to support veterinary "progress." Troublesomely, support varied from country to country and did not follow the severity of epizootics. Accordingly, Wilkinson's story shifts to "comparative" national experiences in the support and training of veterinarians. Along the way there emerge decidedly interesting observations about the potential for collaborative work between veterinarians and medical scientists in infectious diseases, details that will be usefully added to the larger story of the germ theory.

The overlap in research methodologies, shared problems and sources of support, and the increasing use of animals in research on human disease make the several chapters on mid-nineteenth-century "comparative medicine" essential reading for those studying the origins and reception of the germ theory. Maddeningly, Wilkinson avoids any analysis, being content to tease out individual and national successes rather than follow any case study that might reveal how veterinary research ideas were translated and transformed by medical scientists, how a truly comparative medicine emerged. A case study of rabies, of Louis Pasteur or Robert Koch, or of research protocols used in the French and British traditions would help readers travel beyond the identification of schools, veterinarians, commissions, and institutes.

In short, the material in this book is not yet digested into a full history, with a story to tell or a problem to analyze, possibly because we are never told what comparative medicine is and what its importance is. The novel research here falls into two broad compasses. First, there is a comparative institutional history of French and British veterinary schools and their markedly different fates. Second, Wilkinson has identified myriad small and large ways that the research traditions of veterinarians, of physicians and clinical scientists, and of laboratory investigation in comparative life sciences influenced one

another in the period between roughly 1800 and 1930, and the notes rather than the text bear the testimony of her impressive labors. We need nothing of the review provided by the first third of the book to apprehend either history; we still need to know something of either the modern understanding of the animal infections under study or of the experiential phenomena they afforded people in the past.

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DANIEL COURGEAU and ÉVA LELIÈVRE. *Event History Analysis in Demography*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 226. \$53.00.

Dissatisfaction with cross-sectional data and analyses has led to a major development in recent social science: a move toward sources that provide life-course information on individuals. At the root of this shift is the realization that social processes can only be adequately understood through history.

The particular kind of history adopted here is "event history," focusing principally on individual lives and on how events earlier in a person's life affect later events. One might ask, for example, what impact becoming unemployed has on the likelihood that a person will change residence. A further level of complexity is added by the need to differentiate among individuals who face these events. In the above-mentioned case, for example, what difference does the person's sex, level of education, and religion make for the individual's likelihood of moving? Cross-sectional data do not provide answers to such questions.

In this book Daniel Courgeau and Éva Lelièvre provide an introduction to the statistical methods employed in event history analysis. Although their applications are demographic, and their examples come from the national French retrospective survey of men born between 1911 and 1935, the methodological treatment is relevant to any application in the social sciences.

Event history analysis focuses on the impact that various characteristics have on the rate at which people experience certain events, such as their likelihood of moving, getting married, retiring, or divorcing. To illustrate the precision such methods afford, consider the authors' observation that (for a particular historical cohort) daughters who were the second of four children in French farming families left agriculture at 3.85 times the rate of the elder daughters of farming families that had only two children.

Although event history methods represent a major advance for social science in analyzing social process and in historicizing research, they raise thorny problems of both data and statistical methods. Data requirements are very demanding: a parish census, for example, will not do. One must have continuous

information on a well-defined population for some significant proportion of their life course. There are few historical data sources that permit such analysis, although where they exist (as in European population registers), they can be extremely revealing. Social scientists typically rely instead on retrospective surveys, asking people about the events they have experienced. This limits application to living populations.

Statistical problems, however, are at the core of this book, and they involve handling such difficulties as those provided by the "censoring" of data (for example, how to deal with cases where the event of interest still has not occurred by the end of the period of observation) and by the complexities introduced by the interactions among variables.

The book is full of equations and involves a fair amount of calculus. These equations are presented in a generally clear way, although some of the translation (notably the repetition of such terms as "modelization" and "modelizing") inadvertently invents new jargon. This book can be read profitably by the statistically sophisticated historian, but there are few who will be able to follow the entire mathematical presentation. This is unfortunate, as the emergence of event history analysis holds considerable promise for historical research.

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DAVID R. WOODWARD. *Trial by Friendship: Anglo-American Relations, 1917-1918*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1993. Pp. x, 276. \$34.00.

David R. Woodward's book is an important contribution to the historical literature on World War I. Focusing on Anglo-American relations during the crucial period of 1917-18, he examines the political and military leadership in both the United States and the United Kingdom. After reviewing the period of American neutrality, he examines in depth the "friendship" between these partners from the American declaration of war on April 6, 1917, to the armistice on November 11, 1918. As he convincingly demonstrates, the Anglo-American relationship was on "trial" throughout these last months of the war.

In the Anglo-American wartime relationship, both "associates" needed each other, but neither one wanted to acknowledge that dependency. British leaders, both in Great Britain and elsewhere in their empire, sought to use the emerging American economic and military power to bolster their own worldwide position. Prime Minister David Lloyd George endeavored to reduce British casualties on the western front without disrupting the essential alliance with France and without limiting imperial ambitions in the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. American leaders, in contrast, intended to use their nation's economic influence and its new American

Expeditionary Force in Europe to enhance their own dominance over the postwar peace.

On this point President Woodrow Wilson and General John J. Pershing were in total agreement. Determined to create an independent army, Pershing firmly resisted all attempts to amalgamate American troops into the British or other Allied forces. Wilson likewise pursued his unilateral agenda of shaping the postwar peace, although he expressed his purpose in universal principles. Although often failing to coordinate political and military actions, they shared a common American commitment to independence.

Woodward's analysis is original. Only a few historians, notably David F. Trask, have concentrated on the connection between politics and strategy during the 1917-18 period. Other books, including my own and also W. B. Fowler's earlier study of Sir William Wiseman, covered only certain aspects of the Anglo-American relationship. None focused on the interplay between political and military leaders in both the United States and the United Kingdom.

This study contributes to historical scholarship even more because of Woodward's subtle handling of the delicate balance between interdependence and rivalry, or conflict within consensus. He does for 1917-18 what David Reynolds did for 1937-41 (*The Creation of the Anglo-American Alliance, 1937-41* [1982]). Reynolds characterized the Anglo-American relationship in that era as "competitive co-operation."

Woodward agrees with my interpretation of Wilson as a leader who sought to reconcile universalism and unilateralism. This view, which I offered in particular reference to the League of Nations, he uses to interpret the wartime relationship. Woodward also observes that Lloyd George was similarly torn between these potentially contradictory tendencies as he sought to reconcile British interests with wartime requirements of alliance.

In every respect, Woodward's book is a notable addition to the historical literature on World War I. It deals with a subject that other scholars have somewhat neglected. It is based on thorough research in both British and American archives and is clearly written. It should be read by anyone genuinely interested in the history of World War I.

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BARRY EICHENGREEN. *Golden Fetters: The Gold Standard and the Great Depression, 1919-1939*. (NBER Series on Long-Term Factors in Economic Development.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 448. \$39.95.

Barry Eichengreen enjoys a growing reputation as the leading economic historian of the younger generation. Over the past decade he has published more than twenty-five pathbreaking papers or monographs

on various phases of economics and finance between the world wars. His extraordinary productivity compels more phlegmatic colleagues to wonder whether the by-line Eichengreen denotes a single author or rather identifies an entire wing at the National Bureau of Economic Research. In this book, Eichengreen draws on his own prior findings as well as on the work of others to offer a broad-ranging interpretation of why the international monetary system of the 1920s proved inadequate and how its failures contributed to the causes and baleful consequences of the Great Depression. Some of the nation's most prominent economists have already hailed this study on the dust jacket as the best thing since sliced bread. Archival historians will not fully agree.

Eichengreen takes his title and his text from John Maynard Keynes's jubilant comment when Great Britain abandoned the gold-standard in 1931: "There are few Englishmen who do not rejoice at the breaking of our golden fetters" (p. 21). Eichengreen rejects the venerable arguments of Ragnar Nurkse and Charles Kindleberger, who saw the collapse of international cooperation as the key reason why the Depression cut so deep and lasted so long. Instead he praises currency depreciation and contends that only when policy makers discarded the principles of orthodox finance and primed the pump at home did recovery follow.

Eichengreen observes that the gold standard worked well as a mechanism to facilitate trade and exchange before World War I because all countries shared a common conceptual framework. All stood prepared to maintain balance-of-payments equilibrium even at the expense of domestic production and employment. Management of the system was collective. The Bank of England served not as a hegemon but simply as the "conductor of the international orchestra" (p. 8). After the war, Eichengreen argues, one could no longer realistically hope for the requisite cooperation. Pressures from labor unions that preferred full employment to currency stability, diplomatic disputes over reparations and war debts, and the breakdown of the consensus over the ultimate goals of monetary and fiscal policy made restoration of the prewar system a fatuity. Eichengreen dismisses Central Bank cooperation and the labors of the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) as inconsequential. Worse, he indicates, the gold-exchange standard served as the transmission belt through which tight money and protectionism in the United States caused or deepened the Depression abroad.

Eichengreen denies his adherence to any monocausal interpretation of the Depression, and he provides fresh and often arresting quantitative data on a variety of monetary and trade issues in over 100 tables and figures. His basic explanatory scheme, however, proves unconvincing. The Depression began abroad, not in the United States. Central Bank cooperation worked reasonably well in the later 1920s. The BIS could have solved the technical

problems of deflation after 1930, as Pierre Quesnay proposed to do, through a joint devaluation against gold and the issue of special drawing rights. The obstacles to solution remained essentially political. Germany risked a world monetary crisis in 1931 because nationalist pressures at home impelled Chancellor Heinrich Brüning to repudiate reparations at any cost. Great Britain abandoned gold not because its reserves had run out, but rather because policy makers recognized that the working class would no longer make sacrifices to underwrite the country's world role. Franklin Roosevelt torpedoed the World Economic Conference in 1933 for reasons of pique and partisanship, not because he had adumbrated a carefully conceived plan to reflate the domestic economy. Eichengreen performs his cliometric pirouettes with astonishing versatility, but he lacks a nuanced understanding of political motives. His explanatory structure therefore crumbles when policy makers do not behave as economists think they should.

Eichengreen has superb self-confidence in his own mathematical regressions and even back-of-the-envelope calculations. He follows his figures wherever they lead. He does not hesitate even when his findings contradict decades of archival research by students of political economy. Unfortunately, the underlying statistics he uses were often inadequate or actually "cooked" by governments for specific purposes. Since Eichengreen cannot read the monographic literature in foreign languages and has little patience for what he regards as political epiphenomena, he often goes astray. One example will have to serve for many.

Eichengreen comes close to claiming that reparations caused the German hyperinflation of 1919–23 (pp. 125–52). He starts by ludicrously underestimating German national income and then assumes that the Reich had to transfer occupation costs. This allows him to double the effective burden of reparations. By accepting rigged German export statistics at face value and ignoring gains from currency speculation, he draws the conclusion that Germany could not meet its reparations obligations. The Reich had to monetize the "staggering" Allied demands. Eichengreen next asserts that the Reichsbank was "forced" to accommodate government fiscal needs. The tax authorities proved "incapable of stemming the inflation-induced erosion of income tax receipts." In any case, if one calculates an "inflation-corrected budget balance," in which real debt service is negative—that is, the ongoing inflation results in de facto cancellation of government debt—the budget remained in balance until the third quarter of 1922. The pernicious doctrines of Rudolf Havenstein and Karl Helfferich thus receive a new legitimacy. Even Rip van Winkle slept for only twenty years, not three score and ten!

Scientific advances occur, Thomas Kuhn has explained, in situations where observable data do not fit the predictions offered by existing theory. Only in

economics do researchers sometimes conclude that, in case of conflict, the data must be changed. Richard Cooper, writing *ex cathedra* in the *Journal of Economic Literature*, declares that this book is likely to become the economist's standard reference on the interwar period and that it embodies lessons for the future as well. He is probably right. That is why economics is too important a subject to be left to economists.

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ANDREW J. WILLIAMS. *Trading with the Bolsheviks: The Politics of East-West Trade, 1920-39*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1992. Pp. vii, 246. \$59.95.

This ambitious study by Andrew J. Williams aims to compare British, French, and American interwar decision making about trade with the Soviet Union within broad domestic contexts and to examine both the role of economic statecraft and "the overall historiographic debates about the relations of these countries with the Soviet Union and with each other" (p. 3). The book is extensively researched in the archives of Britain, Canada, France, and the United States. Thus, it should appeal to specialists in international history and economics as well as students of these countries and Russia.

In fact it will be read by a handful of experts who know most of it and are prepared to suffer to gain the rest. Williams makes no concessions to his readers. Added to the murky prose, inverted explanations, and chronological disorder (complete with "echoes . . . of the future" [p. 18]), are a very narrow focus, frequent allusion without explanation or identification, and a consistent lack of context or connection. Roughly one-third of those people mentioned in the text are listed, usually incompletely, in an index that rarely aids identification.

Williams seems unaware that most Americanists will not identify M. L. Terestchenko as Russia's second post-tsarist foreign minister, decipher "Centrosyuz" and "Gostorg" without a trek to the library (which I did not make), or understand without additional explanation "the antics of the 'Stinnes Consortium'" (p. 35). Experts in British and French history will be astonished to see Sir Edward Grigg described as a businessman in late 1921 and 1922 (p. 59) and Philip Snowden in 1932 as an "ex-Liberal Minister" (p. 203); Jules Cambon talking in London in May 1920 to "Lord Nathaniel Curzon" (pp. 61, 236, 238); Raymond Poincaré remaining premier until mid-1925 (pp. 65, 97); publication of the Zinoviev letter given as a main reason why the British election of 1924 was called (p. 76); that "The 'Spirit of Geneva' dominated French foreign policy" (p. 129) in about 1926; and that Louis Barthou's death ended hope of a Russo-French pact (p. 143). Such lapses undermine credibility, as does the study's contextual weakness.

Williams is both tantalizing and infuriating. He gives figures for Russian debts to Britain and America in pounds sterling, for that to France in dollars. He omits Franco-Russian relations between 1928 and 1932 because an article exists, albeit in a journal rarely found in smaller academic libraries. He often says something was reported but not whether the report was true. Williams does not explain why Franklin Roosevelt decided to recognize Russia; he states without elaboration that Russian domestic politics were an important factor (p. 57). He notes briefly that the Russian debt to France was linked to France's American debt and says "the problem" came "perilously near" solution several times, adding that the negotiations never came to anything (p. 134), an assertion that will baffle many readers.

The lack of context and connections is startling. Surely the Russian famine and the NEP, and Western responses to them, as well as plans for the Genoa Conference of 1922, are all linked to the trade question, and they should be addressed, as should the related interplay of Genoa, Russian debts, and the inter-Allied debt question. Equally important, emergent Canada's anti-Russian pressure on Britain at the Ottawa Conference provides a fascinating yet almost unreadable sidelight, but the link to the larger picture is left to the reader. If the author had winnowed the trivia and eschewed reciting long memos by juniors of no apparent influence, there would have been ample room for proper explanation of where the issue of Soviet trade fit into interwar international, domestic, and imperial politics.

In fact, the book sheds little light on the domestic and international politics of the three Western powers regarding either the decision-making process or their relationships with each other and with Russia, or the historiographic debates thereon. There is equally little focus on economic statecraft. And the work should not be called comparative history, whatever precisely that term means. In six discrete chapters, two per Western power, there are only occasional allusive cross-references.

The book's conclusions are unexceptional and unsurprising, although the author's route to them is often unclear. Williams concludes that the policy of "civilizing" Russia via trade failed, that no pot of gold existed in Russian trade, that diplomatic recognition led to less trade and had little effect because the Allies were uncoordinated and granted no credits, and that no Western policy had much chance of influencing Russia. An archivally based, clearly focused demonstration of the validity of these views within the larger contexts to which the question relates could have been valuable. It is a pity that Williams forgot that his function was to inform and enlighten his reader and that he rendered his findings so inaccessible.

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ANCIENT

ROBERT GARLAND. *Introducing New Gods: The Politics of Athenian Religion*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 234. \$47.95.

In this book Robert Garland gives us a set of well-researched studies on a subject of importance for ancient Greece and Western civilization. Classical Greece presents a multitude of modestly scaled, sovereign communities, connected by common culture and with religion a salient feature. Each *polis* possessed cults of pan-Hellenic, Olympian divinities, one of whom might be specially prominent as the city's tutelary. A *polis* also had cults of heroes, mortals with roots in the city's legendary past. Delphi might be consulted concerning changes, but otherwise the situation was not centralized or uniform; no *polis* had the same repertory of divine cults as another, and the hero-cults were absolutely peculiar. The pattern of cults in a given *polis* was the result of that city's individual history, with all the variety and quirkiness characteristic of historical evolution.

Garland describes how one *polis*, Athens, acquired its constellation of cults. The introduction, a general treatment of Greek polytheism, documents a plethora of cults, bewilderingly numerous for the pious of even a single *polis*. Chapter 1, "Ancestral Rites," surveys Athenian cults down through the sixth century as prelude to the more dateable changes of the next century. In chapters 2–6 Garland expounds the stories of selected innovations: the new cults of Pan (after the Battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.), Artemis Aristoboule ("Best Counsel"; after the Battle of Salamis, 480 B.C.), Theseus (ca. 476/70 and 400 B.C.), Bendis (ca. 429/8 B.C.), and Asklepios (421/0 and 400 B.C.). Chapter 5 sees a mid-century spate of revisions in existing cults. Garland strives for narrative detail and chronological exactitude. He is generous with literary sources and very good at bringing epigraphy and archaeology to bear.

This is, however, neither an encyclopedic enterprise nor a loose assemblage of opportune essays. Amid the abundance of disinterested scholarship, interlinking themes and tendencies emerge. Garland features the role of individuals in receiving epiphanies (Pheidippides in the case of Pan) or monitions (Themistocles in the case of Artemis Aristoboule), or in otherwise "introducing" the new divinity or hero (one Telemachos in the case of Asklepios; Kimon for Theseus). Yet Garland also demonstrates the gauntlet of opinion that innovations had to run. He sees the second half of the fifth century as a period when the *Demos* showed an "increasingly proprietary attitude" toward religion and revised religion in the interest of foreign policy. He views the case of Themistocles as critical, arguing that the privacy exercised by Themistocles in establishing his cult of Artemis explains his exile.

Where these motifs lead is chapter 7, the heart of the book: the affair of Socrates in 399 B.C. Garland

has woven a complex of precedents, which he synthesizes (p. 149) as follows: Socrates's *daimonion* "made its communications exclusively to one individual," "demonstrated not the slightest interest in the welfare of the rest of the citizen body," and "it could be contacted without recourse to the traditional channels of communication between man and god, namely sacrifice, votive offering, prayer and so on . . . Socrates was undermining three of the basic tenets of Greek religion." Whereas M. I. Finley (*Aspects of Antiquity* [1960]) had put Socrates's trial in a flurry of "cultural cleansing" and I. F. Stone (*The Trial of Socrates* [1988]) had singled out Socrates's oligarchic sympathies, Garland now brings religion back solidly to the fore as a reason for the trial and its verdict. Although I cannot agree with Garland's simple denial of Xenophon's claim that Socrates exhibited normal piety in conventional religious observances (p. 144), his view, so carefully prepared, is well worth considering.

Garland's scholarly apparatus includes both footnotes and endnotes. There are three indexes: an *index locorum* for the primary evidence, an index of gods and heroes, and a general index. There is a chronological table of the history (much of it admittedly controversial, conjectural, or *exempli gratia*) of Athenian religion, an excellent feature. There is a glossary of seventy-two heavily used terms of Greek religion and politics. Ancient sources are abundantly quoted in translation, but nothing is given in the original Greek.

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ALISON BURFORD. *Land and Labor in the Greek World*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 290. \$34.50.

This is a good introduction to ancient Greek agriculture, focusing on land tenure. It strives to be impartial and has rich references to original sources.

Alison Burford acknowledges Moses Finley's influence (p. x), clear in the book's two main arguments. The first is that "The city-state had charge of all the land, including that which was given over to its citizens . . . In times of crisis, extreme forms of communal authority could have come into existence" (p. 24). This is a sound argument, but the only example of such "extreme forms" presented the questionable story of landholding in the Lipari Islands, which will not convince skeptics.

Burford suggests that the idea of the *polis* as a community of landholders was so important that there were few town-country tensions (pp. 223–30), but she also (somewhat paradoxically) argues that "the myth of the noble citizen farmer did not gain much currency in the Greek world" (p. 6). This depends in part on her view that the word *autourgos* "may be as close as we can get to the concept of citizen farmer or yeoman" (p. 172), and that this was not

close at all. Here I think she is insensitive to the nuances of the sources. Different authors use this word in different ways, but all manipulate for their own ends a core idea of the *autourgos* as the salt of the earth. For Euripides, writing for a popular festival, this was the main sense, while Xenophon, struggling to create an elite culture of style, emphasized the demeaning poverty of the *autourgos*. This concept was caught up in debates over the nature of freedom and dignity (Kurt Raaflaub, *Die Entdeckung der Freiheit* [1985], 304–12; Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens* [1989], 220–21, 272–80).

Burford's second main argument also derives from Finley: that not much changed between the eighth century B.C. and the third (p. 12). She rarely gives dates, and nonspecialists may often be unsure where they are in the half-millennium treated in the book. She sees no real shift from pastoral to arable economies in the eighth century (pp. 9, 12, 75), nor toward more intensive and market oriented strategies in the late fifth (p. 76). This draws her into debates over the "new model" of Greek agriculture. Until recently it was assumed that most Greeks lived in villages, with few animals, and practiced biennial fallow, with low yields. The new model suggests a shift toward dispersed settlement in the fifth century, with animals stalled or kept near the fields to provide manure and traction. Multicropping reduced the need for fallow. This required huge labor inputs, but yields were high and production market-oriented. The issues are controversial (see, for example, Berit Wells, ed., *Agriculture in Ancient Greece* [1992]; Signe Isager and Jens Erik Skydsgaard, *Ancient Greek Agriculture* [1992], 108–14), but Burford simply ignores them, denying significant change while accepting most of the new model (pp. 67–68). She similarly treats another major debate over the role of slavery, relegating it to a noncommittal note (pp. 264–65, n. 69).

This book is the most even-handed introduction to ancient Greek agriculture available, but for a sense of the excitement of recent discussions readers must look elsewhere.

IAN MORRIS
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RICHARD STONEMAN. *Palmyra and Its Empire: Zenobia's Revolt against Rome*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1992. Pp. ix, 246.

For a few years just after the middle of the third century A.D., the city of Palmyra, situated along the ancient caravan route between Dura on the Euphrates and Emesa, might have become the center of the eastern Roman empire. During the years A.D. 262–266, Septimius Odenathus, the leader of Palmyra, drove invading Persian armies back to Ctesiphon and defeated various Roman pretenders the Roman Emperor Gallienus could not overcome. After the death of Odenathus, his wife Zenobia and her son Vaball-

athus carved out for Palmyra an independent empire between Rome and Persia, extending from Egypt to Ancyra in Asia Minor. From 270 to 271, Zenobia ruled over approximately the eastern third of the Roman empire.

Zenobia's empire lasted barely two years before the Emperor Aurelian marched against Palmyra. Zenobia herself was captured, Palmyra was taken, and in 274 Zenobia, decked with jewels and in golden chains, walked before Aurelian's chariot in his triumph. She then was retired to a villa in Tibur, not far from the palace of Hadrian. After Zenobia's defeat, Palmyra was garrisoned. The city revolted again, however, under the leadership of Septimius Apsaeus. Aurelian returned and destroyed the city, butchering women, children, old men, and peasants.

This is the story that Richard Stoneman tells to enhance the "understanding among the wider public with an interest in the ancient world" (p. vii). Stoneman succeeds admirably at his task. He has set the story of ancient Palmyra in the context of the region, the crisis of the third century A.D., Rome's relationship with Persia, and the complex religious matrix of Syria. He has also used the accounts of travelers and later writers to create colorful evocations of the cultural milieu of this unique city. Furthermore, he cites evidence for the causes of Palmyra's revolt that most classical historians will find new and provocative (if not susceptible of proof). For example, he discusses al-Tabari's (839–923) account of the revolt, in which Zenobia's confrontation with Rome arises out of her disputes with the Tanukh tribe of al-Qatif (southwestern Iraq). For al-Tabari and other medieval Arabic writers, Zenobia's revolt against Rome was a chapter in local Arabic history.

Specialists in the field of Roman Syria inevitably will raise questions about the way Stoneman has used the complicated evidence to construct his account of how and why Zenobia and Palmyra revolted against Rome. It is well known that Palmyra was granted the status of a Roman *colonia* under Caracalla or Severus. What were the effects of that grant? Certainly it implied a new constitution. How much difference did that make? Stoneman believes that for Rome, Palmyra was "out of sight, out of mind" (p. 29). But surely when Palmyra became a *colonia*, that new civic status put its relations with Rome on a new footing. The question of how fully integrated into Roman rule Palmyra was after 211 A.D. or so is crucial to our understanding of how each side saw what happened later under Zenobia and her son Vaballathus.

Most recently, Fergus Millar (*The Roman Near East* [1993], 165) has argued against Stoneman's account of Palmyra's aims and his claim that Septimius Odenathus was "the undisputed leader of Palmyra," that until 257/258 there is no "concrete evidence of any distinctive role on the part of the city, or any status within it on the part of Septimius Odenathus beyond what we would expect of (apparently) the only person from there to rise to high rank in the Roman Senate"

(p. 105). This point is critical for our picture of what Odenathus and Palmyra were up to in 260, after the capture of Valerian. When Odenathus attacked retreating Persian forces and besieged Quietus at Emesa, was he acting in the role of a Roman governor commanding regular forces, or as a local master in charge of local troops? Neither of the two nearly contemporary inscriptions that refer to Odenathus as "king of kings" and "restorer of the whole east" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* II.3, nos. 3971, 3946) necessarily mean that his official position changed after his victories of the early 260s. Nor is there any evidence until at least 267 that Palmyra had ceased to regard itself as a *colonia*.

How and when the break with Rome came about between 267 and 270 is a complicated question of evidence. An undated milestone from west Palmyra on the road to Emesa or Damascus that refers to Zenobia as "queen" and Vaballathus as "king of kings" (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* II.3, no. 3971) would appear to come before the time of the Palmyrene expansion through Arabia into Egypt, Antioch, and Asia Minor. According to Stoneman (p. 117), the first evidence of Zenobia's revolt was the suspension of the mint at Antioch in 270; when the mint reopened on the accession of Aurelian it began to issue coins in the joint names of Aurelian and Vaballathus. It could be argued that an irrevocable break with Aurelian was ensured only after Vaballathus and Zenobia appeared on coins as Augustus and Augusta, without reference to any other emperor. How Zenobia and Vaballathus conceived of their actions before Aurelian disappeared from Palmyrene coinage struck at Antioch is impossible to say.

It is at least possible that Odenathus should be seen as a Roman governor who stepped into a power vacuum created by Persian invasions and Roman civil wars. More importantly, we should remember that the revolt of Zenobia and Vaballathus started with a claim to joint rule with a succession of Roman emperors, and that it continued on the basis of a claim to be the actual emperor and the empress. The revolt of Zenobia was phrased in self-consciously Roman terms. This leads to the all-important question of personal, social, political, and religious identity in Roman Syria.

Zenobia herself is emblematic of the problem. Zenobia was the daughter of Julius Aurelius Zenobios (Zabdilas), who had served as one of the *duoviri* of the city in 242/243. It is clear from a dedication to Zenobia and her son Vaballathus from 268/70, in which she is called Septimia Bathzabbai, that she was of Semitic descent (*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, II.3, no. 3971). She nevertheless claimed to be descended from Cleopatra Thea, the wife of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.). She spoke Greek, knew Egyptian and some Latin, and undoubtedly conversed in Palmyrene. According to Athanasius she was a Jewess (*Historia Arianorum*, 71). This was undoubtedly not the case, nor is there any evidence that

she was a supporter of Paul of Samosata. But she clearly identified with various pagan cults, including that of Selene. Said to have hunted with the eagerness of a Spaniard, she drank with the Persians and the Armenians, although only (we are assured) to get the better of them.

How are we to understand such complex and (perhaps only to us) contradictory impulses and self-descriptions? To what extent was Zenobia extraordinary in her ability to juggle these identities? Stoneman does not explore this fascinating question in any detail. If one wishes to understand the evolution of the unique Greco-Roman and Semitic civilization of Palmyra during the third century, one must ask both how and why people identified themselves as they did. Did the Palmyrenes simply blend Syrian and Persian essences into Roman forms, or was Palmyrene culture the result of a unique synthesis of Greco-Roman and Semitic elements?

It is no discredit to Stoneman that he has not provided the answers to all of these questions in a book intended to introduce a general audience to a complex subject and its fascinating heroine. (Why has Zenobia not attracted more attention from historians of women?) Stoneman has more than met his goal in this well-produced monograph. He has rescued Zenobia from her quiet retirement in Tivoli for a new generation of admirers.

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JOHN MOORHEAD. *Theoderic in Italy*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. 300. \$65.00.

By A.D. 500 the western Roman empire had ended, its provinces occupied by assorted aliens, while an eastern Roman empire remained, still preeminent in politics, Christianity, and much else. Few actors in this period have proved more appealing than Theoderic, the Goth who led his people out of the Balkans, seized Italy, and ruled it well from 493 to 526. John Moorhead offers a life and times of Theoderic rather than a biography. Retracing a familiar story, he presents a commendably careful and thorough set of facts and takes good account of recent secondary literature. His chronicle of the reign, preoccupied with dating, even of minor matters such as Theoderic's birth, bears witness to his excellent training. His desire to show a progression in Theoderic's rule of Italy (p. 33) is more commendable in intention than results; much of his exposition remains as synchronic as earlier ones.

One thread of change, discerned long ago by the prosopographic research of Johannes Sundwall (*Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden Römertums* [1919]), and much developed here by the same methods, occupies a central place. From chapter to chapter, Moorhead distinguishes a relatively coherent

pattern of conduct by the loftiest Roman senators, from early adherence to Theoderic, through backing for the Eastern-leaning antipope Laurentius, to a decade of eclipse from high office, to apparent reconciliation with Ravenna around 519, soon followed by a purge (typified more by the death of Pope John I than by that of Boëthius). These Italian grandees and their contemporaries are at the creative heart of Moorhead's work.

The high price of the Clarendon imprint goes hand in hand with slovenly editing; we are not spared thirteen-line sentences, identical phrases on facing pages, blatant typographical errors, outlandish hyphenation, and truncated book titles. Editing might also have kept Theoderic's sister Amalafrida from turning into his daughter (p. 216). Not all flaws are attributable to the publisher. Moorhead is weak in handling narrative sources; from Orosius to Malalas and Fredegar, his critical discernment smacks of scholarship fifty years ago. Documents are sometimes misread; the *annonae* of *Variae* 2.5, for example, are being instituted, not "forwarded" (p. 181). Moorhead endorses a theory about Gothic settlement in Italy whose basis and details he evidently does not understand, as when he writes that "the 'millena' is . . . a tax" (p. 34). Wherever one side in a learned controversy is espoused, those wishing to know the basis for his conclusion are forced to plow through the literature for themselves (as on p. 179, n. 23). Untroubled by the term "barbarian" (which he construes in a modern way), Moorhead unhesitatingly calls the Goths "Germanic," a usage that would have puzzled them; yet he never reveals that the *Codex argenteus* is the main monument of written Gothic and doubts that Theoderic really had Odoacer's followers massacred. The background material on Theoderic in the Balkans—the formative years of his life—are far from satisfactory (Theoderic is credited, for instance, with a Greek education).

This is a serious but regrettably uneven book, with new and valuable things to say. It should have been allowed to ripen instead of being rushed into print.

WALTER GOFFART
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MEDIEVAL

MICHEL KAPLAN. *Les Hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI^e au XI^e siècle: Propriété et exploitation du sol*. (Byzantina Sorbonensia, number 10.) Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne. 1992. Pp. xxxviii, 630; 16 plates. 290 fr.

In 1958 Paul Lemerle published a pioneering three-part study in the *Revue Historique* entitled "Outline (*esquisse*) for an Agrarian History of Byzantium," later translated into English under the misleading title, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium* (1979). Michel Kaplan has now written the history that Lemerle outlined. While adopting Lemerle's time frame—from the sixth century to the eleventh—and agreeing with

most of Lemerle's findings, Kaplan carries his analysis much further. In doing so, he comes to conclusions that contradict most of the work done on the Byzantine economy during the past twenty years.

The first of the book's four parts, "The Constants," has the unusual merit of depicting Byzantium as it always was for the great majority of its people: a country of peasants who lived in villages and had little contact with the cities. Crop yields were low, technology was primitive, and subsistence agriculture was the norm. All this is beyond serious dispute but has often been overlooked by historians interested in cities and trade.

The second and third parts, "The Age of the Villagers" and "The Age of the Powerful," are roughly in chronological order, since Kaplan, like most Byzantinists, sees a slow but steady trend from peasant smallholding to large landholding beginning with the eighth century. He believes that the seventh-century invasions hurt large proprietors more than small ones; but with the return of more peaceful conditions, powerful magnates bought up more and more of the land. Although these magnates simply collected rents from peasants who still farmed individual plots, Kaplan thinks the trend was bad for agriculture because many peasants simply fled and the magnates left much of their land uncultivated. According to Kaplan, the emperors legislated in vain against the magnates' purchases because the emperors' own taxes were largely responsible for bankrupting the smallholders.

In the final part, "Attempt at Interpretation," Kaplan concludes that Byzantine agriculture was "obstructed by autarky." The peasants, who had always lived near subsistence level, were forced by rising taxes and occasional bad years to sell their lands and become tenants, then were further oppressed by having to pay more of their production to a landlord. In the absence of new investment or technological advances, the economy declined and the population contracted.

Kaplan's interpretation is almost the exact opposite of that in Alan Harvey's *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire, 900–1200* (1989), which evidently appeared too late for Kaplan to take into account. During the period when Kaplan finds economic and demographic decline, Harvey found economic and demographic expansion. The taxes and rents that Kaplan believes destroyed the productivity of Byzantine peasants Harvey believed spurred the peasants to greater productivity. Harvey's book drew on work by Michael Hendy and Alexander Kazhdan, both of whom Kaplan rarely cites.

A skeptic might conclude that if the evidence can be read in such different ways it cannot support any conclusion. But in fact Kaplan's long book (unlike Harvey's short one) has a rather narrow base of evidence. Kaplan omits Byzantine Egypt and Italy from his study because they are too well documented (p. 3). He gives enormous weight to the *Life of St.*

Philaretus the Almsgiver, a text that, if not quite the fairy tale some suppose, inevitably emphasizes the poverty of the peasants the saint helped. In interpreting the legal texts' references to peasant flight and abandonment of land, Kaplan seems to assume that the peasants vanished and the magnates bought land to leave it vacant; he avoids the obvious conclusion that the magnates soon took the fugitive peasants as tenants—and that land was in high demand because the population was growing.

The greatest weakness of Kaplan's book is his decision to stop before the twelfth century, when the evidence becomes more abundant and appears to be against him. Unless someone can show that this evidence has been misread, or that the decline Kaplan postulates was reversed around the year 1100 by some means his book never hints at, his interpretation seems indefensible.

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ANGELIKI E. LAIOU. *Mariage, amour et parenté à Byzance aux XI^e–XIII^e siècles*. (Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance, Collège de France, Monographies, number 7.) Paris: De Boccard. 1992. Pp. 207. 250 fr.

The interrelationships of marriage, sexuality, kinship, and property in Byzantine society are huge topics about which basic research needs to be done. This book by Angeliki E. Laiou, which consists of five interrelated essays, is a contribution to that research agenda.

Chapters 1 and 3 focus on marriage and marital sexuality in eleventh and twelfth-century Byzantium. There were significant differences of opinion in Byzantine society about marriage and sexuality. The secular church tended to approve sexuality, although it insisted on the need to contain sexuality within legitimate marriage through elaborate prohibitions based on kinship. The monastic wing of the church was more negative about sexuality. In practice, the aristocracy, including the Comneni emperors, made marriage a central feature of their family strategies: they arranged "useful" marriages for young children, sought to end marriages that no longer met their needs, and tended for economic motives to join in marriage people more closely related than canon or civil law allowed. The aristocrats had to achieve their goals within the complex rules set down by church and state or else find ways to circumvent them. Conflicting legal views and social needs produced a marked divergence between norm and practice in the twelfth century.

Although the grounds for divorce were theoretically quite restricted, divorce was common during the twelfth century, at least among the Constantinopolitan elite who dominate the narrative sources. Chapter 4 treats a particular strategy for divorce that was not

foreseen in the law, but that was employed among the aristocracy from time to time. Spouses, predominantly women, were coerced—although the coercion was often masked—to take tonsure and become nuns. They received their marital dowries and their husbands could marry again.

In chapter 2 Laiou explores Byzantine views of "normal" and "abnormal" sexual desires, including erotic love, which the author designates *amour/passion*. Byzantine spouses could and did have affection for one another, but erotic love was apparently rare within marriage. Many Byzantine writers viewed such erotic love as socially disruptive and dangerous because it went beyond rational control of passions and threatened the stability of marriage, family strategies, and rights of inheritance.

Laiou examines in chapter 5 the links between kinship and landed property. Byzantine marital impediments embraced an extensive web of blood kin, affines, and spiritual kin. But the effective kin—that is, those who really functioned together in economic matters—was relatively restrained. In Byzantine society, close kin might hold fields, meadows, and vineyards undivided. As time passed and close kin were replaced by more distantly related heirs, tensions arose from such property arrangements. From an analysis of several provincial lawsuits concerning the division or inheritance of property, Laiou concludes that effective kinship in economic matters reached only to the degree of first cousin (*cousin germain*). When that point was reached, property tended to be partitioned, although not without conflict.

The author's strengths are many, including her efforts to compare provincial sources with those concentrating on the imperial court and aristocracy; her awareness that laws and practices changed over time; and her careful comparison of normative texts with narrative texts and actual legal cases. This book is no substitute for a solid, systematic study of marriage and sexuality in Byzantine society, but it is a building block toward that larger study.

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PIERRE J. PAYER. *The Bridling of Desire: Views of Sex in the Later Middle Ages*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1993. Pp. vi, 285. \$35.00.

The late-medieval scholastic philosophers inherited a rich body of thought on sexuality from the early church fathers. From the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries, scholars interpreted these texts and integrated these ideas into an overall theological structure. Pierre J. Payer re-creates this vision of sexuality with scholastic precision and a clarity frequently missing from the writings of the thirteenth-century schoolmen. This book analyzes the medieval

goals of restraining sexuality within the bounds of marriage or within the ideals of chastity.

Payer begins his analysis with chapters on "Paradise" and "The Fall, Original Sin and Concupiscence." Scholastic philosophers adopted a patristic view that sexual intercourse had a place in God's plan and therefore was natural. Its original purpose, however, was only procreation, so Adam and Eve could have obeyed God's injunction to "be fruitful and multiply" without the torment of lust and the burden of original sin. Postlapsarian sex, however, had introduced these disturbing elements, so postlapsarian marriage had to include an additional purpose for sex beyond procreation: a remedy for concupiscence.

Opinions about marital sex form the central three chapters. First, Payer shows the inexorable link medieval thinkers made between marriage and sex. Next, in "Legitimate Reasons for Marital Relations" and "Problematic Reasons for Marital Relations," Payer explores in detail the four recognized reasons for marital intercourse: to have children; to pay the marriage debt; to avoid fornication; and to satisfy lust or for the sake of pleasure (p. 62). The first two reasons were "legitimate," the last two "problematic." In the analysis of these reasons for intercourse, one sees scholastic thinking at its most convoluted. Payer actually makes intelligible, however, complicated arguments such as that surrounding the marriage debt. If, for example, it is a virtue to agree to have intercourse whenever one's partner demands it (in payment of the marriage debt), is it a virtue to do so at forbidden times (such as during menstruation) or forbidden places (such as in church)?

The "problematic" reasons for marital intercourse are even more complex. For example, Payer explains a seeming contradiction in the texts: marriage is supposed to be a remedy for concupiscence, but for a man to approach his wife when aroused in order to seek pleasure is a venial sin. Such casuistry would be difficult to sort out without Payer's clear understanding of the texts and his ability to explain them to nonspecialists.

Through the detailed discussion on marital sex, one underlying assumption emerges: postlapsarian sexuality is a powerful force, a runaway horse that must be "bridled," "reined-in," controlled. In his last two chapters, Payer turns directly to the "bridling" of sexuality. In "The Virtue of Temperance," the author analyzes the role temperance played in reestablishing the order disrupted by the Fall. Within marriage, temperance would moderate the sexual urge and regulate its expression. Outside marriage, temperance could restrain sexual expression totally. Payer explores this restraint in the final chapter, "Continence, Chastity, and Virginity."

This book does not contain an exhaustive analysis of late-medieval views of all aspects of sexuality. Instead, it is a concise work with a tightly argued thesis explaining scholastic ideas about postlapsarian sexuality and its control inside and outside marriage.

Since these matters were central to medieval perceptions of sexuality, this book is equally central to our understanding of that era. We are fortunate that it has been written by someone who so clearly understands the scholastic texts, and who has the ability to make their arguments clear and intelligible.

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ALDO A. SETTIA. *Comuni in guerra: Armi ed eserciti nell'Italia delle città*. (Biblioteca di storia urbana medievale, number 7.) Bologna: Cooperativa Libreria Universitaria Editrice Bologna. 1993. Pp. 347. L. 38,000.

Traditional views of medieval warfare dominated by feudal knights, stereotyped cavalry charges, and fruitless sieges have for long been moderated by military historians from Hans Delbruck to Philippe Contamine. We now know much about the role of infantry in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we have learned to look for mercenaries from at least the eleventh century, we can distinguish trebuchets from mangonels. Aldo A. Settia, in this collection of fourteen articles and papers, takes us still deeper into the complex and inventive world of warfare in communal Italy. Two of the essays are previously unpublished; the others have mostly appeared in the last five years. They are all a tribute to the profound knowledge that Settia has of the contemporary chronicles, his keen eye for detail, and his total commitment to his period. The documentation is immense; the bibliography meticulous.

Apart from the opening essay on the warfare described in the *Cronica* of Salimbene da Parma, there is little time spent on the horror of war. Settia is quickly into one of his key themes, the levels of training and expertise to be found in the armies of this period. In "I giuochi militari e l'addestramento delle fanterie" he explores the role of popular games as well as formal tournaments in this training and emphasizes the variety of skills required of infantry. This theme is picked up again in "Fanti e cavalieri in Lombardia (secoli XI-XII)," where he eulogizes those "infantrymen and cavalry who fought side by side in perfect unity of purpose" (p. 98). This is a somewhat idealistic vision of the early communal period, and Settia is aware of the danger of sometimes reading too much into the euphoric patriotism of some of his sources; but the image of comradely cooperation "in great harmony" between cavalry and infantry also fits his own emphasis on well-trained and self-confident infantry forces. Training, discipline, and patriotism also emerge strongly in another excellent essay on "Una forza anfibia: Venezia prima del '300." Here the framework for Venetian military success in a later period is laid out with emphasis on the development of amphibious warfare, on the use of conscription in

Venice, and on the role of training in the fist fights on the bridges and in individual archery practice.

Another major interest of the collection is in innovation, both tactical and technological. Settia draws attention to the emergence of light cavalry alongside the heavily armored knights; he discusses the appearance of the crossbow and its increasing refinement and effectiveness; he describes the armed carts of the Lombard cities—the *plaustrille*—equipped with protective superstructures and long scythes. Siege engines and mobile assault towers receive special attention, and Settia discusses in several of the essays the sources of such ideas. Although he accepts the argument that Western Europe had these devices before the Crusades and that there was an undoubted legacy from classical warfare, he sees the eastern Mediterranean and particularly Byzantium as the stimulus for many of the innovations.

Interestingly enough, it is not Frederick II who catches Settia's imagination, but rather Ezzelino da Romano. The image of the emperor as "principe scienziato" is seen as a myth, and his use of the Saracen archers and siege engines is dismissed as unexceptional. Ezzelino, however, is the truly successful warlord of the thirteenth century, combining the intelligent use of the military institutions that he inherited, an ability to attract expertise and loyalty, and sophisticated exploitation of technology. The two essays that focus on this Veronese *signore*, "Uomini e armi nella Marca di Ezzelino" and "Le temibili artiglierie di Ezzelino" are among the best in the collection.

There are inevitably repetitions; the conference papers have not been honed down to create an integrated work. One senses, too, that although he makes little reference to the fourteenth century, Settia would subscribe to a view of sharp military decline in Italy, which perhaps requires as much revision as did traditional ideas of his own period. Those who study Renaissance warfare, however, will now have to accept, as do all Renaissance scholars, that classical reference and a high degree of inventiveness and individuality are not peculiar to the post-1300 period.

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DOMINIQUE BARTHÉLEMY. *La société dans le comté de Vendôme: De l'an mil au XIV^e siècle*. Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 1118. 290 fr.

This formidable volume is a masterpiece of French regional social history. It is meticulously documented and sheds important light on the evolution of "feudal society" in western France. As in Dominique Barthélemy's earlier work on the lordship of Coucy, it argues that lordship went through two stages, with the major change coming in the twelfth century. A short review leaves room for only a superficial sum-

mary that cannot do justice to the richness of detail and insight found in this long book.

The thousand pages of text are divided into ten chapters, the first two of which comprise nearly 30 percent of the total pages. The first chapter orients us to the documentation. Charters of the abbeys of Marmoutier and La Trinité comprise over 95 percent of the documents for the eleventh century and over 60 percent of those for the twelfth. Thereafter, the sources are much more varied. The text that brings us to the end of the story is the *Livre des fiefs de 1355* found in register P 976 of the Archives Nationales. Barthélemy notes important changes in the style of the documents: up to around 1060, old-style legal language dealing mainly with *affranchissements*; from the mid-eleventh century to around 1230, a more narrative type of document that described transactions arising from the settlement of disputes and offered valuable information on the nature of these disputes; and thereafter a "learned" style of document that offered much less of this narrative information. The second, and easily the longest, chapter is a meticulous account of the geography, topography, settlement, and growth of the Vendômois.

The heart of the book consists of five chapters grouped under the heading "La Revelation Feodale, 970-1150." The first of these describes the sociopolitical situation from the late tenth century through about 1060 and argues that these years did not constitute a sharp break with the past but rather a gradual evolution from late-Carolingian society. Ensuing chapters cover the spread of Benedictine monasticism and the lands and people being conveyed to monastic houses. The final two chapters in this section offer a brilliant analysis of the feudal elite in this period and an interesting discussion of "aspects of social power" dealing largely with matters of law and justice. The book's third part, titled "The Second Age of the County of Vendôme, 1150-1359," contains the last three chapters, one on the twelfth century, one on the comital barony after 1219, and a final chapter entitled "Post-Chivalric Society."

Barthélemy is at pains to emphasize the gradual, rather than cataclysmic, nature of social change, especially at the beginning of the period under study. He points out that sources might use the venerable vocabulary of Roman law but that the words had acquired different meanings in the medieval setting. He invokes the anthropology of primitive societies to show the irrelevance of contrasting "private" and "public" power and to argue that the high level of violence in the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not tear the social fabric but was managed and contained by a stable elite of nobles whose courts were effective in resolving disputes. He shows that "bad customs" were not something that burst on the scene with the proliferation of new castles in the eleventh century but are mentioned in the documents whenever a growing "reformed" religious establishment confronted the increasingly fiscal lay seigneurie. Feudal

society came into full flower in the twelfth century when it was roughly synonymous with chivalric society. A century later, the nobility began to lose its coherence, with knighthood being increasingly limited to a small elite. A much larger group (called squire, *armiger*, or merely lord/lady) included many newcomers, some being of bourgeois, legist, or ministerial backgrounds.

Several of the book's ten chapters are supplemented with valuable appendixes. There are numerous maps and genealogical tables and a twenty-four-page bibliography. Along with fifty-nine pages of excellent indexes, these features should make this volume the definitive reference work on the medieval Vendômois.

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PIOTR GÓRECKI. *Economy, Society, and Lordship in Medieval Poland, 1100–1250*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1992. Pp. xi, 323. \$45.00.

Piotr Górecki's study of the "periphery" of Europe demonstrates again that the region east of the Elbe was by no means peripheral to medieval society. Not long ago the neglect of medieval Poland by historians was understandable: primary emphasis always went to one's own country, and most medieval scholars were Western; the central institutions and ideas of the Italians, French, and British were developed in the West; the best archives and research centers were in the West; tsarist oppression, followed by Soviet domination, made work in Eastern Europe difficult, if not impossible; and most of the secondary works on Polish history were written in languages that few Western scholars had managed to master. This is no longer the case. Poland is now back in Central Europe, and Paul Knoll (*The Rise of the Polish Monarchy* [1972]) and Richard Hoffmann (*Land, Liberties, and Lordship in a Late Medieval Countryside* [1990])—to name but two of the most prominent American scholars—have demonstrated that Polish political, economic, and social history is as comprehensible as its Western counterparts. Polish medievalists still have frustrating problems that need to be resolved, as Norman Davies demonstrated in *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (1982), but who does not? Górecki combines a thorough grounding in Polish historiography with a training in present-day Western methodology, producing a convincing picture of Polish rural life in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, an era that attracted the attention of James Westfall Thompson (*Feudal Germany* [1928]), since the German migration offered a test for Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis.

German migration (the famous *Drang nach Osten*) was encouraged by the anticipatory introduction of German law in Poland, resulting in the establishment of Western ideas and institutions far beyond the

ethnic frontier. The desire of ducal and ecclesiastical landowners to settle their *deserta* with peasants and burghers (regardless of their ethnic origin, but usually favoring Germans because of their supposedly superior agricultural skills) led Thompson to speculate that the landlords lured immigrants east by offering them favorable terms of service. Górecki finds this now-conventional stereotype inaccurate, the traditional categories being too complex and Polish efforts to define uniform class rights and duties more successful than previously imagined. At this point and others, however, the reader may wish Górecki had as good a command of style as he does of vocabulary; the text requires a close reading to determine what he means.

Górecki bases his study on 600 charters issued by Polish ecclesiastics and dukes in the century and a half after 1000, three excellent contemporary chronicles (Gallus, Vincent Kadlubek, and Abbot Peter of Henryków), and one later work (*The Chronicle of Great Poland*). The most complete account is the survey of the scattered estates belonging to the Archbishop of Gniezno made in 1136, but later records from monasteries and bishoprics yield more information on settlement and trade. Górecki finds lords trying to balance the need for dependable revenues with hopes for profit from the dynamic economic changes of the era. This could best be accomplished by legislation (usually adopted from German law) to simplify the class structure and give preferential rights (immunities) to knights, ecclesiastics, immigrants, and merchants. The recipients of immunities were not always German: by 1230 "German law" had become the standard legal code for any type of new settlement, and by the fourteenth century it was applied even to areas inhabited solely by Polish peasants. This suggests that Polish agriculture was not always so backward, nor German so advanced, as is usually assumed.

Granted that Górecki may be defending Polish honor, but he is not at all anti-German. He reflects the current objectivity of German and Polish scholarship regarding their common history. He concentrates on the documents, leaving out Grunwald (Tannenberg), the partitions, and the nationalistic novels and poems. Although the shelf life of groundbreaking scholarship is short, for the foreseeable future Górecki's book will be among the commonly cited English-language works on medieval Poland.

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MARCIA KUPFER. *Romanesque Wall Painting in Central France: The Politics of Narrative*. (Yale Publications in the History of Art.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 261; 250 plates. \$50.00.

Marcia Kupfer's study of twelfth-century ensembles of Berrichon frescoes at rural parishes and priories

such as those at Vicq, Brinay, and Chalivoy-Milon fills a long-standing lacuna in scholarship on some extensive, well-preserved, although often fragmentary examples of this public genre of Romanesque art. Her careful archaeological study of nineteen unfamiliar, virtually unpublished, and often inaccessible cycles is firm scaffolding on which she constructs an enquiry into the genesis, purpose, and interpretation of these scriptural and hagiographical narratives. Her work forms a welcome complement to numerous studies of Touronian, Burgundian, and other major abbatial and urban centers such as Cluny, Berzé-la-Ville, St.-Savin, Tours, and Poitiers.

Nearly 150 years after their discovery in about 1845, these frescoes have not yet been incorporated into mainstream Romanesque studies partly because of their stylistic diversity and the difficulty of fitting them within the parameters of regional schools. For example, Kupfer distinguishes seventeen distinct painting styles among nineteen fresco ensembles in Berry alone. Kupfer rejects the classic region-by-region historiographical schema adopted by Emile Mâle (in his seminal article of 1905, "La peinture murale en France") and others that has guided French criticism since the early twentieth century. This approach discounts mural painting as derivative of earlier medieval traditions or other major monuments, whereas Kupfer argues that these Berrichon examples form a vital medium deeply rooted in local religious culture.

Putting aside a half-century of formalist concerns regarding the sources and evolution of stylistic patterns à la Henri Focillon (*Peintures romanes des églises de France* [1938]), the author instead appraises these Romanesque frescoes as a language of visual narrative communicating within the architectural and institutional matrices of the local church. Cast in the locus of negotiation between ecclesiastic and lay debates, these fresco cycles emerge as rhetorical agents, Kupfer argues, in structuring lay and monastic rural society around the *ecclesia matrix*. She refutes the contention that these painted stories served as Bibles to the illiterate, as has been often claimed, while reaffirming their role as scriptural and hagiographical narratives within the dual spiritual and temporal context of the Christian community. In other words, salvation history, the traditional core of painted and sculpted decoration, was informed by liturgy and scriptural exegesis as well as church politics.

Pictorial narrative, like verbal narrative, claims the status of truth while attesting to the everyday real by linking otherwise random worldly events to higher principles of order and coherence, such as Christ's redemption of mankind or his return on the last day. Located in apsidal conchae or choir vaults (sacred revelations), on straight and hemicycle walls or along the base of the barrel vaulting (scriptural or hagiographical sequences), on vertical surfaces such as piers, soffits, and window embrasures (eminent allegorical, iconic, and other single figures), on the struc-

tural interstices between flat stretches of wall (ornamental and emblematic motifs), and on triumphal arches oriented to the nave (iconic images of Christ or the Madonna with child and scenes of doctrinal tenets such as Christ's death and resurrection—all arranged synchronically for the laity), these holy images decorate and define the various spatial zones of the chevet in iconographical terms, according to the author. They also affirmed the twelfth-century ecclesiastical position, for example, in the polemic against simony.

Kupfer incisively adduces the choice and spatial prioritization of scenes such as the Cleansing of the Temple and the Payment of Judas within the choir narrative at Chalivoy-Milon as evidence of the papal battle against *simoniaca heresis* with its imperial partisans. Meaning was realized, argues the author, within the viewer, "programmed" by liturgical and ritual awareness, conventions of religious thought, a collective tradition of images, and a shared political history.

The appendix is a rich and careful *catalogue raisonné* of monuments arranged alphabetically by site with much archival material such as charters. Many reconstructed inscriptions and circumstances of commission and execution are provided. The numerous black-and-white plates of often scant visual remains are often too small or too fragmentary to aid the reader in either corroborating or contesting the author's statements—a drawback to an otherwise valuable work. I recommend this work for the serious student of the history of medieval art.

TINA WALDEIER BIZZARRO
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ELIZABETH A. R. BROWN. *Customary Aids and Royal Finance in Capetian France: The Marriage Aid of Philip the Fair*. (Medieval Academy Books, number 100.) Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America. 1992. Pp. xv, 331. \$45.00.

Elizabeth A. R. Brown is known for her probing, superbly documented articles on the monarchy and institutions of late-Capetian France. Her most important explorations of the character of the Capetians kings and royal ceremonial have been reprinted as *The Monarchy of Capetian France and Royal Ceremonial* (1991), while those dealing with the development of royal taxation have been collected as *Politics and Institutions in Capetian France* (1991). Now she devotes an entire monograph to the ramifications of a single tax and shows how tax policy and collection under the last Capetians were inextricably linked to the reactions of those who were expected to pay.

Brown begins with the negotiations that led to the marriage in 1308 of Philip the Fair's eldest daughter Isabelle to Edward II of England. Although the parsimonious Philip had avoided paying the usual marriage portion, he decided nevertheless to levy a marriage aid to ease his pressing financial needs. Such customary aids had become common in the

thirteenth century, when lords collected subsidies from their subjects for such extraordinary expenses as a crusade, their own ransom, the knighting of their sons, and the marriage of their daughters. Contemporary theorists justified these traditional exactions so long as the revenues were used for their intended purpose. But because immunities and exemptions abounded, not everyone paid the customary aids; moreover, it was not clear whether the king could levy an aid except on his direct subjects. So when the Parlement of Paris advanced the novel idea in 1270–71 that a royal subsidy constituted a “general custom” of the realm, owed by all without exception, it laid the ground for direct, universal taxation.

Brown explains that Philip the Fair retreated from the Parlement's position in collecting the marriage aid of 1308 quite simply because it was a messy affair that generated widespread resistance. Using a surprisingly large number of documents extant in the National Archives in Paris and regional archives in southern France, Brown follows the paper trail of deliberations, procurations, and mandates to reconstruct the attempts of royal agents to collect the marriage aid and the various means by which local communities tried to evade or reduce their assessments. So many nobles, prelates, towns, and confederations of communities sent proctors to Paris that the king agreed to many reductions of payment, although his officials relentlessly squeezed as much as they could from those less resistant.

It was thus with good reason that Philip the Fair, who had humbled the medieval papacy, expelled the Jews, and destroyed the Templars, proved more flexible in taxing his subjects. The marriage aid not only fomented discontent but also provided a wide range of constituencies the practical experience of formulating grievances and delegating proctors to represent their interests. The king's tactic of avoiding confrontation by compromising, argues Brown, prevented discontent from coalescing into more serious resistance to the monarchy. That pragmatic approach became an enduring trait of French kingship.

This exemplary study is typical of Brown's *oeuvre*: thoroughly researched, clearly organized, and vigorously written. It is supported by forty-five meticulously edited documents drawn mostly from the collection of Guillaume de Nogaret, keeper of the royal seal, who oversaw the entire negotiating process in Paris. Beyond the sureness of Brown's analysis, what struck me most was the ease with which she moves from the level of the monarch and his policies to local events in the provinces, an ability that comes only from long familiarity with the sources.

THEODORE EVERGATES
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ANNE CURRY. *The Hundred Years War*. New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xiv, 192. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

Although less is indeed often more, this book's title is a somewhat misleading one for so slim a volume as this to carry. As Anne Curry herself admits in her introduction, this is not an exhaustive treatment of the Hundred Years' War. What she “endeavors to provide is a succinct and fairly basic review of Anglo-French relations in the later middle ages for those with little previous knowledge of the subject” (p. 5). As such it may serve as a useful guide to advanced undergraduates, but it will be of little interest to specialists, who will continue to refer to standard narratives by Edouard Perroy (*The Hundred Years War* [1951]) and more recently C. T. Allmand (*The Hundred Years War* [1988]), and J. Sumption (*The Hundred Years War* [1990]).

The book is divided into four chapters, two chronological narratives bracketed by a historiographical overview and a conclusion that attempts to place the Hundred Years' War in a broader international context. Chapter 1 is a historiographical survey of writing on the war from the works of contemporary chroniclers to approximately 1990. Undergraduates will have difficulty following the names without consulting both the endnotes and bibliography, yet they should profit simply from being introduced to the complexity of the historiographic tradition of the war; specialists may both flinch at and be intrigued by some of Curry's generalizations.

Chapter 2 seeks to examine the origins and objectives behind the Anglo-French conflict of the fourteenth century. Curry begins with a compact but sound overview of the feudal relationship between the kings of France and England from the time of the treaty of Le Goulet in 1200 to the accession of Edward III in 1327, followed by a consideration of the relative merits of the claims of Edward III and Philip VI to the French crown. From this brief examination she concludes that prior to 1337 Edward III's claim to the throne was not an issue, being resurrected by the outbreak of hostilities rather than leading to them.

Curry next explores the possibility that between 1345 and 1360 Edward III sought to reconstitute the Angevin lands of Henry II, concluding that Edward is best seen as an opportunist and realist, as evidenced by the Treaty of Brétigny/Calais. Edward III, she suggests, solved the longstanding feudal stalemate over Aquitaine by transforming the issue into a dynastic conflict. The recommencement of hostilities in 1369 saw the English unprepared, and the territorial gains of Brétigny were quickly lost, with Calais the only substantial exception. The campaigns of 1369–99 were extensive, costly, and unsuccessful. Moreover, the diplomatic goals of the English during these years are a matter of contentious debate. This is an area in which Curry rightly sees the need for further work.

Chapter 3 focuses on the Anglo-French wars of the fifteenth century. Curry argues that Henry V's original intention was a return to the terms of the treaty

of Brétigny; he thus sought the conquest of Normandy rather than seizure of the throne. All that changed, however, with the English victory at Agincourt in October 1415 and the murder of Duke John of Burgundy in September 1419. Curry views the subsequent Treaty of Troyes (1422) as a major turning point in Anglo-French relations, yet her treatment of the period from 1422 to 1451 is far too cursory to do justice to the complexity of the circumstances arising from a dual monarchy saddled with a lengthy minority. Throughout this section, Curry presumes a great deal of familiarity with events that many readers, especially American undergraduates, will not have. She also makes many pronouncements that may be sound but cannot be taken as proven with the insufficient evidence she offers.

Chapter 4 deals with what Curry refers to as the wider context of the war. She stresses the importance of the English claim to the French throne for international relations, a situation well illustrated by international reaction to the Treaty of Troyes. The long Anglo-French conflict was, she argues, the focal point of Western European diplomacy for more than a century, contributing to and exacerbated by local disputes from Brittany to Castile and from the empire to the papacy. The second half of this chapter is devoted to a separate, fairly detailed study of Scotland, viewed here as a microcosm of the issues posed for the international community by the Hundred Years' War.

The book includes maps of English lands in France prior to 1327, by the terms of the Treaty of Brétigny, and during the fifteenth century, as well as a map to convey the broader European context of the war. Three genealogical tables, a glossary, and a select bibliography will also be of use to students new to the subject.

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M. K. LAWSON. *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century*. (The Medieval World.) New York: Longman. 1993. Pp. xiii, 290.

This welcome addition to The Medieval World series under the general editorship of David Bates provides the first serious biography of Cnut since L. M. Larson's *Canute the Great* appeared in 1912. The subtitle of M. K. Lawson's volume does not rest easily alongside a book on Cnut's life, and it reveals that there are two parallel studies here: one a solid survey of Cnut's career, and the other an attempt to analyze Anglo-Danish government and patronage in the early eleventh century. Neither of these studies are successfully pursued all of the time, but any writer tackling the subject of England in the age of Cnut is faced with a problem of marrying two sets of source materials that are basically incompatible and both of which—Scandinavian and English—are notoriously fragmentary.

Given those difficulties, it would be unfair to dismiss this work, which does attempt to make sense of the last substantial Scandinavian intrusion into the Anglo-Saxon world, and to knead this disparate material into a coherent narrative.

Lawson's evaluation of the reign of Æthelred the Unready goes beyond mere synthesis and returns by way of common-sense argument to earlier assessment of this king, who came to power through assassination, who lacked leadership, and who failed to enjoy the confidence of his magnates and his people. Lawson's most interesting contribution is his chapter on "Cnut and the English Church," a study that is enriched by the author's awareness of the necessity for a comparative approach with rulers such as Conrad II of Germany and Robert the Pious of Francia. Lawson faces the fundamental issue of reconciling the resentment that a conquering and destructive half-Christian Danish army must have caused to English religious houses, with subsequent displays of piety and lavish generosity on the part of Cnut, once he had established himself as king in England. An interesting case study here is the cult of St. Edmund of East Anglia, slain by pagan Danes in November 869 and revered as a Christian martyr-king by later Danes and English alike. The cult of Edmund received an impetus in the reign of Cnut, and Lawson attempts, with good judgment and common sense, to explain this seemingly paradoxical patronage from a king who initially brought fire and sword to East Anglia.

Lawson's prose in the first half of this volume is dense, with little by way of analysis and insight to lighten the load of bald recitation of facts, and he lectures his readers overmuch. Although this book shows all the signs of a Ph.D. thesis, it is a good thesis that brings together a great number of diverse strands in late Anglo-Saxon history that a more timid writer would have been incapable of presenting. This is a useful book that will be read with interest by professional historians and with much profit by undergraduates, for whom there is nothing else quite like it in its field.

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R. H. BRITNELL. *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000–1500*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 273. \$49.95.

R. H. Britnell's carefully organized volume focuses on markets and exchange as a measure of the evolution of medieval English society. It places a new emphasis on ideas elaborated earlier this century by historians such as N. S. B. Gras and E. Lipson but with a firmer empirical base and a wider understanding of the society involved. The approach has much to offer and makes a timely addition to debates dominated in

recent years by the role of demographic forces in economic change and the evolution from feudalism to capitalism. Britnell happily integrates his arguments with questions about population, but he seems less sure of the relevance of Marxian ideas. His account is nevertheless sensitive to the strong influences of patronage, brute force, social and religious obligation, and fiscal power in medieval production and exchange; he demonstrates the intermeshing of feudal relations with the commercial world. North American readers may be surprised at the lack of explicit references to the evolution of market systems and transactions costs, but Britnell is well aware of most of the issues involved.

The arguments are lucidly presented as three intertwined narratives (on "markets and rules," "trade and specialization" and "lordship") in three chronological acts (1100–80, 1180–1330, and 1330–1500). Recurrent themes include the identity and legal definition of markets and fairs, the quantity and circulation of currency, the sale of agrarian produce, specialization of production, urbanization, labor productivity, freedom in the market place, the social distribution of resources, and the attitudes of lords to their land, their vassals, and their markets. There is an emphasis on the steady accumulation (transcending dramatic demographic change) of the social and institutional capital that facilitated exchange, and on the regionally uneven character of development. On the whole, there is little new in the components of the argument or in the facts adduced to support it. The originality of Britnell's contribution lies in the coherent exposition of a theme with wide relevance as an explanatory mechanism. Much of the available evidence cannot yet be set out in ways that allow a systematic analysis of the topics raised. The narrative approach thus supplies the appropriate overall framework, and readers will frequently find themselves challenged and stimulated to supply evidence for or against a particular line of thought or to take the enquiry in a different direction.

In many ways Britnell presents a conservative view. The strongest section of the book deals with the central period, manifestly one of dramatic expansion in resources. Some of the most interesting questions are posed about the later period, but the answers are not always convincing: a sign of incipient "capitalism" in the later fifteenth century (p. 226), for example, could be seen in a very different light. The view of the first period perhaps underestimates the degree of commercialization that had already taken place and was then under way; some key documents have also been ignored. Although Britnell is far from arguing that commercial growth directly correlates with grants of market rights to local lords, he may give insufficient weight to the trade that took place within the established, but looser, regalian framework of earlier years.

One strength of the work is that it offers a framework for integrating conclusions from a wider range

of sources than Britnell himself employs. They include the growing body of evidence concerning the material infrastructure of medieval England and its everyday products. Cultural artifacts and the ideas of contemporary intellectuals on topics such as measurement or the natural world are also relevant for understanding a commercializing society. This valuable survey of the existing scene opens prospects for yet further synthesis.

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HUW PRYCE. *Native Law and the Church in Medieval Wales*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 292. \$62.00.

In 1921 T. P. Ellis, after a distinguished career in the Indian civil service administering the customary law of the Punjab, returned to his native Wales. He developed an interest in the customary law of Wales, became a Catholic, and in 1931 published an article, "The Catholic Church and the Welsh Laws." It remains a seminal work, but Ellis was under the impression that the surviving texts of the laws dated from the time of Hywel Dda (d. 939–940) and failed to appreciate that they were the product of an evolutionary process of development in response to changing circumstances. He was not at home in medieval Welsh or Irish and concentrated on the law texts to the exclusion of other sources of evidence. As a recent convert, he was also anxious to emphasize the influence of the church in the framing of the laws during what he considered Wales's golden age of achievement. Huw Pryce decided to tackle the work afresh, and the first fruits of his labors were embodied in his Oxford D. Phil. thesis (1985). The present work is largely based on it, but it is also the result of more mature reflection and wider reading. It is a meticulous work of scholarship that draws widely on comparable work in England, Ireland, and continental Europe.

The book is divided into two parts. In part 1, "Co-operation and Conflict," Pryce shows how churchmen contributed to the copying and composition of legal texts and participated in legal processes. He goes on to examine in detail the criticisms leveled by Archbishop Pecham against the provisions of the laws with regard to marriage, divorce, inheritance, and testamentary deposition. Part 2, "Privilege and Power," deals with the legal status of clerics as individuals, the position of churches as institutions, and the rights of sanctuary they offered. An investigation of the jurisdictional rights the secular and regular clergy enjoyed as temporal landlords is followed by a concluding chapter on the nature and origin of these rights and how some of them were contested and reclaimed by the princes of Gwynedd in the thir-

teenth century. Pryce has valuable things to say here on the *braint* (privilege) enjoyed by a saint and his church, on the surviving *clas* institutions, and on the economic and political as well as ecclesiastical reasoning that prompted the transfer of their lands to the order of Augustinian canons by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in the early thirteenth century. There is a short glossary of terms, a full bibliography, and a detailed index.

This is primarily a specialist's book on legal history, but Pryce has used such a wide range of material to support and reinforce his arguments—charters, inquisitions, native poetry and prose tales, and saints' lives—that readers with only a general interest in medieval Welsh church history will find much in the text and copious footnotes to engage their attention. Well written, carefully and persuasively argued, this work advances our knowledge and understanding of the church's place in medieval Welsh society.

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HUGH M. THOMAS. *Vassals, Heiresses, Crusaders, and Thugs: The Gentry of Angevin Yorkshire, 1154–1216*. (Middle Ages.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 237. \$34.95.

Hugh M. Thomas's regional study fulfills the goal he set for himself, "simply to describe the gentry of Yorkshire in the Angevin period and their role in society" (p. 3). His use of the term "gentry"—a term usually reserved for the early modern period—for the knights of late-twelfth-century Yorkshire brings home powerfully his thesis that the knightly class was changing rapidly in the Angevin period from a military caste to a rural landholding and governing class that was nearly identical to the late-medieval and early modern gentry. By noting similarities between his Yorkshire knights and later gentry, Thomas pushes the "rise of the gentry" back a couple of centuries. Whichever term is preferred, Thomas is studying a heterogeneous and difficult-to-define group of some 225 knightly families, ranging from direct tenants of the king, rivaling barons in the numbers of estates they held, to subtenants, the offspring of poor knights with landholdings little larger than their free peasant neighbors.

Thomas's study of Yorkshire was eased by the work of William Farrer and Charles Clay, editors of the most complete collection of charters that exists for any English county (*Early Yorkshire Charters*, 13 vols. [1914–16]). He did not stop with that collection, however, but scoured cartularies and other charter collections, both published and unpublished. Any regional study poses the tricky problem of generalizing from one shire to England as a whole, and, although Yorkshire is well documented, it presents special problems because of its large size, northern location, and significant differences from the more

prosperous and populated south. Thomas's knowledge of similar studies for other parts of England gives him the confidence to make useful comparisons. My own work on knights who served as royal justices inclines me to conclude that his findings for Yorkshire knights generally hold true elsewhere in England.

Thomas focuses on the Yorkshire gentry to see "a group of simultaneous and often interconnected changes that transformed local society and . . . local power structures in the Angevin period" (p. 4). Most notably, he charts the decline of the "honorial system," that is, what many readers would label the "feudal system." He sees a contradiction in that system's combination of "fluidity of personal lordship with relative permanence of landholding" (p. 48), causing the system's decay and the gentry's rise. The personal tie of fealty between lord and vassal, cemented by the tenurial tie of a land grant, weakened over generations as descendants of the original grantor and grantee grew apart and as knightly tenants less and less frequently attended their lords' courts or followed them into battle. Instead, lords recruited armed retainers from elsewhere, and a shortage of land forced them to maintain their retainers by means other than grants of feudal tenures, often cash payments. As enfeoffment became less important, patterns of patronage appeared for the advancement of retainers similar to those often associated with the Renaissance. Thomas, then, joins other scholars in pushing the date of "bastard feudalism" back almost to an age traditionally held to be the heyday of "classical feudalism." His detailed analysis of Yorkshire knights confirms the views argued for by David Carpenter and David Crouch in their debate with Peter Coss ("Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised," *Past and Present* 131 [1991]).

Thomas finds that the Yorkshire gentry made generous grants to younger sons, daughters, and widows, resulting in the splitting of knights' fees into smaller and smaller holdings. This led to "a broad spectrum of landownership" (p. 128), extending from knights possessing several fees to those with no more resources than prosperous peasants. Although he recognizes the possibility of a general crisis confronting the late-twelfth and early thirteenth-century gentry, he sees many weathering the crisis quite well. Some held on to their positions, but others fell; especially likely to fail were those who were too generous with gifts to younger children. Also the genuine, although sometimes misplaced, religious enthusiasm of some of the gentry for the Third and Fifth Crusades and for new religious foundations brought them into economic difficulties. Many fell into debt to the king or to Jewish moneylenders, pushing them to join fellow northerners in the rebellion against King John.

This book has significance beyond acquainting readers with the knights of Angevin Yorkshire. It makes a contribution in two directions, looking back-

ward to reevaluate feudalism in Anglo-Norman England and forward to find features emerging in twelfth-century English society that are usually thought of as late-medieval or early modern developments. Although Thomas's subject is not the Anglo-Norman period, he is knowledgeable about it, and his conclusions question the traditional picture of it as a fully feudalized society. His study suggests that Anglo-Norman England was never as perfectly feudal a society as it has been depicted by most scholars, following Frank Stenton's *First Century of English Feudalism* (1932). For example, he sees Henry II's legal reforms not so much as a means to undermine functioning feudal honor courts as simply a way to deal with changes that were already underway because of the honorial system's innate instability.

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MODERN EUROPE

CHARLES TILLY. *European Revolutions, 1492–1992*. (The Making of Europe.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1993. Pp. xv, 262. \$24.95.

Can a general theory make sense of the varied revolutions that have punctuated European history over the last half-millennium? No, and yet yes, is Charles Tilly's reply.

The events that Tilly includes as "European Revolutions" are remarkably diverse. They range from the English-Scottish succession war of 1496–97 and the Janissary coup d'état in Constantinople in 1622 to the French Revolution of 1789 and the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1989–91. What unifies these wildly disparate events is Tilly's definition of revolution as a situation in which distinct claimants make credible claims, with substantial support, to a monopoly of power over the same territory.

Tilly sets out to demonstrate the changes that appear in the character of European revolutions across time and place. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, revolutions were usually local, with revolutionary leaders and their followers linked by ties of clientage; in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, with the growth of centralizing states and market economies, revolutions became more national, and class conflicts came to dominate over religious and regional cleavages. In the twentieth century, nationalisms asserting the independence of smaller ethnic-based communities against the claims of large, multiethnic empires have dominated revolutionary conflicts.

Revolutions further varied by region. In Iberia and the Balkans, where politics were long dominated by coercive might, revolutions were frequent and focused on contention for military supremacy. In the Netherlands, England, and later in France, where both state and private accumulations of capital and trading power played a larger role, revolutions be-

came less frequent. But those that did occur focused on issues of taxation, class conflicts, and the rights of the commercial classes versus the state and had a more lasting impact on the character of political power.

Many readers will be disappointed that this survey of European revolutions holds no examination of the political histories of Germany, Italy, or Scandinavia. Nonetheless, Tilly makes a convincing case that revolutions, broadly defined, offer a panoply of core issues, revolutionary coalitions, and outcomes so varied as to defy any general "theory of revolution."

Yet Tilly still claims that "similar causal mechanisms come into play within a broad range of revolutionary situations" (p. 8). How can one deny the feasibility of a "theory" of revolutions and yet make an assertion of "similar causal mechanisms"? Apparently Tilly believes that any theory must obliterate the concrete variations among its cases in order to create a context-free abstraction for its explanandum. But theories in the historical sciences—evolution, geology, cosmology—deal precisely with problems of variation across time and space. Evolutionary theory does not obliterate the difference between solitary predators and complex task-dividing social species; it tries to explain how "similar causal mechanisms" can give rise to both. Tilly may be abjuring a logical-positivist notion of science as applied to history, but he remains a historical social scientist, using dichotomies, graphs, definitions, and listings of general "proximate causes"—all elements of theory—to identify causal mechanisms that produced specific historical events.

Readers who know Tilly's prior work will find those causal mechanisms familiar: the rise of new contenders, the growth of popular support for them, and the weakness or incapacity of existing rulers to suppress them. One new theme that does emerge, if only in passing and without much analysis, is the notion that rulers can provoke opposition by attacking the "identities" of their subjects. But for the most part, the "news" in this book lies not in its examination of the causes of revolutions, which essentially restates the ideas that Tilly has spent decades developing in other works. This book's real contribution is a careful narrative survey and listing of the great diversity of revolutionary situations that arose in several European regions over the *longue durée*. For that alone, historians and social scientists will be turning to this book for a long time.

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ROGER C. SMITH. *Vanguard of Empire: Ships of Exploration in the Age of Columbus*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 316. \$35.00.

The importance of the sailing vessels that first brought Europeans to Asia and the Americas in the

late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is beyond dispute. The Columbus Quincentenary piqued popular curiosity and made research funds available, and as a result we have learned a great deal about these vessels in recent years through the efforts of nautical archaeologists and historians. That notwithstanding, until the appearance of Roger C. Smith's work, the most recent scholarly monograph on the subject in English was José María Martínez-Hidalgo's undocumented *Columbus's Ships* (1966). Responding in the first instance to the archaeologist's desire to place artifactual findings in historical context, Smith, a veteran of underwater expeditions in the Caribbean, has put together a descriptive analysis that will surely be definitive for the foreseeable future.

The deceptively narrow title to the contrary, this is more than just a description of the ships that brought Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, Ferdinand Magellan, and the rest to their destinations and back. Rather, it is a comprehensive treatment of the origins, design, construction, and operation of two Iberian ship types, the caravel and *nao*, which occupy a position of pivotal importance in maritime history. As lineal ancestors of the carracks, galleons, and ships-of-the-line that would carry European power to the ends of the earth in the centuries ahead, they are richly deserving of in-depth analysis based on an exhaustive review of the available evidence, and it is precisely that which Smith has given them.

Beginning with a brief primer on the development of the Iberian maritime states and their shipbuilding traditions, Smith proceeds to an informed discussion of the origins of the caravel and *nao* and then devotes a chapter each to the design and construction of the hull, rigging, outfitting, manning and provisioning, and armament. The lucid text is solidly based on exhaustive research in published, archival, and artifactual sources, and Smith's "Literature Review" contains an extraordinarily thorough bibliographical essay plus informed discussions of relevant archaeological sites and the Mataró ship, a mid-fifteenth-century Catalán votive model that is the source of much of our information about the internal construction of late-medieval Iberian ships. The book is an etymological treasure trove; Smith is careful to list terms in the original Spanish and Portuguese and his explications are convincing. Three appendixes are devoted to nautical terminology. A final appendix gives, in facsimile, transcription, and translation by skilled archivist Denise Lakey, the predeparture inventories of two caravels, drawn up in 1498 in preparation for Columbus's third voyage to the New World, one of them the famous *Niña*. Lakey's renderings, laid side-by-side with the original, are the best study guide for fifteenth-century Spanish paleography of which I am aware.

Oxford University Press deserves plaudits for the copy-editing, clear (and copious) line illustrations, and indexes. This is a solidly researched, well-written analysis of an important topic and an invaluable

reference work from which historians, archivists, and archaeologists alike will benefit.

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LÉON-E. HALKIN. *Erasmus: A Critical Biography*. Translated by JOHN TONKIN. Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell. 1993. Pp. xiv, 360. \$39.95.

When the original French version of this work, entitled *Erasme parmi nous*, was published in 1987, *Le Monde* hailed Léon-E. Halkin as the scholar who "probably knows more about Erasmus than anyone else alive." And indeed with three monographs (1969, 1983, 1988) and some twenty closely documented articles, Halkin belongs with Jean-Claude Margolin among the most eminent Erasmus scholars in the French-speaking world and deserves a prominent place among all experts on Erasmus. Accordingly, the author proves to be a reliable guide through the several stages in Erasmus's life, on the long trek from Rotterdam (1469) to Basel (1536), in an elegant presentation that, although it makes occasional reference to other secondary scholarship for confirmation, is based throughout on a fresh reading of the primary sources.

The strength of the book lies in the fact that it is the report of a seasoned scholar, sharing with us the excitement of a life immersed in his favorite author, of a scholar fascinated by the career of a man who outgrew the confines of his Dutch monastery to become the intellectual leader of Europe. The footnotes do not give a single reference in the original Latin, but perhaps as much as a quarter of the content constitutes extensive translated excerpts. Even though these do not always fit smoothly into the surrounding text, this architecture creates a book that has the extra attraction of offering a *florilegium*, a "reader." As a result, this study provides a true encounter with Erasmus's skillful use of a variety of genres—from intimate letter to formal dialogue—in his treatment of public and private morals.

The publisher has not served the author well. The footnotes, unnecessarily transformed into endnotes, are not identified by running titles with page number references, and editorial directives have been carelessly retained throughout chapters 10 and 19. Far more serious, however, is the added subtitle, which is grossly misleading: in neither sense of the term is this "a critical biography." In the first chapter Halkin immediately introduces Erasmus as "our hero" and continues to treat him as such: Erasmus's opponents—when they materialize at all—are generally mistaken, misled, or ignorant, usually also "lacking his grace of humor." This is the kind of biography that focuses on its main subject with such a narrow lens that contemporaries, even those most closely associated with Erasmus, appear only as props, just as

contemporary events only function as a *mise en scène*. It would have been at once more pertinent—and more winning—to have opted boldly for the subtitle “an uncritical biography.”

Both the tone and direction of the volume are established in the conclusion to the first chapter: “To reach his goal he would make any sacrifice. Honours would not turn his head, trials would not lay him low. He would be neither a flatterer nor a functionary, less still a parasite. This was the price of the glory to which he aspired” (p. 11).

Although at the outset Halkin disdainfully explains prevailing ignorance about Erasmus in terms of today’s “sheeplike masses whose minds are closed to the critical spirit,” his conclusion proffers the more promising vision that “our century as it draws to its close feels itself to be in agreement with him on several points: the awareness of a civilization in peril, a brotherly search for peace, the formation of European spirit, a concern for rational education, classical culture, ecumenism, conciliar and postconciliar reforms and finally Christian humanism and critical Christianity” (p. 296).

Criticism of Erasmus as such comes into play only in one respect, namely that Erasmus is to be regarded as “a defender of critical Christianity” who, as a pious humanist and convinced pacifist, attacked a Christianity drawn to ritualism and engrossed in European power politics. Beyond this thesis, only at a single point does an element of critical evaluation emerge: “His pessimism tended to lead him astray. He believed that the Protestant Reformation would kill good letters, forgetting the major role of Melancthon in this area. He no longer even anticipated the admirable effort of the Catholic Reformation and he expected no great things of a council that arrived too late.” But, Halkin quickly adds, these flaws are errors of no consequence since they “did not weaken his intellectual powers or his Christian conviction” (p. 239).

Halkin has been fortunate in having the eminent Australian historian John Tonkin as his translator and editor. Tonkin has not only produced an excellent translation but also brought the notes up to date and found the sources for the undocumented quotations in the original French version. The author is unfortunate, however, in that the English translation of his book appears in the same year as Lisa Jardine’s *Erasmus, Man of Letters* (1993), which truly is a critical biography, highlighting the complex and sophisticated manipulations of a man intent on constructing a world-wide reputation. As a college text, moreover, Halkin’s volume will not find much of a market, since it follows in the wake of Cornelis Augustijn’s evenhanded and lucid *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence* (1991), which succeeds so well in charting the high ground between “villain” and “hero.” Of the three, Erasmus undoubtedly would have liked Halkin best.

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SERGIUSZ MICHALSKI. *The Reformation and the Visual Art: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe*. (Christianity and Society in the Modern World.) New York: Routledge. 1993. Pp. xiii, 232. \$49.95.

Sergiusz Michalski correctly observes in his introduction that the past couple of decades have witnessed a dramatic increase in scholarly treatments of the Reformation image question. He regards this as a good thing, for in his judgment such investigations offer excellent opportunities for interdisciplinary research linking together topics from the traditional disciplines of history, art history, anthropology, and theology. His own highly stimulating and informative book amply demonstrates the fruitfulness of such an approach.

The most conventional part of Michalski’s study consists of the first two chapters, in which he provides a well-documented and thoughtful review of the image theology of Martin Luther, Andreas von Karlstadt, Ulrich Zwingli, and John Calvin. Although this ground has been gone over before, Michalski manages to present new and frequently shrewd insights regarding each of the four pivotal figures. The section on Luther also includes a brief examination of some iconographical problems involving the new religious art deriving from the Wittenberg Reformation.

Readers will find more methodological innovation in the book’s third chapter, which offers an intriguing cross-cultural, comparative analysis of early Protestant iconoclasm. Drawing on the recent work of Margaret Aston, David Freedberg, Robert Scribner, Martin Warnke, and others, Michalski reveals how the destruction of art relates to a wide range of topics currently of interest to scholars: the social dynamics of mass movements, symbolic inversion, denigration rituals, demonology, and the like.

By far the longest chapter in the volume, chapter 4 explores the image question as an issue in relations between Western European Protestants and the Eastern Orthodox churches. Michalski’s Polish origins presumably account for his keen interest in this topic, although its prominence in the present book undoubtedly can be justified in terms of the paucity of previous studies. Certainly the fascinating narrative that unfolds here will be largely unfamiliar to most readers. Because of the historical burden of their own bitter struggle against iconoclastic heresy in the earlier Byzantine context, the often poorly informed sixteenth and seventeenth-century Orthodox observers could not fail to take extreme offense at the real (or imagined) expressions of Protestant hostility to images that were brought to their attention. Michalski conclusively demonstrates the adverse effects this had on East European perceptions of Protestant Christianity. He is less successful in showing that these disagreements and misunderstandings really had much impact on the West.

In the last chapter of this volume Michalski pre-

sents a pioneering attempt to apply semiology and rhetorical theory to an evaluation of some of the "symbols and commonplaces" (p. 169) that form the conceptual background of the image controversy. His approach primarily involves two related undertakings: a historically wide-ranging investigation of some of the numerous philosophical and linguistic links between image debates and Eucharistic disputes, and an analysis of certain of the "slogan-like, antithetical concepts" (p. 181) that he finds recurring in the religious quarrels over artistic representation (for example, body versus soul, external versus internal, eye versus heart, dead versus living). Readers' reactions to these inquiries will be governed at least in part by their own methodological presuppositions and intellectual preoccupations. In any case, this final chapter concludes with a few thought-provoking speculations regarding the long-range "fate of art" following the Reformation.

Michalski's study, originally published in Polish, is here issued in a revised edition for an English-speaking audience, furnished with an updated bibliography and eleven skillfully chosen photographic illustrations. The handsome book provides a readable and often quite original examination of a topic of perennial interest.

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ALAN E. SHAPIRO. *Fits, Passions, and Paroxysms: Physics, Method, and Chemistry and Newton's Theories of Colored Bodies and Fits of Easy Reflection*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 400. \$69.95.

For twenty years and more historians of science have been referring to the Newton industry, and those not initiated into it may wonder whether there is anything left on which they can labor. On the contrary, this is an academic discipline that builds on earlier work rather than a mining enterprise that exhausts its resource; the books on Newton get better and better. Alan E. Shapiro, who has distinguished himself as the editor of Newton's *Optical Papers* (1984-), now adds this superb study to the shelf of Newtoniana. What a feast this book is: it treats science as science instead of sociology, and in so doing greatly deepens and expands our knowledge of Newton and of optical science in the seventeenth century.

Shapiro's study is, first of all, about Newton's optical science as applied to the colors of solid bodies. There is no better exposition of how Newton extended his discovery of the heterogeneity of light to explain not just phenomena analogous to the prismatic spectrum but also, as any serious theory of colors had to do, the colors of the bodies we encounter in daily experience. As part of his exposition, Shapiro takes up the investigation of the colored rings in thick plates, a topic no more than mentioned

in the existing literature on Newton, and with it the theory of fits of easy reflection and easy transmission. In a true tour de force, Shapiro explores the theory of fits, hitherto treated by historians as an embarrassing aberration, and demonstrates that in its turn the theory was also a true tour de force of early mathematical physics.

As the subtitle promises, the book has more to explore about Newton than just his optics. Method is one of Shapiro's constant themes. Numerous passages on hypotheses in letters and in publications such as the "Queries" to the *Opticks* have long been staples of commentaries on Newton. Shapiro holds the statements up against Newton's practice in his optical work and presents a compelling argument that Newton did indeed maintain a consistent distinction between speculative hypotheses, which he was willing to advance as long as he labeled them as such, and theories that he took to be corroborated by experimental evidence.

Shapiro also illuminates (I use the word advisedly) Newton's conception of the structure of matter. It is well known that Newton believed matter to be complexly structured in a way that left a great deal of empty space and very little solid matter in bodies. Scholars have always related these views to his work in chemistry, and some (I have not been the least vocal among them) have argued for the role of alchemy in this aspect of Newton's philosophy of nature. Shapiro demonstrates to my satisfaction that this conception of matter was implicit (and recognized by Newton to be implicit) in his explanation of color in bodies already near the beginning of his optical studies, when he had not yet turned to chemistry at all.

The second half of the book follows the history of Newton's theory of colored bodies into the nineteenth century. Indeed it shows, contrary to the general assumption, that the theory had a history, that it was the accepted theory among physicists, that it was challenged by chemists asserting the independence of their discipline late in the eighteenth century, and that it was definitively overthrown only in the mid-nineteenth century, but by physicists rather than chemists. Shapiro's sure command of the scientific material serves him well once more in this section of the book, and beyond the optics he calls attention to a school on the chemistry of light that has been entirely ignored.

In a word, this is an outstanding scholarly achievement. The book makes demands on the reader, but it repays the effort in full measure.

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WALLY SECCOMBE. *Weathering the Storm: Working-Class Families from the Industrial Revolution to the Fertility Decline*. New York: Verso. 1993. Pp. vii, 286. \$59.95.

The reproduction of the labor force was a familiar topic of classical treatises of political economy. Modern historians have described how the development of industrial capitalism affected proletarian family forms (see, for example, David Levine, *Reproducing Families* [1987]). The originality of Wally Seccombe's book is to ask how the economic system produced people and labor during the Industrial Revolution. Conventional Marxist models account for the production of material goods; here the consumption of subsistence and shelter by the working classes is treated as the process of production of labor power. From the point of view of the capitalist, says the author, it is a considerable advantage that the labor power that is consumed in the work place is produced independently and privately at home. Proletarian supply is a long-term process that brings ready-made workers to the market, where they have to sell themselves at a going price that does not have to cover the cost of production; demand for labor occurs in the short term.

To support his cost of production in a first stage, the worker sold the labor of his wife and children and kept a foot in the subsistence economy. The quality of the labor force, in terms of health and education, was low. After 1870, during the second Industrial Revolution, labor had lost its support in the traditional economy and adopted the male-as-breadwinner norm. Workers depended exclusively on industrial wages for the support of their families, but their cost of production was increasingly supported by the state in the form of free compulsory education, improvement in public health, mass transit systems, and so on.

Seccombe has produced a thought-provoking synthesis, which he supports from secondary works. His reorganization of familiar facts in a Marxist framework provokes flashes of illumination in the reader's mind. His original research using primary sources is presented in a chapter on the decline of fertility in the working classes. The results of this study have been published separately and are not fully integrated in the argument of the book. Seccombe believes that there was a conflict of interest between husband and wife in working-class families on the subject of fertility control. Women at home assumed most of the toil of raising a family, while the methods of control were male methods. Early in the twentieth century, the intrusion of middle-class concerns in the form of medical advice and home visits helped insure male cooperation and brought fertility down.

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JOSEF EHMER. *Heiratsverhalten, Sozialstruktur, ökonomischer Wandel: England und Mitteleuropa der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 92.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1991. Pp. 324. DM 56.

This is an important study of the extent to which the impact of industrialization on family structure was mediated by the selective persistence of social traditions and institutions. By focusing on two key components of the European marriage pattern—age at first marriage and the proportion of single men (in the age groups 25–29 and 45–49)—Josef Ehmer develops a comparative analysis of England and Wales, the German states, and Austria-Hungary. The study is predicated on the belief that age at marriage in nineteenth-century Europe was socially structured and that the persistence of traditional behavior patterns, underpinned by inheritance systems and state marriage policy, account for the fact that industrial development was not a social leveler. In fact, two distinct lines of development can be detected. On the one hand, the English model (replicated selectively in other parts of Europe, including East Elbia, Saxony, Thuringia, Bohemia, and Moravia) was accompanied by a fall in the age at marriage and a reduction in the level of celibacy. On the other hand, in many parts of continental Europe, even in the case of new industrial centers such as the Ruhr and modernizing agricultural districts, economic development reinforced the traditional marriage pattern with its high age at marriage and widespread celibacy. In the former case, a wage variant of the European marriage pattern encouraged a greater freedom to marry and reflected a social structure increasingly influenced by capitalist practices. In most areas of continental Europe, however, the persistence of small-scale production based on journeymen rather than wage labor, the retention of state control over marriage, and the custom of late marriage and a high proportion of single men meant that the traditional marriage pattern was largely retained during the industrialization process, or simply adapted in the face of capitalist development. Moreover, as Ehmer indicates, the social consequences of this dual model of development were significant, affecting, *inter alia*, the relative participation of women in the work process, the age structure of the work force, and the extent of labor mobility.

Ehmer's study is a major contribution to scholarship in this field. The specific nature of European development at the level of the nation-state can only be fully understood in a comparative context, and Ehmer's use of diverse data sources from individual European countries is an outstanding illustration of the utility of such an approach. The precise configuration of the European marriage pattern was not a result of the need to retain an appropriate balance between population growth and indigenous resources; age at marriage was both socially and politically structured. If marriage in England and Wales was essentially an individual choice, state or community controls remained firmly in place in many continental European states. The detailed analysis of census data, although confirming the complexity of marriage strategies at the local and regional level, highlights the existence of two variants of the European mar-

riage pattern. Whereas industrialization and the expansion of capitalist agriculture in England and Wales were associated with a low age at marriage, neither proto-industrialization nor factory employment in many parts of continental Europe significantly affected traditional marriage patterns. Indeed, as the final section on craft production indicates, social and institutional factors played a critical role in determining the impact of industrial development on marriage patterns and household structure. In contrast to Central Europe, England and Wales did not have an institutionalized "*Wanderpflicht*," and tramping was controlled by journeymen's societies, not by the state. In both Germany and Austria-Hungary, however, although the development process was inevitably complex, traditional employment and marriage patterns were frequently retained. The single journeyman remained central to the production process and institutional restrictions on marriage were only removed toward the end of the nineteenth century, or in the case of the Tyrol in 1921.

Inevitably in tackling such a far-ranging and important topic, the study raises a number of issues. The approach is often cross-sectional in nature, comparing England and Wales on the basis of the census of 1851 with German data from 1880, on the questionable assumption that these terminal dates represent the end of the Industrial Revolution in both countries. More importantly, age at marriage and the proportion of single men are seldom analyzed systematically in the context of age or sex-specific migration patterns. Ehmer is forced to rely on large administrative districts as the main units of analysis, but a typology that includes Cornwall as an outlier of the Industrial Revolution might appear to be somewhat suspect. In a wider context, Ehmer's study only serves to pose further questions. If cultural traditions, or the relative power of the "*Gemeinde*," were critical factors in accounting for the resilience of traditional marriage patterns in many parts of Central Europe, does the early predominance of a wage variant of the European marriage pattern in England and Wales simply reflect the impact of long-term processes of change within a relatively integrated economy? And if the impact of industrialization in Central Europe was "roughly similar," why was the dissolution of traditional institutions affecting marriage and family formulation only to be found in certain regions and towns? Indeed, the great merit of Ehmer's work lies in the fact that the current book will serve to mold the future research agenda in this important field.

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DOMINIC LIEVEN. *The Aristocracy in Europe, 1815–1914*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiv, 308. \$29.50.

Dominic Lieven, author of two previous books on late-imperial Russia and another on Nicholas II, in this volume turns his attention to a many-faceted portrayal and analysis of the nineteenth-century aristocracies of England, Germany, and Russia. He defines aristocracy in England as the peerage plus the gentry, and in Germany and Russia as the magnates plus the richer provincial gentry who lived nobly, a group smaller than the whole nobility but larger than the titled minority of the noble estate.

Lieven's sources are an impressively broad range of memoirs and secondary works in English, German, Russian, and French, from which he draws many interesting data and telling individual experiences, enlivened by well-chosen quotations. His book is filled with illuminating and provocative comparisons and contrasts. The continuous switching from country to country, from example to example, however, runs the risk of sometimes leaving the reader both dazzled and dizzy.

Lieven's underlying theme is that the "aristocracy was bound to decline" in a Europe being transformed by the industrial and democratic revolutions, but the speed of its demise, the influences it stamped on its successors in power, and indeed the type of society and politics that followed the aristocracy's era "were by no means inevitable" (p. 12). Rather, these phenomena in each of the countries studied were the products of the weight of past traditions, of the aristocracy's own flexibility in dealing with a rapidly changing world, and, not least, of developments beyond the control of the aristocracies.

Among such developments, war and geopolitics are assigned a major place in Lieven's explanation of the differing fates of aristocracy in the three societies. The German aristocracy throughout the nineteenth century and the Russian aristocracy after serf emancipation in 1861 were, each in its own way, coping with the changed circumstances attendant on the modernization of their countries. Both continental aristocracies were open to new recruits. The Germans excelled in agrarian entrepreneurship, interest group politics in a quasi-parliamentary system, and, above all, in military professionalism, while the Russians excelled in public service and cultural leadership. The Russians, moreover, were much more concerned with defending their "bourgeois" property rights rather than their "feudal" privileges, which had virtually been swept away in the reforms of the 1860s and which had, in any case, never been so central to their own sense of themselves as such privileges had been to the Germans. It was the defeat and attendant collapse of the Russian and German empires in 1917–18 to which Lieven, in the end, ascribes the dramatic and sudden exit of the Russian and German aristocracies from the historical stage. The aristocracy of Britain, the most powerful and successful of European societies in the early twentieth century as well as the nineteenth century, experienced a much longer and slower decline, during which, as a political

ruling class, its greatest achievement was its successful management of "the Victorian transition to democracy" (p. 250). Lieven exonerates the German aristocracy from any particular responsibility for either World War I or Nazism and questions the degree to which the aristocracy's influence on Britain should be blamed for that country's economic failures in the second half of the twentieth century. Curiously, the Russian aristocracy receives no comparable absolution; it is instead charged with being the source of at least some of the anticapitalist values of the Russian intelligentsia, values that destroyed entrepreneurship in Russia when the empire collapsed.

In short, Lieven's book is a valuable source of information, comparisons, and speculations about the decline and disappearance of Europe's traditional political, social, economic, and cultural elite. It is a work well worth the attention of historians of modern Europe in general and of the three societies studied in particular.

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JOHN KENT. *The Internationalization of Colonialism: Britain, France, and Black Africa, 1939-1956*. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 365. \$79.00.

This book is a detailed examination of Anglo-French policy and negotiations relating to West Africa from the eve of World War II down to the Suez crisis. As John Kent explains in the preface, his focus is on the center rather than the periphery—how decision makers in London and Paris perceived African issues, how departments within the two governments interacted to develop policy, how the two governments related to and against each other—rather than on political or economic dynamics on the spot. The book is also limited geographically. North Africa, which was more significant than West Africa during the war, as well as the setting for the disastrous Suez invasion that provides the book's terminal date, is treated perfunctorily. Kent also echoes the contemporary British tendency to treat the Gold Coast or Nigeria as though they were entirely disconnected from Kenya, Uganda, the Sudan, or the Rhodesias.

Within these substantial limitations, Kent has written an original and valuable study. His framework is the interaction between two sets of attitudes: "imperial" (the projection of the metropole as world power) and "colonial" (the situation on the spot). Although the two countries faced rather similar problems—mid-sized status with long histories as great powers who tried to use colonies to maintain and then regain their status as major players in Europe and the world—they saw the imperial/colonial relationship rather differently. The French were always clear about the pri-

ority: colonies were instruments to shore up France's political, military, and economic position, and that was that. Although the British Foreign Office sometimes possessed a similar mentality, the Colonial Office—as in Malcolm MacDonald's colonial reform schemes of the late 1930s, Lord Hailey's campaign for partnership of the war years, or the escalating political concessions favored by Andrew Cohen and the "agenda committee" for governors' conferences in the late 1940s—stressed winning the cooperation of educated Africans as the only hope of achieving the same objective.

The situations and needs were similar enough to generate a long series of efforts at Anglo-French cooperation: military, economic, regional commissions, human and plant diseases, and so on. But British and French understanding of their interests, including their perceptions of the imperial/colonial equation, differed sufficiently to doom those efforts to failure. By 1956, in the aftermath of Suez, on the eve of decolonization, Anglophones and Francophones in West Africa were almost as far apart as they had been before the war. And there, still conforming to lines that had been drawn so arbitrarily in the 1880s on maps in Berlin, they have remained.

None of this seems particularly surprising. Neither its broad interpretations nor its detailed arguments make this a truly revisionist book. It is, however, based on admirably voluminous research in both British and French archives, the analysis is thorough and meticulous, and the judgments are authoritative. The most original feature is the painstakingly detailed examination of what must have seemed an endless procession of bilateral conferences: all of them technical and complicated, all of them creating huge amounts of paper, all of them in the end proving fruitless. To have mastered these proceedings is a significant achievement. They will not need to be written up again, at least in these terms.

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ROBERT D. CORNWALL. *Visible and Apostolic: The Constitution of the Church in High Church Anglican and Non-Juror Thought*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1993. Pp. 215. \$36.50.

Most studies of non-juror and High Church thought after the revolution of 1688-89 focus on the political differences between supporters and opponents of William III in the Church of England. In six brief but clearly written chapters, Robert D. Cornwall's sympathetic examination of the theological foundations of High Church and non-juror politics provides an interesting rehabilitation of a much-maligned group of churchmen. Moving beyond the usual description of these two groups as inflexible advocates of divine-right monarchy, nonresistance, and passive obedience, this study examines the spiritual continuity

between the Caroline divines of the Civil War period and the later High Church tradition.

Arguing that High Church and non-juror reservations about the Revolution of 1688–89 centered on firmly held notions regarding the importance of the visible church to the spiritual life of the nation, Cornwall places such familiar political controversies as those concerning the Toleration Act, comprehension of Dissenters, the role and status of convocation, and the problem of occasional conformity into a refreshing theological focus. Both high churchmen who eventually accepted the new monarchs and non-jurors who elected to maintain their own "true" church outside the bounds of the official communion anchored their rebuttals of deistic rationalism, Latitudinarian schemes of comprehension, and Non-conformist voluntarism on a traditional Catholic view of religious authority and the place of the church in society. In other words, High Church theological positions preceded the changes of 1688–89. Apostolic succession, episcopal ordination and the sacerdotal nature of the priesthood, church membership as a prerequisite to salvation, and the independence of the church from state control, were, first and foremost, theological convictions that later informed political action.

Some of the polarities suggested in this work may be too strong. For example, Cornwall's position that Latitudinarians were politically dominant within the church after 1688 is not entirely convincing, especially in light of the recent work by John Spurr (*The Restoration Church of England* [1991]). Spurr questioned the significance of the term Latitudinarian in the context of debates about toleration, but I would emphasize the not insignificant number of theological similarities between Latitudinarian divines like John Tillotson and his High Church critics. Not the least of these similarities involved the use of Scripture, tradition, and reason as complementary sources of authority in religious inquiry.

Nevertheless, Cornwall's book contains a number of important insights. One in particular deserves mention here. In his discussion of John Locke's influence on eighteenth-century religious thought, Cornwall suggests that, although Locke scholars have focused on the philosopher's contribution to the Arian and Socinian outlook, his challenge to episcopacy and the doctrine of apostolic succession may have been of greater significance in the long term. The High Church defense of tradition in this area was placed under considerable strain due to the influence of works like Locke's *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, and future studies need to address this question in more detail. This study continues the work of reassessment begun by J. C. D. Clark (*English Society, 1688–1832* [1985]) to restore the centrality of non-juring and High Church thought to the debate over the nature of the eighteenth-century church.

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W. D. RUBINSTEIN. *Capitalism, Culture, and Decline in Britain, 1750–1990*. New York: Routledge. 1993. Pp. viii, 182. \$55.00.

For twenty years W. D. Rubinstein's provocative assaults on some of the most comfortable premises of the economic and social history of nineteenth-century Britain have had the salutary effect that his style of guerrilla warfare can accomplish, sending scholars back to rethink their assumptions. Beginning with his well-known study of the very rich, and subsequently in articles published in the influential journal *Past and Present* on the important correlative issues of landholding and education, he has been chiefly concerned with the inadequacies of much conventional writing about the British elite in the nineteenth century.

Those who have followed Rubinstein's work will recognize much of the argument in his new book. This extended essay, some might say polemic, sets out definitively to demolish the familiar thesis posed by Martin J. Wiener that Britain's long decline can be traced to the snobbery and presumed anti-competitive prejudices of Britain's traditional establishment, absorbed by the middle-class business elite through its own gentrification (*English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850–1980* [1981]). This argument has been under assault for some time. Much more controversial than his attack on the cultural critique of British economic management is his insistence that, culturally conditioned or not, industrial performance is now and has always been largely marginal to Britain's prosperity, the standard of living of its people, and its position in the world—in fact, that there has been no long decline for the British economy as a whole. To argue this primacy of finance and commerce Rubinstein returns to his earliest work on wealth-holding, where he demonstrated the superior fortunes at death of the leading bankers and merchants of London relative to those of the northern industrialists. Many economic historians will be skeptical, however, of his assumption that the relative personal wealth of businessmen correlates directly with the economic importance to society as a whole of the enterprises they manage and the sectors they represent.

This *idée fixe* aside, Rubinstein's critique of the cultural thesis is often persuasive. He makes an eloquent case for regarding Britain, certainly in comparison with its European rivals, as remarkably sympathetic to business life and entrepreneurship. He has no difficulty demonstrating that the generality of public schools were essentially middle-class institutions and that those who graduated from them were as likely to remain in their family firms as not. It is, however, easier to quantify the social backgrounds and careers of a sample of students of public schools than to assess with any confidence the consequences of what they learned there. Rubinstein cannot be said to have adequately answered those who claim that the significant issue is not the presumed "hemorrhage of

talent" (p. 121) into the professions but the reduced competence of those who stayed in business.

Rubinstein's relatively brief text has the advantages and weaknesses of its style of argument. It is a clever and vigorous rejoinder to Wiener's own brief and provocative text, but one that eschews synthesis for riposte. Moreover, an element of partisan politics raises doubts about Rubinstein's objectivity. His demotion of the industrial economy resonates with the contemporary abandonment of that sector by the financial and service-oriented economics of Thatcherism and hints at the use (or abuse) of history to rationalize present policy (a suspicion that his many asides about "confused" socialists, "quixotic" Labour Party leaders, and "biased and tendentious" left-wing scholars does nothing to dispel). A larger, more generous book would have had to face the fact that the kind of statistics Rubinstein relies on to score his points is ultimately a slender basis on which to attempt a general reconstruction of the social and economic history of class in modern Britain.

It is doubtful, in any event, that Rubinstein's book, however tellingly argued, will serve to revive and sustain a debate many have turned away from as no longer very fruitful. It may be that the chief legacy of the Wiener thesis may not lie in the realm of economic history per se, but in the way it helped focus attention on the cultural life of the entrepreneurial middle class as a subject worthy of historical interest in its own right. To the cultural historian much of the sound and fury of the econometric debate over managerial performance—inherently a relative and partial exercise—may be less interesting than attempts to achieve a deeper understanding of the Victorian businessman, whether gentleman or player, in his own propertied world, of the shifting values, associations, fears, and obsessions that motivated him, and of the subtle and myriad relationships between his domestic and social worlds and that of his enterprises.

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ROY PORTER, editor. *Myths of the English*. Cambridge, England: Polity, in association with Blackwell, Cambridge, Mass. 1992. Pp. xii, 276. \$29.95.

According to the essayists in Roy Porter's latest anthology, "the essential fabric of Englishness" (p. 211) is a mythological construction. This is not necessarily a bad thing; the "myths of the English" are not the hard-boiled stuff of bourgeois ideology that Roland Barthes critiqued in *Mythologies*. Rather than deceiving their believers, these myths are just as apt to provide "sustenance and reassurance" (p. 211); they can even be true, as in Reba Soffer's oxymoronic category of "reliable myth" (p. 211).

As ventures into the peculiarities-of-the-English genre, these essays often seem nostalgic. They treat

with greater or lesser affection the figures of Mother Goose (Marina Warner), the tramp (M. A. Crowther), the English bobby (Clive Emsley), the schoolteacher (Margaret Kinnell), and the Duke of Wellington (Iain Pears). Also affectionate is David Cannadine's essay on Gilbert and Sullivan as "a British tradition." And there are essays as well on Guy Fawkes Day (David Cressy), Armistice Day (Bob Bushaway), Balliol, Newnham, and "the new mythology" (Soffer), and British portraiture (Gertrude Prescott Nuding). Taken individually, most of the contributions are both informative and entertaining. My favorites are the ones on Mother Goose and Guy Fawkes Day, but they all represent careful scholarship.

Taken collectively, however, it's difficult to see just what these essays say about "Englishness." Guy Fawkes Day is as obviously English as the Duke of Wellington or Gilbert and Sullivan. But Mother Goose turns out to be, if anything, more French than English. Although Warner does not insist on the Englishness of her subject, claims to some sort of national exclusiveness seem at times themselves more mythological than historical, as when Nuding suggests that portrait collecting and commissioning may be a "British national trait" (p. 234), as if these activities did not go on with equal patriotic fervor in other national contexts. In his interesting survey of the tramp, Crowther acknowledges that "the tramp myth belongs to many nations," but adds that "local conditions give it a particular flavour in each" (p. 92). I am not sure what sort of historical category "flavour" can be, but Crowther's assertion points to a central difficulty in the collection as a whole. As a potpourri of often charming excursions into various holidays, figures, and institutions, this collection is fun to read. But I am left puzzling about what, if anything, the collection as a whole has to say either about Englishness or the ways nationalist myths arise and function in the English context or, for that matter, any other.

Perhaps the collection itself can be viewed as a contribution to English myth-making. This is certainly one form the peculiarities-of-the-English genre often takes: a celebration of how peculiarly English the English are. The affectionate, nostalgic aspect of the essays points in that direction, although I suspect that Porter and the other contributors intended to produce studies more critical and analytical than my reading of them suggests. In his introduction, Porter himself wonders just what historians' responsibilities are toward "the myth of the past" (p. 3): "They relish demystifying the 'pasts' vaunted by others, exposing these as self-serving ideological constructs. Yet they must also, willy-nilly, apply these insights or strictures reflexively to themselves. Are historians just myth-mongering too, peddling fantasied pasts of their own?" (p. 2). This is a crucial question, but one this anthology does not succeed in answering.

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MARGOT C. FINN. *After Chartism: Class and Nation in English Radical Politics, 1848–1874*. (Past and Present Publications.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 361. \$59.95.

Once upon a time nineteenth-century British history was greatly influenced by the Marxist class interpretation, but in recent years other categories such as nationalism have been advanced to account for the trends toward social stabilization that the class interpretation alone could not satisfactorily explain. In her ambitious and intelligent study, Margot C. Finn has set herself the task of uniting these two historiographical traditions, rehabilitating the older line of class analysis while simultaneously demonstrating the way that class operated in a nationalist frame.

In the first of these two interpretive endeavors, Finn advances a powerful, impressively argued case. Working-class radicalism, she properly reminds us, did not die out with Chartism, but was perpetuated into the 1850s and 1860s by a group of radical trades-unionist and social-democratic leaders who were significantly influenced by French socialism and the Jacobin traditions of 1792 and 1848. Conversely, advanced middle-class liberals who wished to revive the progressive alliance of "the people" against a still-entrenched aristocracy discovered that the task of wooing organized workers required them to break with the shibboleths of orthodox political economy and to accept the necessity of organized labor, government intervention, and social reform. If the resultant mid-Victorian social consensus is to be labeled "liberalization," this was a liberalization that necessarily involved significant middle-class concessions to a working-class agenda and a considerable modification of the classical liberal individualist creed. Finn concludes that the "new liberalism" of the 1880s and 1890s had its true origins in the superficially quiescent 1850s and 1860s, when the foundations for twentieth-century Lib/Lab social democracy were first laid.

Finn is not the first to have made such arguments, but she develops them with fresh examples and considerable panache. She envisages her most original contribution to be her efforts to link this trajectory of class conflict and reconciliation with the development of a distinctively nationalist political consciousness and discourse. Unfortunately, her arguments about the impact of nationalism are less successful than her analysis of the dynamics of class. Finn's first chapter, a breathless survey of English nationalism between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, provides her with a marvelous opportunity to display her erudition, but leaves the reader with a definition so protean and capacious as to include everything from seventeenth-century Puritans to eighteenth-century xenophobes to nineteenth-century parliamentary reformers and republican followers of Tom Paine. So defined, "nationalism" reappears in the subsequent chapters as something of a moving target, too variable

and permeable to constitute a satisfactory category for Finn's dense and otherwise cogent historical analysis. Indeed, much of what she labels nationalism in these pages is internationalism from a British point of view. The patriots whom her liberal and radical subjects celebrated were as likely to be contemporary Poles, Italians, and French republicans as seventeenth-century English Puritans, revolutionaries, and supporters of the Commonwealth. Invoking the memory of the latter to glorify the former doubtless added a rhetorical flourish and a familiar point of reference, but it hardly constituted a coherent foundation on which a nineteenth-century ideology of English nationalism could be based.

To be sure, it is significant that both middle-class liberals and working-class radicals shared this internationalist orientation that Finn highlights but, as she herself occasionally acknowledges, both were motivated far more by practical, domestic considerations than by the discursive force of any nationalist (or internationalist) ideal. For workers, it was primarily the exigencies of confronting transnational capitalism that pressed them toward a provisional solidarity with their counterparts on the European continent. For middle-class liberals, the motivations were more complicated, but Finn's efforts to link bourgeois internationalism (and foreign interventionism) to the abandonment of domestic laissez faire requires something of a conceptual leap. The latter trend is, indeed, one of the central transformations of the period, but the forces behind it were extremely multifarious. The middle-class move from dogmatic individualism to a more amorphous collectivism must be seen as a complex, long-term historical process that began during the 1840s, culminated in the twentieth century, and occurred for reasons that have only the most tenuous relationship to either nationalist ideology or foreign affairs.

Finn's strongest evidence for treating mid-Victorian internationalism as a variant of English nationalism comes from the common strands of anticlericalism and anti-Catholicism that both sentiments usually shared. Curiously, she leaves such linkages comparatively undeveloped, neglecting to ask how far such beliefs underwrote overt xenophobia or the extent to which popular Protestantism ought to be analyzed as political nationalism rather than in purely religious, cultural terms. It may be that Finn's reluctance to pursue these enquiries is a consequence of her eschewing the research methods and materials of social history, and of her concentration on the published writings and private correspondence of the liberal and radical leadership elite. Nevertheless, within this constricted compass her command of the evidence is formidable and most of her substantive claims are well documented and sound. Indeed, it should not be inferred from any of my criticisms that I do not regard this as a genuinely important book. Although this appears to be her first major publication, Finn effortlessly musters a degree of analytical skill, intel-

lectual sharpness, and command over the relevant primary sources and secondary works of which even the most established senior scholar might justly be proud. Her book poses all the right questions and answers many of them masterfully. It will provide all nineteenth-century British social and political historians, including herself, with much food for further research and thought.

THEODORE KODITSCHKE
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ANDREW ADONIS. *Making Aristocracy Work: The Peerage and the Political System in Britain, 1884–1914*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 311. \$55.00.

David Cannadine's brilliant but overdrawn epic, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (1990), has given a general prominence to the recent upsurge in interest in the Victorian British aristocracy. Most of these studies, however, have been expansive, interpretive, and dependent on secondary materials. Cannadine, M. L. Bush, Lawrence Stone and J. C. F. Stone, and J. V. Beckett among others, have focused on the changing social function of the landed classes across time, often at the expense of a clear understanding of their political roles. Where aristocratic politics have been treated, as in Pete Mandler's *Aristocratic Government in the Age of Reform* (1990), the emphasis on high politics frequently has inhibited any perception of the aristocracy as a whole, whales and minnows together. Andrew Adonis's study of the structure of British politics, with its heavy institutional focus on the House of Lords, integrates the two approaches, evaluating both the aristocracy as a social class and aristocrats as players in a rapidly changing political system.

Adonis begins by narrowing the field of inquiry, limiting it to thirty years and to the peerage, an economically diverse portion of the aristocracy but one united by an inherent political function. His prosopographical study of the 1,218 members who sat in the House of Lords delineates "trends and gradations in the political role of the peerage" and relates them to "indices of age, wealth, and political activity" (p. 4). As valuable as the numbers are, however, the strength of this work lies in its balanced interpretations, based on detailed archival research.

Adonis neither uncovers startling evidence nor advances any provocative thesis. Yet in dozens of interrelated and carefully researched set-pieces, he fashions a more nuanced and perceptive interpretation of the political role of the peerage. The Lords, along with the aristocracy generally, were indeed losing social and political ground, but "until at least 1905 the peerage played a substantial and coherent political role" (p. 275). If most peers were indolent, poor debaters, and often politically inept, as a class

they provided a disproportionate percentage of senior cabinet ministers, collectively maintained the House of Lords as an integral part of the British constitution, and played a central role in the comparatively successful management of the empire.

Adonis's careful research again and again provides him with means of showing that previous studies—Cannadine's in particular—have overemphasized aristocratic political decline (pp. 170, 229, 274). He admits with Cannadine, for instance, that "for many peers the imperial idea had a large sterling sign attached," but he balances this truth with another: that a fair number also accepted positions from a sense of duty and commitment to the empire and often spent enormous sums in doing so (p. 236). Adonis might have given even more weight to the role of the aristocracy by emphasizing prominent individual peers often overlooked in the study of political structures. As the Earl of Carnarvon rightly noted in 1885, the aristocracy's greatest strength lay in its members' "individual energy and activity" (p. 250). This was not simply or even primarily due to individual genius, however; rather, more often it emanated from a combination of individual talent and a collective social consciousness in which the sense of nobility played a crucial role.

This is a model monograph, exhaustively researched, tightly organized, and as cleverly written as such a study can be. Although it cannot approach in length, breadth, or amusement Cannadine's *Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, it is an empirical sedative and necessary reading for anyone seeking a balanced perspective on the changing political and social influence of the British peerage in the thirty years prior to World War I.

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MICHAEL J. CHILDS. *Labour's Apprentices: Working-Class Lads in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1992. Pp. xxiii, 223. \$44.95.

Many of the strengths of the dissertation genre are evident in this book, which began as a McGill University doctoral thesis in the 1980s. Michael J. Childs's subject is narrow (male urban adolescents from the English working classes) but carefully examined. His impressive range of sources includes government documents (manuscript and printed), the findings of social investigators, autobiographies, and other contemporary published sources. Of greatest significance, Childs uses nearly one hundred of the oral history interviews deposited at the universities of Essex and Lancaster. He is thus able to achieve national coverage with special concentration on the Northwest and the Southeast.

The resulting monograph is refreshingly non-ideo-

logical in the sense that its author does not announce his theoretical gurus at the start and then stick with them through thick and thin. Childs responds particularly to the optimist-versus-pessimist debates over Victorian and Edwardian education and youth found in the work of John Gillis, Stephen Humphries, and John Springhall from the 1970s and early 1980s. This is not necessarily a liability, however, since these controversies continue to attract historians' attention. Harry Hendrick has recently weighed in with a largely pessimist tome, and Jonathan Rose has presented a revisionist view of education that is compellingly positive.

While siding with the optimists on some issues and the pessimists on others, Childs most often takes the middle ground. For instance, he rejects the notion that the music hall was primarily a hegemonic institution and suggests many ways in which young men introduced their own ethos into the halls or at least rejected much of the blatant propaganda that was fostered there. He takes pains to emphasize that such commercial entertainments did not diminish the appeal of hanging out on the streets. On the contrary, the street group or "click" became a major sociocultural institution of male youths, as did the public courtship rituals sometimes referred to as the "Monkey Parade."

Probably Childs's most important achievement is to delineate the experiences of male youths within the context of family life and work. In contrast to historians' recent emphasis on the "male breadwinner's wages," Childs points to the continuing importance of the combined family income, including the contributions of children and adolescents. This confirms the broader picture presented in John Benson's *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs* (1983), a work that is too often neglected in discussions of this type (and is not cited by Childs). The prevailing expectation was that boys would begin full-time work between ages twelve and fourteen and that most (or all) of their earnings would be handed over to their mothers. Whether apprentices in skilled trades or unskilled delivery boys, these youths typically exhibited pride in carrying out adult functions and in helping to support their families. Greater independence from the family was one obvious result, but so too was a new and higher status within the family hierarchy. This is one of many areas in which Childs ultimately takes the middle ground between alarmed contemporaries who thought that male adolescents had too much power and the sentimental academics of today who believe that these same adolescents were often helpless pawns trapped by hegemonic forces beyond their ken or control.

Although brief, the text contains insights on a wide variety of topics, including education (a topic on which Childs's tone is pessimistic), the decline of the apprenticeship system, and the rise of organized youth movements. On the perennial question of class,

the author implicitly rejects the chronology of E. P. Thompson while stressing the role of youth in the belated creation of "a more homogeneous working class, less fragmented by occupational or regional differences and more conscious of itself as a distinct stratum of society" (p. 158). Childs's command of his sources enables him to incorporate superb anecdotes. Among poorer families, for example, a boy's meager savings might have to be requisitioned for family necessities, as one oral history respondent relates: "Then, when [the box] was full, my poor old mother opened the box and had . . . to buy food for us, but I really wasn't disappointed, I just expected it . . . it was my money but I never forgot . . . Makes me laugh now, and nearly cry" (pp. 15–16).

Often elegant and always subtle, this book is a worthy product of the labors that comprised Childs's own academic apprenticeship.

ROBERT GLEN

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GAINES POST, JR. *Dilemmas of Appeasement: British Deterrence and Defense, 1934–1937*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 363. \$48.50.

British foreign policy in the 1930s, built around "appeasement," remains a subject of fascination and intense debate for international historians. The outpouring of work in the last decade, particularly in the few years preceding the fiftieth anniversary of the Polish crisis of 1939, has clarified a series of issues relating to the immediate antecedents of World War II. Perhaps Donald Cameron Watt's *How War Came: The Immediate Origins of the Second World War, 1938–1939* (1989) is the apotheosis of this historiography. But, in large part, the work of Watt, William Rock, David Reynolds, Ritchie Ovendale, Callum Macdonald, and others has largely concentrated on the period after May 1937, when Neville Chamberlain rose to the premiership. Of course, a range of specialist books and articles on the period before 1937 exists, dealing with matters such as arms limitation, the Anglo-German naval agreement of 1935, British intelligence assessments of Germany after January 1933, problems in the Far East, and more. What has been lacking until recently in interwar historiography, however, are systematic studies of British foreign and defense policies from 1930 to 1937 that put the major issues of the period within the debate that successive governments undertook about the purpose of those policies: the 1920s have been well-covered by historians like John Ferris, Bruce Kent, and Anne Orde. Thus, to a large degree, the bases of the policies followed after mid-1937, but established earlier, have been neglected. Following the important dictum that what is past is prologue, Gaines Post, Jr.'s excellent book is one of the first analyses that seeks to illuminate the construction of those foreign and de-

fense policies before 1937 that informed British external policies during the last two years of peace.

Post begins his examination with the work of the Defence Requirements Sub-Committee (DRC) of the Committee of Imperial Defence (CID), which issued its first report in February 1934. This group of senior civil advisers argued for making up British defense deficiencies by 1939 in order to meet perceived threats to British interests in Western Europe and the Far East. From here, Post deftly exposes the domestic and external pressures on the national government as it wrestled with a changing constellation of international power brought about by the seemingly interminable Depression and the rise of aggressive regimes in Berlin and Tokyo. British difficulties were accentuated by early 1936 when, as a result of the Ethiopian crisis, there occurred Anglo-Italian estrangement and Italy moved into the orbit of Nazi Germany. The DRC had earlier argued that France, Italy, and the United States need not be considered in British defense planning. Thus, by 1936, Britain faced three first-class powers in Western Europe, the Mediterranean, and the Far East that, collectively, had the potential to undermine Britain's position as a world power. Confronting economic and political strictures, the national government decided to follow the strategy of deterrence: rearming to a level by which Germany, Italy, and Japan would not risk going to war against Britain. In tandem with bolstering deterrence, British foreign policy increasingly focused on removing impediments to good relations with the three totalitarian powers. Here lay the situation inherited by Chamberlain in May 1937, although, as chancellor of the exchequer from 1931 to 1937, he had played a major role in fashioning British defense policy.

In his analysis, Post is critical of the way in which British defense policy was fashioned between 1934 and 1936. The issue is not that British politicians, Foreign Office officials, or service advisers lacked understanding of the threats that Britain and the empire faced; quite simply, they did understand them. Rather, the problem was that a plethora of specialist CID and cabinet subcommittees, grappling with trade questions in wartime, air defense, defense coordination, industrial intelligence in foreign countries, and so on, clogged the decision-making process. The result was a large number of often contradictory and inconsistent proposals that blunted any concerted effort the British could hope to mount to meet the challenges that faced them. As Post concludes: "The contradictions and delays in British policy resulted not merely from Britain's difficult strategic and economic situation, but also from indecision in the system of policy making as it applied peacetime routines to warlike preparations" (p. 331). All of this is elegantly presented in a carefully researched and well-crafted text. To be honest, I do not agree with Post's conclusions. This derives from the fact that Chamberlain, Sir Anthony Eden, Sir John Simon,

Lord Halifax, and other politicians, although they might have changed portfolios, occupied the highest decision-making positions in the several incarnations of the national government from before 1934 up to 1939. In this respect, Watt's notions about the connection between personality and policy seem more applicable when trying to understand how and why British policy evolved as it did. But this does not stop me from strongly recommending to specialists, graduate students, and others what is clearly an important contribution to the specific field of British foreign and defense policy, as well as to the general area of great power diplomacy, in the 1930s.

B. J. C. McKERCHER

Royal Military College of Canada

ANGELA SCHWARZ. *Die Reise ins Dritte Reich: Britische Augenzeugen im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland (1933-39)*. (Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London, number 31.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 435.

Angela Schwarz's book adds to the vast literature regarding German-British relations during the years between Adolf Hitler's rise to power and the outbreak of war in 1939. That the new German regime hoped to secure an alliance with Great Britain is widely known, as is the somewhat ambivalent reaction of the British government to events in Germany. Schwarz's contribution is in her use of a previously untapped source: the travel literature written by English visitors to the Third Reich during the prewar years.

In the extensive introductory section of the book, Schwarz does an excellent job of placing her subject in its historical context. The people of Great Britain had long had mixed feelings toward the Germans. Some admired Germany as the country of Goethe and Beethoven. Yet many saw Prussian militarism as more typical of Germany. These same prejudices, Schwarz cogently argues, affected English travelers to Germany during the 1930s.

Hoping to win their support for closer relations with Germany, the National Socialist government encouraged British tourists and scholars to visit the Third Reich. There was much curiosity in Great Britain regarding the "new Germany," and on their return home many visitors wrote books and articles recounting their experiences. The body of Schwarz's book is concerned with a detailed analysis of these works.

One of the truly striking things about these accounts is the frequency with which the authors address questions that concern historians. Was National Socialism the natural outcome of German history or an aberration? Why did Germans support Hitler? How popular was the regime? How extensive was the Third Reich's system of terror? How did the "man in the street" view the persecution of the Jews? What were the ultimate goals of the Nazis? Schwarz con-

cludes that in most instances the conclusions British travel writers reached regarding these issues were determined by their prejudices. Most of the writers who were "pro-German" or "pro-Nazi" before their trips returned with their views reinforced. The same can be said regarding those who opposed the new regime. In short, these books and articles, and by extension Schwarz's work, tell us more about the British than they do about the experience of the Germans during the early years of the Third Reich.

Although this is an interesting book that has much to say about British opinions regarding National Socialism, it has its faults. These are a product of the weaknesses inherent in Schwarz's sources. First, Schwarz does not—perhaps she cannot—establish how much influence these memoirs had on British public opinion. It is unclear whether the authors simply reflected British sentiment or molded it. Also, although Schwarz wisely discounts works written after 1945 as being too heavily influenced by events during the war years, she fails to see that the same can be said for books published after 1939. That several of the British authors changed their opinions about Germany dramatically after the outbreak of the war Schwarz fails to take into account. The book would have been stronger had she limited her sources to travel accounts written before 1940.

In the end, however, this is an interesting book that says much about the complexity of British attitudes toward the Third Reich. For the first time a scholar has analyzed the opinions of numerous British men and women—not just the elite—who had actually visited the Third Reich. This makes the book an important contribution to our understanding of pre-war German-British relations.

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JOHN FFORDE. *The Bank of England and Public Policy, 1941–1958*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xix, 861. \$125.00.

ELIZABETH HENNESSY. *A Domestic History of the Bank of England, 1930–1960*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 449. \$125.00.

This year—1994—marks the tricentenary of the foundation of the Bank of England. The Old Lady of Threadneedle Street will witness this event quietly, with a special exhibit in the bank's museum and the distribution of alms for the poor. The directors decided that probity was the best celebration, in the wake of the institution's involvement in the Bank of Credit and Commerce International scandal, a reflection of Margaret Thatcher's involvement with bank policies during her tenure as prime minister. The two books under review were commissioned as a part of this subdued commemoration.

John Fforde's book continues a series of official histories of the bank, the preceding studies having

carried the bank's history from 1694 to 1939. Unlike the other two chroniclers, Fforde is a former executive director of the bank. His book shares the virtues of in-house productions. He has had unlimited access to the bank's archives, and he personally knew many of the people he describes. Fforde lacks, however, the perspective needed to place his history in a more general historical framework.

Fforde begins with the last years of the governorship of Montague Norman, who resigned in 1944 having prepared the way for the nationalization of the bank in 1946. Nationalization merely intensified a relationship that had always existed between the bank and the government. The Bank of England has never been a central bank in the true sense, independent of governmental control. It was not socialism per se that weakened the bank's position after 1946, but rather the conflict it faced as a department of state with the Department of Treasury. Unclear avenues of operation faced both departments. What followed was not so much a struggle for control as an attempt to avoid the inevitable blame that would follow such things as the devaluation of sterling, exchange controls, and contractions of the empire. The compromise was that generally the bank controlled matters relating to international finance while the Department of Treasury handled domestic financial issues, although things were rarely that simple because the postwar years saw recurrent external monetary weakness and internal industrial decline.

Lord Norman was succeeded as governor by Lord Catto, and he by Lord Cobbold. The book covers ten of the twelve years of Cobbold's governorship. Much of this detailed account is already familiar. An intriguing question is what happened after 1958, when Fforde's account ends, or rather after 1971, when Britain entered the European Economic Community. Almost certainly the bank's position improved vis-à-vis the Common Market, although, again, the inflationary years of the 1970s and 1980s brought severe criticism of its policies. Perhaps the history that will carry the story from 1958 to the present will be written from the perspective of Downing Street.

Elizabeth Hennessy's book was intended as a companion piece to Fforde's official account. It was a wise decision to present this volume separately, and it should serve as a model to other gigantic corporations who commission their histories. By "domestic" Hennessy means an internal history, covering the many departments of the bank. Each chapter is devoted to the organization and working methods of a particular department, such as cashier's, accountant's, printing works, and overseas accounts. The book includes the first published description of how the bank continued its operations during World War II, when many of its staff left for military service and others were evacuated to Hampshire.

Hennessy presents much information on the bank's accounting methods, profitability, and note issue, including bank-note design. During the thirty years

described here, the bank's working methods (many dating back to its foundation in 1694) were updated in a progression of record-keeping from handwritten ledgers to computers. New functions were established for exchange controls, and there was a steady expansion of the role of women in operations. It also aided many newly developed countries in creating their own central banks. New buildings appeared, including a new printing works, and some of these appear among the many illustrations.

Both books will appeal to historians of public policy and finance.

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HELEN E. HATTON. *The Largest Amount of Good: Quaker Relief in Ireland, 1654-1921*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 367. \$44.95.

Since neither massive famine relief nor doctrinaire laissez-faire economic policies are likely to go away in the foreseeable future, Helen E. Hatton's study of the Quaker relief efforts during the great Irish famine of the late 1840s proves depressingly timely.

Hatton begins with four chapters detailing the early history of Quakerism in Ireland, especially its philanthropic activities (at first confined to fellow Quakers), and the background for the first of several consecutive potato crop failures in 1845. At this point she modifies her chronological framework, taking up in successive chapters Friends' efforts first to send food (they seem to have invented the soup kitchen) and then to organize better methods of agriculture, commercial fishing, and small-scale industry, especially linen manufacturing.

The story of Quaker activities is told in counterpoint to the government's attempts, much larger in scale but often hamstrung by the unwillingness to interfere with the free operation of the market, to address the mounting distress. One of Hatton's most interesting contentions is that the Friends, often thought to have held a conservative social ideology, disclaimed the possibility that private philanthropy could be adequate and consistently if politely pressed the government to abandon such policies as refusing to trust Catholic priests to administer relief and insisting that public works projects be "unreproductive" (that is, essentially useless).

Because of their relief policies and reputation for probity, Quakers were entrusted with the distribution of many contributions from outside the Society. Receipt and disbursal of these were noted with typical Quaker conscientiousness; their voluminous records form Hatton's chief source. Although they gained the lasting gratitude of the Irish, the Friends thought their relief effort failed. Their efforts could not have matched the magnitude of the disaster, but the Quakers' ideas for new enterprises were also seldom pro-

ductive. The economic future of Ireland lay elsewhere. Hatton does, however, point out the contributions of Quaker members of Parliament in supporting, even drafting, the Liberal reforms of Irish agrarian laws that William Ewart Gladstone's first administration achieved.

Despite its merits, the book leaves readers somewhat puzzled about why the Quakers were able to emancipate themselves from the almost universal laissez-faire ideology of their social milieu. I suspect the reason lies in the Quaker experience of distrust toward worldly wisdom and patient waiting for divine instruction. Hatton considers them intensely intellectual, as if they were Unitarians, but almost all intellectuals of the day prescribed the same noninterference with markets that so aggravated the misery of the Irish.

The other main problem with the book is that Hatton has been seduced by the plenitude of her sources into repetition and excessive detail. The later chapters add little to the first seven; we are told too often that the Irish were grateful. But we can be grateful that the book sheds new light on the great demographic disaster of the nineteenth century and the best attempts to alleviate it.

RICHARD T. VANN
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JIM SMYTH. *The Men of No Property: Irish Radicals and Popular Politics in the Late Eighteenth Century*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1992. Pp. xi, 251. \$59.95.

Jim Smyth's book is an engaging study of popular unrest in Ireland during the 1790s. It focuses especially on the participation of persons of lower socioeconomic standing and gives more attention than other studies to the earlier years of the decade. The subjects treated include the social, economic, and political structure of eighteenth-century Ireland, agrarian unrest from the 1760s, the Catholic agitation of 1791-93, the reform movement of the 1790s, street politics and underground political activity in Dublin during the period, and the Rebellion of 1798. The principal subject of the book, however, is the Defender movement, begun in Armagh during the early 1780s to defend Catholics from Protestants. It eventually became a large secret society and allied with the United Irishmen.

The book is short. As a result the treatment is often superficial and sometimes lacking in sufficient evidence for the claims Smyth makes. This superficiality is made worse by his efforts to minimize discussion of subjects covered elsewhere. Such parsimony does, however, have some obvious advantages for a reader, and it has not prevented Smyth from writing a book that merits praise for a number of reasons. He demonstrates the importance of the conflicts of the years 1791-93. He contributes to our understanding

of the impact on Ireland of the American and French revolutions, adding to other works, particularly on the French Revolution (Marrienne Elliott, *Partners in Revolution: The United Irishmen and France* [1982]; H. Gough and D. J. Dickson, eds., *Ireland and the French Revolution* [1990]). He helps us to appreciate the fears and motives of different sides in the struggles without downplaying the religious intolerance of the period. He clarifies the very complex relationship between the Defenders and the United Irishmen. And he shows that the working population became more politicized in the late eighteenth century than has generally been recognized.

This is the major theme of the book. I found most interesting the extent to which farmers and farm laborers were politically mobilized in the 1790s, especially in Connaught. Smyth sometimes, however, exaggerates popular mobilization. For example, the election of delegates to a major Catholic convention in 1792 convinces him that the organizers "had succeeded in mobilising virtually the entire Catholic adult male population" (p. 66). Similarly, he does not provide enough evidence to refute the general assumption that neither the Defenders nor the United Irishmen mobilized much support in the west of Ireland. Peasants in Connaught were brought into the struggle primarily as a result of the French invasion in August 1798. Moreover, as Smyth himself emphasizes, the Defender movement was not predominately a peasant movement: "Weavers, bleachers, schoolmasters, blacksmiths, shopkeepers and publicans featured as prominently in the ranks as farmers or cottiers" (p. 26).

Nonetheless, Smyth has demonstrated that the political mobilization of rural parts of the country, including Connaught, was greater in the 1790s than formerly thought. If less on a national scale than the mobilization achieved by the Land League in the years 1879–82, it was certainly greater than any agrarian movement in the years between the two. We are thus led to the conclusion that the long-term political mobilization of the Irish rural population was not a unilinear development. As Smyth notes in his conclusion, mass mobilization declined in the early nineteenth century. This does not negate the importance of the social and economic changes that others, including myself, have argued contributed to the political mobilization of the rural population during the nineteenth century, but it does mean that our analysis has been incomplete. The ebb and flow of political mobilization in modern Ireland is still not fully understood, but with fine studies like this one we are making good progress.

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JONATHAN DEWALD. *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570–1715*. (A Centen-

nial Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 231. \$35.00.

Among social historians of early modern France, Jonathan Dewald's two previous books are well known and have been well received. This book will undoubtedly influence an even larger audience of scholars. It is a thoughtful analysis of aristocratic culture in which he maintains that the origins of modern culture lay within traditional culture, that within the context of a society of orders nobles constructed an identity of self and a belief in "the primacy of change in human affairs" (p. 2). Dewald does not suggest that aristocrats were the only group to do this and therefore to give shape to modern culture, but he believes that their experiences were very important in bringing about modern culture and are particularly instructive in suggesting the complex relationship between traditional and modern culture. Specifically, aristocratic society in seventeenth-century France, which rested on lineage and on ties of obligation and dependency, produced tensions and contradictions that contributed a construct of selfhood and a skepticism about the established social and political order.

Dewald argues that nobles understood their lives in more individualistic and therefore more modern terms, a mode of thought that emerged in response to the demand for personal subordination imposed on the individual by family, state, and church. In a period when lineage or *race* acquired greater importance, personal ambition became part of the ethical system of the nobility, making success in the public sphere the major criterion by which they evaluated their lives. Their successes and failures raised important questions about the nature of the polity and revealed to them its moral failure. In this way ambition inspired a more modern sense of political reality in which nobles viewed their world in terms of competition, conflict, and change, a world in which "reality lay in particulars and often could not be captured in more general formulations" (p. 35).

Ambition was most closely associated with the military nobility, and warfare exposed the warrior to realities that separated the warrior from the rest of society, experiences that required special knowledge and self-control. The self-formation necessary for a successful military career depended on travel and separation from the family at an early age, thereby placing at risk the parental or, more importantly, paternal control that society held to be the basis of a stable polity. In general, aristocratic education, which sought to cultivate the individual, often contributed to familial strife and tension, thereby bringing into focus the individual's separateness from the family.

The tensions of aristocratic family life led individuals to find emotional comfort in attachments to friends and lovers. Nobles turned to friends for both practical and emotional reasons. The bonds of friendship were the basis of the unequal and dependent

relationships fundamental to early modern political and social life, and yet friendship also existed in a modern form and offered an alternative to dependency and obligation in the intimate, and even passionate, association of two similarly situated individuals. *The scandalous passion of two lovers*, of course, ran counter to the moral demands of the church and to the ideology of lineage. But moralists recognized its essentially uncontrollable nature, leaving only the possibility of giving passion a socially acceptable form. Dewald feels that civility, in its effort to mold the individual, was fundamentally an effort to shape his or her passions.

Just as the family and the church exerted great influence over the individual, so did patronage and the state. Venal office holding introduced the element of money to feudal relations, thereby making clients still more dependent on patrons and ultimately linking them even more securely to the authority of the crown. These bonds of dependency and obedience were uncomfortable to individual nobles, who expressed their discomfort in their readiness to play with money. Gaming offered a break from traditional roles and hierarchy, and for Dewald discomfort with money stemmed from discomfort with the bonds of obligation as much as it did with the awkwardness of the freedoms and individualism fostered by money. Indeed, gambling, like masked balls, actually promoted selfhood by allowing the individual to experience equality and freedom from traditional roles and authorities. Writing also offered nobles a certain freedom from boundaries, hierarchies, and constraints, as it allowed for the free, although not always private, expression of selfhood when collective life would not.

Dewald views the French nobility as agents of cultural change, a perspective that, in emphasizing the nobility's capacity to evolve and to assume a more modern form, finds agreement with so much of the recent scholarship on aristocratic society. He has also argued that their ideas of selfhood, as well as their political sensitivities, were shaped by their experiences with the early modern state and, more specifically, the fact that it rested on subordination through networks of feudal dependency. In this way his analysis complements recent interpretations of the absolutist state, and particularly the reign of Louis XIV, in that it explores the cultural effects of monarchical control, the patron-client system, and the venality of office. It offers an explanation for why some nobles turned to liberal ideologies in the eighteenth century, because the notion of selfhood and liberal ideology appear now to have evolved within the traditional social order, suggesting a more complex relationship between the *ancien régime* and the French Revolution, between traditional and modern culture.

This is clearly an important book that deserves a broad readership. In many ways it represents the capstone of recent scholarship on the nobility of early modern France. As a study in the origins of modern individualism, it should also be read by historians of

the Enlightenment and French Revolution. Finally, for those interested in the history of ideas, Dewald offers a perceptive analysis of cultural change that sees it coming not from outside but rather from within established culture. He rejects traditional, ideological interpretations of aristocratic culture, which cast it as a superstructure, for an approach that espouses belief in "the causal force of culture itself" (p. 7).

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PETER BURKE. *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 242. \$35.00.

As expected from a historian with Peter Burke's abilities and knowledge of directions in historiography, this book scatters throughout its chapters fresh observations, tantalizing questions, and reasonable conjectures. Burke explains the word "fabrication" in the title as a way of calling attention to the process of change in Louis XIV's image during his seventy-year reign. Changes occurred in the media, such as a shift of emphasis from architecture to print. They occurred in the inspirations for representations, so that after 1678 mythological figures were replaced by pictures of Louis and his deeds in the *Grande Galerie* at Versailles. Also, the audiences to whom the images were directed varied according to time and the king's needs. Burke's interest in the topic extends beyond French history to the general problem of understanding "the importance of the effects of the media on the world, the importance of what has been called 'the making of great men' or 'the symbolic construction of authority'" (p. 11, citing Maurice Godelier's *The Making of Great Men: Male Domination and Power among the New Guinea Baruya* [1986]). Burke defines his task as that "of mediating between two cultures," the contemporary world and the distant one of Louis XIV. The study draws from many primary sources, is richly illustrated, and gives a good synthesis of scholarship on the images of Louis XIV.

Among his illustrations, Burke reproduces W. M. Thackeray's cartoon of three images of Louis XIV that spoofed Rigaud's famous portrait of the king: "Rex" (a majestically costumed mannequin on the left), "Ludovicus" (a decrepit old man in the middle), and "Ludovicus Rex" (the magnificent illusion of the old man majestically costumed on the right). Burke's study primarily follows Ludovicus in costume rather than the juncture of Ludovicus and Rex. Although Louis XIV did reduce allegories and history to his persona more systematically than any of his predecessors, the limitations on his choices of images and agendas are more problematic than Burke's notion of "fabrication" indicates. Recent historical research on this period has turned to what Roger Chartier called "the study of the process by which meaning is constructed" (*Cultural History* [1988], 14). These studies

have made it clear that Louis XIV ruled through strategies, negotiations, and alliances: particularly through formal and informal compacts with the nobility, *parlementaires*, local magistrates, and clergy. Traditional institutions appropriated images from the great diversity of monarchical traditions and propagated them in ceremonies, novels, legal defenses, and many other ways. The preservation of Louis XIV as the center required some military force and far more invention and diversity in the production of images. Burke does not fully explore the culture and circumstances that made it possible for King Louis XIV to be the legitimate image of an age.

In chapter 2, Burke covers some of the many materials and genres (paintings, statues, architecture, orations, engravings, tapestries) through which persuasion by images was carried out. Chapters 3 through 8 ably give a chronological narrative of the provenances of a wide variety of images. Burke emphasizes the importance of events after the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1660, when Jean Baptiste Colbert and talented assistants like Jean Chapelain, Charles Le Brun, and Charles Perrault turned ways of representing the king into a system: a "department of glory" (p. 59). For the next eighteen years academies, building programs, and limited wars advanced Louis as the agent of European peace and French honor. Wars, however, continued, and, by the Treaty of Nijmegen (1678), it was difficult to reconcile "the discrepancies between the official rhetoric of triumph and the reality of French reverses" (p. 83). Burke sees Colbert's rival and successor, Louvois, undertaking a major "reconstruction of the system" (chap. 7) by turning from allegorical to historical images, doubling expenditures on Versailles, and raising statues of the king in public squares throughout France. After 1689, the cost of war arrested grand projects, and, what Burke tags a "form of circularity" became the core of image-making—that is, "the glorification of the king in one medium . . . [being] celebrated in another" (p. 113). He has an excellent discussion of the projects for printed medallic histories that both memorialized the glorious early years and masked the failures of the last years. When Louis XIV died in 1715, the system continued, and over fifty funeral orations were printed.

The last four chapters on different aspects of the social and cultural uses of images are sweeping in coverage and narrow in interpretation. For example, in chapter 9 Burke points out that the late-seventeenth-century decline of the authority of antiquity and of correspondence theory produced a "crisis of representation." Rather than the generally accepted view that this decline gave rise to belief in unchanging natural laws and reason, Burke suggests that the "crisis" encouraged "cultural relativism" (p. 129). This surprising notion seems to miss the obvious question on the topic: that is, did Louis XIV's personalized system of images so exaggerate the differences between appearances and realities, between

man and nature, and between personal and legitimate power that the system itself was a major factor in making the "crisis." Burke sees a response of sorts to the growing preference for numbers and abstract scientific theories. In earlier times, representations of Louis XIV's acts were not necessarily of actual events; in later times, numbers were made to lie. In chapters 10 and 11, Burke reviews the intended, mostly elite audiences of the image-makers and some of the critical and satirical responses to official images. The book ends with comparative historical perspectives on images of other leaders and Louis XIV.

Burke suggests some theoretical aids for interpretation, such as consideration of a society's "collective need" for heroic images (p. 153), the aptness of Max Weber's (and J. C. F. von Schiller's) notion of the "disenchantment of the world" (p. 128), and the relevancy of Jürgen Habermas's notion of "legitimation crisis" (p. 130). To the frustration of the reader, however, he typically and frequently skims over the connections between theories and history. Burke makes historical points, like the contrast between Philip IV's Spanish style of keeping the king withdrawn and Louis XIV's relatively greater accessibility. But he fails to notice that debates over secretive Spanish styles and public French styles of ruling had been going on for over a century. In other cases as well, one gets little sense of the traditional political and religious concerns that informed the fabrication of Louis XIV. Burke notes that a "contrast in two styles of rhetoric" (absolute/elite versus democratic/popular) stands between Louis XIV and the propaganda of twentieth-century rulers. Yet Burke does not reflect on the equally important question for his study of how Louis XIV's style happened to superimpose itself on alternative early modern discourses that included views of popular and legal limits to authority. Specialists in the period will find other interpretations and exclusions to take issue with as well. Nevertheless, general readers will and should appreciate Burke's agile guidance through the appearances of power during this long reign.

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FRANÇOIS FURET. *Revolutionary France, 1770–1880*. (A History of France, number 4.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1992. Pp. x, 630. \$34.95.

This work by François Furet first appeared in French in 1988 as the fourth in Hachette's five-volume collaborative series covering a millennium of French history. The French edition is richly embellished with color illustrations, informative maps and charts, and biographical vignettes. Almost all this illustrative apparatus (produced by some dozen experts) has been dropped from the English version. The latter consists of over 500 pages of text thinly interspersed with

some twenty-odd unimpressive black-and-white plates. Unlike the deluxe Hachette edition, this volume has the forbidding appearance of a college textbook, an appearance that is reinforced by the addition of a new forty-page annotated bibliography prepared by the author himself.

But appearances are deceptive. A relatively straightforward account of the rise and fall of successive regimes from the 1780s to the 1880s has been interwoven with a personal meditation on the meaning of the French Revolution and on the modern democratic institutions to which it eventually gave rise. This study serves as a kind of sequel to Furet's *Interpreting the French Revolution* (1981), and like that volume this one poses a difficult challenge to the translator. In this instance, the author's prose has lost its verve in the course of being converted into English. Although random checks show few deviations from the original, fidelity has been achieved by means of awkward locutions and involuted phrases.

The book is divided into two sections: part 1, "The French Revolution" (from the *ancien régime* to the fall of Napoléon), and part 2, "Ending the Revolution" (from the Bourbon Restoration to the establishment of the Third Republic.) The first section covers ground that Furet has previously traversed. Treatment of the *ancien régime* largely replicates the views of Alexis de Tocqueville. Abbé Sieyès is singled out as the "mastermind" of the juridical revolution of 1789; the so-called "second revolution" of August 10, 1792, is viewed less as a rupture than as the outcome of decisions taken in 1789; the Reign of Terror is attributed both to the baneful heritage of absolutist monarchy and to a failure to solve the problem of sovereignty in the absence of an absolute sovereign. There is some equivocation as to whether regicide ended a dead charade or cut out a still vital political organ. According to Furet, the problem of "ending the revolution" remained unresolved under the Jacobins, the Thermidoreans, and the Directory. Napoleon provided a solution by sacrificing political liberty while achieving civil equality in the form of the *Code Napoléon*. Under his aegis, the French state was modernized (modernizing and modern are invoked frequently and invariably used as terms of approval); the revolutionary heritage was implanted in a centralized administration. Here, as in his later discussion of the Second Empire, the author plays down the anti-democratic implications of sanctioning military coups by men on horseback.

The defeat of Napoleon and the Bourbon Restoration are seen to have inaugurated a second cycle. Part 2 fleshes out a point previously made in *Interpreting the Revolution*: "the entire history of nineteenth-century France may be viewed as a struggle between Revolution and Restoration—a struggle which ended with the victory of the republicans over the royalists in the 1870s" (*Interpreting the Revolution*, p. 4). To thus encapsulate an "entire history" indicates an overriding concern with political issues to the exclusion of

everything else, and indeed social and cultural movements are considered only insofar as they impinge on politics. On early socialism, for example, Henri Saint-Simon and his disciples are discussed; Charles Fourier and his followers are not. Whereas church-state relations receive careful analysis, foreign affairs are treated more casually and only in conjunction with the struggle over the political regime. Biographical sketches assign political theorists equal prominence with political activists. To help with his narrative, Furet often draws on the writings of a select group of participant-observers: Benjamin Constant, Madame de Staël, Jules Michelet, Louis Blanc, and Edgar Quinet, among others. Tocqueville leads the chorus and receives thirty-seven entries in the index.

There are thirteen entries for Karl Marx, five for Otto von Bismarck, two for Camillo di Cavour. There are none for Charles Baudelaire, Eugène Delacroix, Hector Berlioz, or for numerous other artists. Despite its bearing on politics, the romantic movement receives no entry. The annotated bibliography is also idiosyncratic. Some long-standing disagreements with Jacobin-cum-Marxist Sorbonne professors are aired; some solid works by academic historians (Marcel Reinhard for one) are ignored.

The narrative ends on a triumphant note with the acceptance of the Third Republic by the French electorate. Granted that a celebratory finale was to be expected in a volume published on the eve of the bicentennial in 1989, one is still inclined to distrust history books with happy endings. The fate of the Third Republic suggests that such distrust is not unfounded. But although it invites skepticism, this volume is worth reading, not so much because it sets forth a new thesis (the idea that the revolution left unsettled the question of regime and that energies were unprofitably expended in struggling over this issue is certainly not new) but because it shows how a gifted historian has managed to construct a liberal tradition out of the unpromising materials provided by the often antiliberal men and measures of nineteenth-century France.

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BARRY M. SHAPIRO. *Revolutionary Justice in Paris, 1789–1790*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvii, 302. \$59.95.

At the conclusion of his useful but somewhat flawed study, Barry M. Shapiro states that his goal is "to present the political justice of 1789–90 'as it really was' rather than as if it were a mere rehearsal of what was to come" (p. 226). In that effort he is successful, and his work represents a rebuttal to the teleological interpretations of the French Revolution that have arisen particularly in the last decade and a half.

Whereas revisionist scholars have seen political justice in the early revolution as leading directly to the Reign of Terror, Shapiro, through a careful examination of major political cases, presents a very different picture. The National Assembly, unlike the National Convention, was a tolerant and forgiving body, refusing, for example, to proceed even against the commander of the troops sent to dissolve it in July 1789. Moreover, municipal judicial institutions in Paris generally followed the lead of the National Assembly. Consequently, the Comité des Recherches of the National Assembly, far from presaging the Committee of Public Safety, almost always refused to bring suspects to trial, and its Parisian analogue, rather than foreshadowing revolutionary committees of surveillance, generally acted in the same fashion. Indeed, Shapiro argues convincingly for major variations between 1789–90 and 1793–94. During 1789–90 only one counterrevolutionary conspirator was executed, and Shapiro contends that the National Assembly departed from its policy of leniency only when it perceived it necessary to do so in order to retain popular confidence. Shapiro asserts, somewhat less successfully, that this benevolence resulted from eighteenth-century currents of judicial reform and non-punitive political justice. Whatever its sources, it is clear that there was a policy of moderation and restraint by those who investigated political crimes or administered revolutionary justice in 1789–90.

For all of its merit, however, Shapiro's book also has several deficiencies. He considerably overstates the role of Lafayette, especially when he speaks of "right Fayettists," "left Fayettists," and various maneuvers that they are alleged to have undertaken. Lafayette may have been the "Hero of Two Worlds," but he was not nearly as omnipotent as Shapiro presents him. Furthermore, whether through consideration of a vision of justice described by the Châtelet magistrate Boucher d'Argis in 1781 or the denunciation of the minister Saint-Priest in 1790, Shapiro himself occasionally succumbs to the teleology he rightly attacks. In addition, the newspapers of Marat, Gorsas, Loustalot, and Brissot, on which Shapiro relies heavily, are not always the most reliable sources for political affairs. Each sought to make his reputation by posing as a guardian against putative conspiracies and occasionally refracted events accordingly, so they must be treated with greater caution than is evinced in this study. Most egregious, however, is Shapiro's tendency toward excessive speculation—as in his discussion of the letter taken from the Baron de Castelnau or the activities of the Chevalier de Rutledge—as well as his propensity for argument by interrogative and inferred hypotheses.

In the final analysis, the linear, one-dimensional interpretations of the French Revolution increasingly seem not merely ahistorical, but fatuous. Despite its shortcomings, Shapiro's book reminds us again that it

is possible to speak confidently of a liberal period of the French Revolution.

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MARILYN YALOM. *Blood Sisters: The French Revolution in Women's Memory*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xi, 308. \$25.00.

The era of the French Revolution probably surpasses any other in French history in terms of the number of eyewitness accounts handed down to posterity. It has been estimated that more than 1,000 autobiographies from this period survive, of which about eighty were by women. These form the subject of Marilyn Yalom's book. The autobiographies cover a range of social classes, from that of the Duchesse de Tourzel, the last governess of the unfortunate children of Louis XVI, to that of the young Alexandrine des Echerolles, whose notary father clung to the extreme lower edge of the middle class, to the ghostwritten memoirs of a peasant woman from the Vendée who became a renowned female soldier. Geographically, the autobiographies extend from accounts of exile in St. Petersburg (Elizabeth Vigée-Lebrun), to New York State (Madame de la Tour du Pin), taking in accounts from Germany and England on the way. Although the majority of the testimonies are written in response to events in Paris, Yalom's selection carefully balances this with accounts centering on the Vendée (Madame de la Rochejaquelein) or from Lyon (Mademoiselle des Echerolles). The political complexion of the documents, however, is overwhelmingly counterrevolutionary, although significant exceptions, such as the writings of Charlotte Robespierre or Elizabeth Le Bas, are discussed in these pages.

Yalom does not attempt a systematic interrogation of all eighty autobiographies written by women, however, choosing rather to focus, after an interesting introductory chapter on biography and autobiography, on retelling the "story" contained in a smaller number of the documents. This approach has the considerable merit of concentrating the reader's attention where the autobiographies are themselves focused, on the life stories of individuals during some of their most crucial episodes. It is also an approach for which Yalom pays a price, in terms of the loss of the advantages offered by a less empathetic, more analytical approach. The introductory chapter is full of insights about this group of autobiographies in particular, and about autobiography in general, which I would have been glad to see worked out at greater length. Yalom also tells us little about the reception of the autobiographies. One would like to know more about how widely read they were, how they were reviewed, and how they contributed to the public conception of the revolution and to the aca-

demic history of the period. Sadly, Yalom's book does not live up to its subtitle. Her failure to treat the reception of these autobiographies means that we in fact learn little about how these autobiographies contributed to women's "memory" of the revolution. We do not learn how later women (or men) might have used these texts, texts that might, given their generally counterrevolutionary tendency, have given much pause for thought to historians who see the revolutionary era as in some sense the foundation of modern feminist consciousness. Nor does Yalom discuss the relationship of these autobiographies with histories of the revolution written by women such as Mary Wollstonecraft or Helen Maria Williams. Germaine de Staël's "Considerations on the Revolution" is discussed, yet curiously not as autobiography but rather as evidence for de Staël's relationship with her father.

Yalom herself is also unclear about the project of writing only on women's autobiography. Rightly and forthrightly disclaiming any belief in an essentially "feminine" outlook (pp. 3-4), she recognizes that women share with male autobiographers the capacity to be self-serving, and to seek to influence the present by recounting their particular versions of the past (p. 6). Women's autobiographies may be more influenced by the attempt to link public and private issues, and more dominated by the events of the life-cycle. But even this is hardly true in some cases, and these works' major objective, to bear witness to a time of trial for those who can no longer do so, is certainly shared by many male autobiographers. Why then write specifically about women's autobiography?

All this being said, Yalom's book is accessible and thoughtful, and it has performed valuable service to historical memory by focusing attention on a class of material too often disdained by historians of the revolution, both male and female.

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CATHERINE DUPRAT. *"Pour l'amour de l'humanité": Le temps des philanthropes; La philanthropie parisienne des Lumières à la monarchie de juillet*. Volume 1. Foreword by MAURICE AGULHON. (Ministère de l'Éducation nationale et de la culture, mémoires et documents, number 47.) Paris: Éditions du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques. 1993. Pp. xxxiv, 485. 160 fr.

Catherine Duprat's comprehensive study of late-eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Parisian philanthropy is a solid and impressive piece of social history. Based on extensive primary research and analysis of secondary works, this first of a two-volume study reassesses the philanthropic movement in terms of effectiveness, continuity of membership, and coherence. Challenging the accepted wisdom concerning revolutionary philanthropy, she argues that it was

effective (p. 210) and that the philanthropists "are therefore at the heart of the Revolution" (p. 286). Rather than presenting new information, she identifies patterns where none have previously been discovered, arguing that support for philanthropic activities was linked with attitudes toward the government, and that repressive governments hindered private initiative (p. 415).

Philanthropy is a large subject; Duprat limits her study to causes supported by Parisian societies: judicial reform, maternal assistance, education, and the status of colonial blacks. She considers related provincial and, occasionally, individual efforts.

The story is told in roughly chronological order, with an equally rough topical treatment. The author's thesis is that, despite significant carry-over, in the three decades under consideration philanthropic organizations and activities were significantly different in membership and intention from their precursors. They were secular in membership and outlook, proactive rather than reactive, and dedicated to new beneficiaries—the worthy poor—who were selected neither for sectarian reasons nor judged by personal piety. Instead they were temporary victims of socioeconomic change rather than the permanently indigent. No longer were they relegated to institutions; whenever possible they remained at home, succored with the latest scientific knowledge, and encouraged to become self-supporting as soon as possible.

Despite the continuities documented by Duprat, significant changes occurred. The philanthropists of the 1780s came from the upper ranks: they were financiers, men with active careers, and liberal aristocrats. Association bonds were reinforced by familial and friendship ties and membership in Masonic lodges. Philanthropic societies encouraged active membership: participation in policy-making assemblies, research, and charitable deeds. At first, high subscriptions excluded all but the most wealthy, but during the revolution lower or no dues brought an increasingly democratized membership.

Structural changes also occurred. The first philanthropic societies were quasi-legal associations modeled on scientific academies. After 1785 the Société des amis des noirs linked philanthropic with political action. As the revolution progressed, legislative committees preempted private philanthropy. Subscriptions and charitable gifts became patriotic gifts (*dons*) while philanthropists served on appropriate legislative committees. Only the Société de la charité maternelle, in which women played a prominent role, was not coopted.

As private organizations disappeared, an ever-broader definition of social entitlement transformed private concerns into national obligations. This trend reached a climax in the Year III; soon thereafter the Thermidorians renounced public responsibility. Voluntary and government-related philanthropic activities revived under the Consulate only to decline during the First Empire. In some respects efforts

during the Consulate more closely resembled those of the late 1780s, but the reaction was not total; nobles never regained their dominant role, benefits were still distributed to the home, and beneficiaries were selected independent of sectarian standards.

Overall, Duprat's research is weighty and, for the most part, convincing. Although she presents her story against the shifting background of revolutionary political events, gaps in her coverage exist. For example, her interpretation of why the *Amis des noirs* abandoned the mulatto and black cause is overly simplistic because she fails to consider the relationships between antiracism and philo-Semitism, on the one hand, and the controversial Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Instead she ignores philo-Semitism, which lacked organized support, and barely mentions the Civil Constitution, which to some historians created the critical schism among revolutionaries and threatened leading antiracists (pp. 181–84).

Other problems with this volume—its lack of an index and bibliography—inconvenience readers who wish to trace individual philanthropists or societies. These temporary shortcomings, however, do not seriously detract from the overall worthiness of this scholarly and convincing work.

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PIERRE GOUJON. *Le vigneron citoyen: Mâconnais et Chalonnais (1848–1914)*. (Mémoires de la section d'histoire moderne et contemporaine, number 8.) Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques. 1993. Pp. 325. 220 fr.

Pierre Goujon's volume is part of a larger study: *La cave et le grenier*, Goujon's *thèse d'État* (1988) at the Université de Lyon II, was an "histoire totale" of the Saône-et-Loire (southern Burgundy, excluding the Beaujolais) in the second half of the nineteenth century. Before plunging into this book, readers should peruse Ted Margadant's superb survey of "Tradition and Modernity in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century" (*Journal of Modern History* 56 [Dec. 1984], 667–97), an introduction to the literature in English as well as in French on the rural history of modern France. Except for criticism of a couple of works translated into French, Goujon avoids "contamination" by Anglo-American literature.

Less famous than the Côte de Nuits and the Côte de Beaune, the Châlonnais is well known for the wines of Givry, Rully, and Mercurey; the Mâconnais, home of the *grands ordinaires* of the nineteenth century, is notorious for its Pouilly-Fuissé. Even during the "triumphant period" of the vine (1850–1880), there existed a mix of agriculture based on the rural elite's domanial system, which survived the political and economic crises of the nineteenth century. By analyzing the formation and functioning of various

types of associations and the playing out of politics on a local level, Goujon demonstrates the integration of the peasantry into the local and national communities. By mid-century both the Chalonnais, an area of *le parler bourguignon*, and the franco-provincial Mâconnais were already bilingual. Unlike some isolated areas, southern Burgundy was fully integrated into the nation by the end of the nineteenth century. Goujon is happy to announce that his work destroys the non-integration theses of some "Anglo-Saxon" historians (Eugen Weber, Theodore Zeldin, Suzanne Berger).

Strongly republican and anticlerical after 1848, southern Burgundy passed easily into the "republican synthesis" after the fall of the authoritarian Second Empire. Goujon shows that the area conforms more to Maurice Agulhon's Provençal model than to Alain Corbin's Limousin model: the republicanism of 1848–51 was no flash in the pan but a sign of solid commitment to the democratic evolution of republicanism. Disappointed by the republic of 1848, most peasants voted for Louis Napoleon, the revolutionary man of order who was seen as the best hope for a social and democratic republic. Goujon explores the political logic of this hoary paradox in mind-boggling quantitative detail. The Mâconnais was solidly leftist; the Chalonnais, a political extension of the Côte d'Or, was more an arena of the classic Left-Right political division. With the arrival in power of the *nouvelles couches villageoises*, chiefly the well-off peasantry, the political arena of the *vignoble* was radicalized by an enlarged rural bourgeoisie. "The mayor, republican then radical, elected by the [male] residents of the commune, is a characteristic personage of this political class" (p. 310).

The notable, that useful sociopolitical construct of the historian, was alive and well in the Third Republic, but increasingly non-noble. The position and political power of the "new notables" were based on so-called universal suffrage. Flaubert's prediction in 1850 turned out to be excessively pessimistic. "From time to time, I open a newspaper. Things seem to be proceeding at a dizzy rate. We are dancing not on the edge of a volcano, but on the wooden seat of a latrine, and it seems to me more than a touch rotten. Soon society will go plummeting down and drown in nineteen centuries of shit. There'll be quite a lot of shouting" (quoted in Julian Barnes, *Flaubert's Parrot* [1984], 203).

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H. S. JONES. *The French State in Question: Public Law and Political Argument in the Third Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 231.

The rapid expansion of state-run public services under the Third Republic and the demands for unionization made by the rapidly growing body of

civil service workers opened for public debate not only the question of whether or not civil service workers had the right to unionize but also questions about the very nature of the modern state. H. S. Jones asserts that the issue of civil service unionization is best analyzed not as a part of labor history but as an aspect of administrative history and changing conceptions of the state. In the decade before World War I numerous political theorists debated the so-called crisis of the modern state, and it is this intellectual "moment" that Jones analyzes in this book. Jones concludes that the Third Republic was not a weak state, as has been asserted so frequently, and that this intellectual debate influenced the forging of a new relationship between state and society that enabled the Third Republic to last until 1940.

Because both the centralized state and the legal tradition were very strong in France, most political theorists of the period were trained in the law and their arguments about the state relied on this legal tradition. Underlying the arguments of all these theorists is their attitude toward the separation of private law from public law. Legal theorists such as Henri Chardon, Henry Berthélémy, and Georges Demartial, who maintained that civil service workers were governed by public law because they performed public service, rejected unionization, supporting instead a Civil Service Code. Joseph Paul-Boncour and the socialist Maxime Leroy, however, maintained that since economic inequality existed in both the public and private sector, civil service workers had the same need for a labor contract as workers in the private sector. Jones devotes two full chapters to the theorists he considers to have had the most influence, Léon Duguit and Maurice Hauriou. Both maintained the separation of public and private law and hence rejected unionization. Jones's most interesting chapter analyzes the arguments of those who belonged to the influential *Ligue des droits de l'homme*. Although the *Ligue* officially supported the rights of civil service workers to unionize, to affiliate with the blue-collar unions, and even to strike (they defended the postal strikers of 1909), there were many members who disagreed with this position. Indeed, as Jones indicates, these debates began to show the growing rift between the Radicals who supported the code and the Socialists who supported the right to unionize. And herein lies a weakness of the book. The analysis of the various theoretical arguments about the nature of the state is very well done and a fine contribution to the history of Third Republic France, but it is disconnected from what is happening in the world of politics. During this entire pre-1914 debate, the government never acquiesced on the question of civil service unions. Underlying their rhetoric about public good and public service lay the real fear of an alliance of civil service workers and blue-collar workers. It is useful to remember that it is in this period that Georges Clemenceau became known as the "bri-seur de grève" (the strike breaker).

The story of civil service unionization is a complex one. It is part of a reexamination of the French state, but it is also a part of labor history and of the political events of the period. Jones gives us one more indication of the waning power of the Radical Party as the party of reform and the growth of the Socialist Party that supplanted it as the defender of workers in both the private and the public sector.

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MARK ANTLIFF. *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 237. \$35.00.

Mark Antliff is an art historian, but his book focuses much more on philosophical and cultural debates than on works of art. In painstaking detail he chronicles the uses of Bergson's philosophy in the thinking of the avant-garde from 1905 to 1914: principally the Cubists, Fauves, Rhythmists, *Action d'art* group, and Futurists. Along the way he acknowledges influences besides Bergson—Friedrich Nietzsche, Jules Romains (his Unanimism), and Georges Sorel, for example—but he does not attempt to sketch the larger context of antirationalism and vitalist thought. Tracking ideas that are clearly Bergsonian, he concentrates on the writings of little-known partisans of the avant-gardes. His major figures include Tancred de Visan and Joseph Billiet and some painters who were also theorists, notably Albert Gleizes, Jean Metzinger, and Henri Le Fauconnier (such famous figures as Pablo Picasso and Georges Braque are only briefly mentioned). Most of the book recounts the arguments that these theorists make in article after article in short-lived little journals such as *Montjoie!*, *Pan*, and *L'Art libre*.

In Antliff's account the champions of the avant-garde *L'Art libre* were engaged in a far-ranging argument with right-wing political spokesmen like Charles Maurras and other *Action française* writers. The Cubist Albert Gleizes and his friends, for example, squared off against Maurras's cult of rationalism and Hellenic-Latin classicism, and they even went on to claim Cubism as part of their redefined French classicism. Viewed through their Bergsonian lenses, Cubism expressed the essential organic order of nature and a unique French spirit, both grasped intuitively in time and movement. Bergson offered the avant-gardes the key idea that through intuition the artist could arrive at the truth of an inner dynamic reality; that is, the qualitative and emotional experience of space, time, and the artist's soul.

On issues of gender the Cubists and Rhythmists (an international group continuing Fauvism) did not show up on such clear battle lines drawn against the Right. They perpetuated some old ways of viewing and painting women as the "other," but they did so

with the support of new Bergsonian ideas. They therefore associated the female not just with nature but also with the *élan vital*, while associating cultural creativity with the male. And they shared the Right's strong interest in male sports figures. Although culturally conservative in these ways, they roundly rejected the Action française's view of Bergsonism as feminine in its implications.

As Antliff's story unfolds, still other Left-Right crossovers emerge. Against the Right's Latin classicism some members of the Paris avant-garde adopted a nationalism centering on France's Celtic past, and they engaged in racist theorizing. Cubist spokesmen in particular identified their cause with a Gallo-Celtic tradition that they claimed to continue as the essential French tradition. Bergsonian ideas also took diverse political directions in pro-Cubist anarchist circles. A particularly convoluted chapter takes us through the anarchists' debates about whether theft (*reprise individuelle*) was legitimate or not, whether their individualism was justified on scientific or intuitive grounds, and whether it should be combined with some collective action. Antliff focuses on André Colomer as a leading spokesman for the strictly individualistic revolt against society and contrasts him with the Futurists who chose a collective revolt along Sorelian and nationalistic lines.

Antliff makes clear that modernism and Bergson's organicism ended by contributing to the politics of reaction. Although artists and theoreticians began on the Left, many of them by 1913 espoused beliefs in violence, the organic nation-state, and racist theories of history, views aligning them with various currents of emerging fascism. The author shows that a similar ideological odyssey showed up after the war in such notable figures as Le Corbusier, who moved from Taylorist rationalism to Vichy syndicalism and a plan for dividing Europe into several racial units.

It is ironic that so much intellectualizing came from admirers of a philosopher who lamented intellectualizing about art and championed the intuitive. Antliff's close attention to the many theorists and their arguments give the irony a further dimension. His exposition is dense and often abstract; little is told about the persons discussed, and most of them remain simply names connected with arguments. The book, however, certainly succeeds in demonstrating how seriously the avant-garde took the philosophical understanding of their art and their politics. It gives us a careful account of their philosophically rich debates and carries their history up to the point where Kenneth Silver's *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War* (1989) begins. And its conclusion effectively drives home the important final irony: the ideas that the art movements embraced ended up contributing to the very kinds of politics that they had initially scorned and attacked.

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ROBERT A. NYE. *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France*. (Studies in the History of Sexuality.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 316. \$39.95.

In the first decades of the twentieth century, French men still resorted to duels to settle questions of "honor" large and small. There were duels between Jews and anti-Semites, socialists and their opponents, deputies and senators. The provocations included insults to one's wife, charges of adultery, and assaults on one's character, integrity, or public standing. Whatever the specific outrage, however, it led to a duel when the insulted party considered that the honor of his manhood had been violated. Robert A. Nye estimates conservatively that there were at least 200 duels a year in the last quarter of the nineteenth century; indeed, "as late as 1911 one could still find as many as five duels taking place in Paris alone in a span of twenty days" (p. 185).

One of the aims of this engaging book is to explain the persistence of this anachronism, a relic of the days of aristocratic chivalry, and to trace its evolution into a patriotic and democratic form of individual conflict. Nye thinks the duel exemplified qualities of manhood that were highly valued by the French bourgeoisie, a group invested in and anxious about its masculinity. Since masculinity was never finally proven, he reminds us, but in need of constant reassertion, the duel became a ready test of honor and courage. Like masculinity itself, of course, the duel could undermine what it sought to prove: "a man was in greatest danger of dishonoring himself at the very moment he most expressly affirmed his honor" (p. 13). (Some of the best parts of this book consist of descriptions of the pathetic, almost comic, ends to which highly publicized duels might come.)

Duels constituted one of the public rites of male sociability, Nye argues, a place where private preoccupation with the male body and public assertion of its masculine identity met. Because dishonor was taken to be a natural consequence of sexual disorder, the maintenance of his honor was proof of a man's normal sexuality. In addition, nineteenth-century advocates of dueling stressed its leveling function (in the face of contradictory evidence that duels were a bourgeois affair): honor and the masculinity it demonstrated were said to transcend boundaries of class and establish the equality of all men and citizens (and their fundamental difference from women).

Nye uses a range of evidence to explore the question of bourgeois codes of honor in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The comments of doctors and legislators on hygiene, sexual difference, population decline, and perversion will be familiar to many readers. They seem to have become the stock citations in recent histories of sexuality in France. Nye does not advance the analysis of this discourse on sexuality and he does not expose its instabilities. Instead he uses it simply to establish the fact that

French men were worried about masculinity. His focus on honor is an important addition to the story, as is the attempt to connect physical anxiety and social behavior. But there is something ahistorical about the way in which Nye deploys the concept of masculinity as an explanation for the materials he examines. Duels were, to be sure, an attempt to assert and protect masculinity, a defense of "honor." But why duels? And why in this period? How did honor construct the meanings of class or country? And what kind of political vision did this entail? What was distinctive about assertions of manhood at this moment in French history, and what do these assertions tell us about constructions of social power in their specificity?

Nye offers a general answer to these questions at the beginning of his book (p. 13). He suggests, following Pierre Bourdieu, that bourgeois codes of male honor not only established the superiority of the bourgeoisie but also were strategies of its social reproduction. Yet when he gets to the presentation of the evidence he describes what people said without showing how what they said operated as a strategy of social reproduction. And he never answers more specific historical questions about what exactly—in nineteenth and early twentieth-century France—was being reproduced. As a result he establishes the fact that masculinity was an issue in history, but he does not give masculinity itself a history. In the important and consistently intelligent corpus of his work that will perhaps be the next challenge he takes up.

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SUSAN ZUCCOTTI. *The Holocaust, the French, and the Jews*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xv, 383. \$30.00.

The history of the Jews in France under the German occupation is entering its third phase. First there was the study of the laws and decrees, which aimed at excluding the Jews from the French national community. Next, a long and often confused debate began concerning the existence of the Jewish Resistance and the forms it took. For some years now the questions have changed. Daily life, the role of certain institutions, and the aid that non-Jewish French citizens provided are the new subjects that historians are now approaching.

Susan Zuccotti is among the third wave of historians. She begins her book by studying Jewish society before 1939. Here she remarks that a homogeneous and united community did not exist. She clearly demonstrates how the Vichy laws and German edicts contributed to the process of exclusion. She describes the innumerable camps in the so-called Free Zone in which thousands of foreign Jews were interned. Then she examines the Razzias of 1941–42 and the subse-

quent deportations. An entire chapter is devoted to the Vél d'Hiv Razzia of July 16–17, 1942.

The key question posed by the author is the original element in this work. Zuccotti notes that nearly 80,000 Jews were deported from France and that fewer than 2,800 came back. She underlines, however, the significance of these figures: 250,000 escaped the Holocaust. This is a proportion of the population markedly larger than that of the Jewish population in Belgium or Holland, not to mention the Jews in Germany or Poland. The answer is not easy. Does the geography of France—its mountains, the Alps, the Pyrenees, or the Massif Central—provide an explanation of how the Jews were able to hide out? Or was it the escape routes to Spain or Switzerland where a privileged few were able to seek refuge? Or could it have been the existence of an Italian zone of occupation from November 1942 to September 1943 in eight French departments, which offered a veritable haven of peace? Were the activities of the Jewish organizations significant?

In the final analysis, Zuccotti's response rests on the attitude of the French population. Long indifferent regarding the Jews, who in any case were largely unknown or accepted as bothersome strangers, the French were shocked to witness the obligatory yellow star as of 1942 in the Occupied Zone, followed by the deportation of children, women, and the elderly. In the face of these events, something like a movement of solidarity began to take shape. The aid took various forms, but it did exist. And without it, a large number of Jews would have been unable to escape the end promised to them by the Nazis.

The proof is convincing and corresponds to recent research. Nonetheless, we might wish that Zuccotti would respond to three other issues. First, daily life deserves a more in-depth analysis. The geography of the Jewish population changed between 1940 and 1944. Many chose to cross the demarcation line and to establish themselves in the southern zone. Here they felt more secure, a different atmosphere, new possibilities that the persecuted population could not find in the north. How did they live, day in and day out? What were their activities? Were they received with open arms by peasants and city dwellers alike who knew Jews only through stereotypes? Second, because Jews did manage, not without difficulties, to cross the border into Spain and Switzerland, there must have been evasion networks, complicity, and often outright opposition on the part of the host countries. Was it easy to flee France? Did the United States live up to its role as the promised land? Or did the immigration quotas and the overdemanding immigration policy of the Department of State put a brake on a movement that might have grown much larger? And, finally, should the Jewish institutions, including the Union Générale des Israélites de France (UGIF), which is habitually blamed, be condemned? In playing the game of legality, the UGIF often served as a cover for clandestine activities and

allowed for the later development of genuine armed resistance movements led, for example, by the *Eclaireurs Israélites de France*.

Zuccotti's book has met with an enthusiastic response by its readers, French or not. The work shows the vitality of studies on occupied France, and especially on the Jewish population during World War II. By use of precise examples, Zuccotti is able to illustrate the human side and contribute to a new understanding of this issue.

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ROBERT STUART. *Marxism at Work: Ideology, Class and French Socialism during the Third Republic*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 513.

The Parti ouvrier français, identified with Jules Guesde, assumed a key place at the extremist fringe of the French socialist Left in the quarter century preceding the creation of the S.F.I.O. in 1905. To many of their contemporaries as well as to historians, the Guesdists were indeed "impossible"; intransigent in a Marxist conviction that they appeared to understand poorly and to engage in the most literal fashion, deeply serious and self-dramatizing as bearers of Marx's emancipatory message, they have been cast as a sect of true believers increasingly remote from the real issues of their time. Compromise, the essence of democratic politics, was repellent to them; so too were other socialists, anarchists, democratic liberals, reformers, and unions seeking to win concessions from capitalist employers. Withering in their excommunication of the bourgeoisie, Guesde and his comrades practiced class war as a relentless and unforgiving reality, ignoring the complexities of French society and opportunities for social alliances. Yet as champions of the proletariat, they found recruitment disappointing. Politics driven by ideological rigor offered increasingly scant rewards. Marxism seemed to provide a barrier to change, hostile to opportunities for improving lives of workers, as was amply demonstrated by workers who gave their enthusiasm and their vote to their class enemies. Like certain other European Marxists, the Guesdists appear to have been victims of their faith in Marxism; in their case, extreme doctrinal rigidity apparently sealed their fate.

The Guesdists have been studied many times. Claude Willard's monumental *Les Guesdistes* (1965) has stood as the definitive account of the party, its positions, actions, recruitment, and regional implantation. Robert Stuart's book is quite a different history, at once rich in its exploration of ideology and in its interpretation of the dilemmas of a Marxist party in a confusing and changing society. Elegantly crafted and gracefully written, it is one of the most thoughtful studies to have appeared on any European socialist party. The Guesdists deserve no less, for they were

serious and sincere people whose errors have obscured both their contributions and their intelligence. Rather than offering a chronological account of the party's organization, leadership, and actions, Stuart's work is intended as a history of the party's ideology in its time and place.

To the Guesdists, Stuart argues, Marxism was reality, rooted in a believable history: "Guesdists thought with Marxism, not about it" (p. 29). Their interpretation of their world, France of the early Third Republic, was shaped wholly by their ideology; that world made sense only through understanding "principles of discrimination and exclusion" (p. 56). Their party created itself in struggles, and it lived for struggle. With their ideological tools they analyzed their society, knowing unalterably that class consciousness and class conflict were central to everything. These were revolutionaries, not bomb-throwers, "soldiers of the idea" (p. 29). They detested anarchists for their deeds and their lack of ideas, and they loathed socialists who acted opportunistically, seduced by the mirage of class collaboration.

Guesdists were ideologically consistent even when their tactics suggested their own opportunism or misunderstanding. For example, Stuart demonstrates persuasively that Guesdist hostility toward unions was driven by polemical imperatives, not by systematic devaluation of unions as contributors to proletarian emancipation. Furthermore, Guesdists did not oppose reforms undertaken by the state; they merely hated reformism, which was a detour from revolution. Similarly, Guesdists were ideologically confident that revolution was advancing with the speed and power of a glacier, yet most of them displayed impatience. They "equated socialist revolution with political insurrection" (p. 261) and "awaited a day of class judgment" (p. 262).

However sophisticated and penetrating the Guesdists' ideological analyses may have been, Stuart suggests that their thirst for polemic, their zeal for conflict, and their tactical needs frequently distorted their ideas, which then appeared blindly negative, even incoherent. Hence the Guesdists found themselves limited in appeal to a small segment of the industrial working class; they were shaped more by a passing historical moment than they could ever admit.

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RICHARD F. KUISEL. *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 296. \$30.00.

Almost every recent visitor to France has had the same experience: searching out a fondly remembered café only to discover in its place a McDonalds full of French undergraduates wearing Princeton sweat shirts and smoking Marlboros. It is this issue, "the

dilemma of Americanization," that Richard F. Kuisel addresses in his important book. For a century and a half the French had been more or less able to ignore American influence. The Liberation, the Marshall Plan, and the Cold War changed all that. The United States, as either model or threat, became central to postwar France. Kuisel examines the political, economic, and cultural impact of the United States on French society. His real subject, however, is the French reaction to the American presence.

Because France and the United States, as Kuisel notes, "are the only two Western European nations that harbor universal pretensions" (p. 127), the French debate about Americanization had an intensity that was lacking elsewhere. The author expertly analyzes both the contours and ambivalences of the French reactions to a dominating American presence. The anti-Americanism of left-wing intellectuals like Jean-Paul Sartre, Emmanuel Mounier, and Hubert Beuve-Méry was predictable enough, although even Sartre, fond though he was of comparing the United States to a rabid dog, genuinely appreciated American jazz and literature. Raymond Aron's enthusiasm for American economic dynamism did not prevent him from having reservations about other aspects of American society and culture. Even those who were least hostile to the United States tended to contrast the American *homo faber* with the French *homo sapiens*. In the 1950s French intellectuals emphasized the social problems and cultural aridity of the United States although, ironically, their source was the work of American scholars such as C. Wright Mills, David Riesman, Vance Packard, and William Whyte.

After 1956 the Cold War diminished in intensity, economic development rapidly transformed French society, and French self-confidence returned. As a result, anti-American sentiment began to wane. By the late 1960s the "enfant terrible" of St-Germain-des-Prés was no longer Sartre but rather Jean-François Revel, whose *Ni Marx, Ni Jésus* (1970) portrayed America not as the enemy of revolution but as its last hope. On the Right, Alain Peyrefitte's *Le Mal français* (1976) betrayed none of the latent anti-Americanism of 1960s Gaullism. Thirty years after the Liberation "one could speak of a Gallic 'American mania'" (p. 213). By the 1990s Paris even had its own Disneyland. Critics like Ariane Mnouchkine denounced it as a "cultural Chernobyl" (p. 228) although, as Kuisel wryly reminds us, she had previously posed with Mickey Mouse at the California original.

What Kuisel's account makes clear is that neither the antagonism of intellectuals nor the concerted action of governments significantly impeded the Americanization of France. The combined efforts of the Communist Party and the French beverage industry delayed but did not stop the Coca-Cola invasion. Gaullist scrutiny of the (modest) American investment in the 1960s frustrated American industrialists but rarely altered the inevitable outcome. Georges Duhamel, that venerable opponent of American cul-

ture, could as late as 1956 still proclaim that hand washing produced cleaner clothes than did the new fangled washing machine (a judgment, one suspects, that owed little to personal experience). The average French citizen seems to have been unimpressed because within twenty years three out of four households would possess this quintessentially American product. It was at the height of de Gaulle's political and economic feud with the United States in the later 1960s that Paris began to fill up with both pseudo-American retail outlets (Le Drugstore) and the real thing (McDonalds).

Did this gradual Americanization of France destroy, as so many had feared, the French way of life? Kuisel concludes: "Americanization neither obliterated French independence nor smothered French identity. France did change but it remained the same." Kuisel's book delivers rather more than its title might suggest and provides a valuable guide to the society and culture of postwar France. It is a worthy companion to John Ardagh's classic *The New French Revolution* (1969).

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ÉLISABETH DU RÉAU. *Édouard Daladier, 1884–1970*. Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 581. 180 fr.

This is a major contribution to our understanding of France on the eve of World War II and the defeat of 1940. It is a tightly focused biography, one that works principally around the pinnacle of Édouard Daladier's political career between 1932 and 1940. And it is, essentially, a sympathetic treatment of one who lived the last thirty years of his life in the certain knowledge that he was regarded as "le responsable" for the defeat (p. 441). Having declined to complete his memoirs—despite years of preparation—it is doubtful that Daladier had managed to change many minds by the time of his death in 1970; and it is difficult to say how many more will now be shifted by the impact of this meticulous new study.

Élisabeth du Réau's book has two great strengths. First, it is the product of truly tireless research. There is little wonder that its completion has taken as long as it took France to move from peace to war between 1919 and 1939. No archival stones have been left unturned, including those in the United States, Britain, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland; and no fewer than thirty-eight names appear on the list of interviews that the author conducted between 1974 and 1991 with Daladier's family, friends, and collaborators.

Second, as befits a work so conceived, this is the fullest, most detailed account of Daladier's role in the late Third Republic. Not everything is new, to be sure, but what is familiar and what is truly novel are at last concentrated in a single volume. That means,

of course, that we have another careful analysis of the famous Munich affair in 1938, including an illuminating treatment of the split between Premier Daladier and his Foreign Minister, Georges Bonnet. But we also have here the fullest account of Daladier's sudden and peculiar resignation from the premiership in 1934 in the face of street riots, of his pivotal role in the rearmament of France after 1936, and of his controversial wartime premiership. Especially new and useful are the glimpses we get of the men on Daladier's private staff, those like Roger Genébrier who worked so closely with him through the crisis years. Finally, du Réau helps complete the picture of the long but souring relationship between War Minister Daladier and the French commander in chief—a relationship recently explored, from the other side, by Martin S. Alexander (*The Republic in Danger: General Maurice Gamelin and the Politics of French Defence* [1992]).

Interpretively, du Réau is resolutely judicious; some may judge her cautious. For example, she acknowledges rather than confronts the still-sputtering debate over the characterization of interwar France: a nation bled of energy and will power by the toll of World War I, or a nation, despite that toll, of continued stamina and substance. Although her Daladier would seem far more representative of the latter than the former, given his industry and his unflinching patriotism, she cannot quite overcome some of the contemporary doubts about his strength of character. Always there seems to be a nagging suspicion that instead of a strong man who had moments of weakness, this may have been a weak man who had flashes of strength. Or, as Jules Jeanneney wondered (p. 221), was this a strength fired by the embarrassment of self-perceived weakness? Whatever the suspicions of contemporaries, or the inferences of her readers, du Réau settles gently on the "enigma" (p. 12) of Daladier that, although cautious, is perhaps the most accurate and certainly the most candid of all such judgments.

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WAYNE NORTHCUTT. *Mitterrand: A Political Biography*. New York: Holmes and Meier. 1992. Pp. xvi, 399.

François Mitterrand is one of the most enigmatic of the great political figures of our time. An accomplished writer, intellectual, and jurist, he is above all a consummate politician and brilliant political strategist. He is also a man with many friends but few intimates; an isolated figure, aloof and distant in public; and a man who, despite his dislike for Charles de Gaulle, sought to imitate his regal manner and to encourage the personality cult that, by his second term, had earned him the nickname "God" among any number of French citizens.

In this biography by Wayne Northcutt, Mitterrand

remains enigmatic, but perhaps necessarily so. Until more time has passed, and historians have access to private papers, memoirs, and the confessions of intimates, we cannot but know the outside of events; the gestures, the words, the explanations produced for public consumption by a very public figure who has kept his private thoughts very much to himself. For the public persona and his actions, however, the book is a treasure trove of information.

Northcutt provides a straightforward account of Mitterrand, from the key life experiences that would serve to prepare him for his presidency, through the ups and downs of the presidency itself. We gain insight, first, into those life experiences: the bourgeois Catholic upbringing; the wartime resistance experiences; the rich and varied ministerial career in the Fourth Republic (at thirty he was the youngest minister in 100 years); the history with the Communists that left him always on his guard; and the history of dislike of de Gaulle and the Gaullists, in particular as a result of two scandals concocted by the Right that nearly brought him down.

The book is not only a political biography but also a political history of France between 1981 and 1991. Thus, it details the dazzling array of reform of the first five years of Mitterrand's presidency that included the nationalization of major banks and industries, the decentralization of local government, the institution of innovative social policies, the reform of health care, housing, justice and liberty, elections, cultural policy, and communications; the trials and tribulations of the neoliberal period, where Mitterrand managed the delicate relationship that was "cohabitation" with the rightist Prime Minister Jacques Chirac; and the calmer experience of the Rocard government, where Mitterrand's main rival was his prime minister. It also mentions the major controversies: not only the failed private school reform and the press law but also the Greenpeace affair, Carrefour (an embezzlement scheme), the Luchair affair (sales of ammunition to Iran), and the Pechiney affair (insider trading).

Moreover, Northcutt covers the panoply of domestic policy issues for which Mitterrand was the chief arbiter, as well as the many foreign policy issues for which Mitterrand was the chief architect. For the industrial policies in particular, we see how Mitterrand, the public relations man, using grand language, managed first to carry the message of expansion, and then of austerity. And for foreign policy, we see not only Mitterrand the strategist, whose successes were as impressive as his failures in his relations with his European partners, with North Africa, and with the overseas French territories such as New Caledonia, but also Mitterrand the wily politician, who often managed to deflect attention away from difficult domestic economic problems through major foreign policy initiatives.

Mitterrand, in short, emerges as larger than life, the primary actor in a decade of major changes for

French politics and economics. This is both the book's strength, for the result is an extremely useful narrative history of the Mitterrand years, and its weakness. Because the central figure of the biography looms so large, the other players become so much smaller and decisions that are most often the result of compromise and negotiation, of political infighting and petty rivalries, end up appearing as the single-handed, rational initiative of a president totally in command of the facts and impervious to all untoward pressures. Would that this were so!

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PHILIP H. GORDON. *A Certain Idea of France: French Security Policy and the Gaullist Legacy*. (Princeton Studies in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xxv, 255. \$35.00.

Almost twenty-five years after Charles de Gaulle's resignation from the presidency, French discussions of defense and security matters inevitably revolve around Gaullist principles. De Gaulle's preoccupation with maintaining an autonomous defense policy, an independent nuclear strike force, the avoidance of hegemonic control of Western defense by the United States, and the claim of a unique and special role for France in the world continue as guidelines and essential principles to French defense policy in the 1990s. De Gaulle's vision of the ultimate triumph of national and geographic realities over ideologies and Cold War divisions has proven accurate, but there are reasons to question how appropriate de Gaulle's defense ideas are to the Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals that he foresaw.

Philip H. Gordon assesses the Gaullist legacy in this analysis of French military policies, strategies and doctrines, and budgets from 1958–92. He points to the remarkable continuity in French security patterns over this thirty-five year period in spite of major changes in world politics, strategic balance, and military technologies. Often, even while de Gaulle still ruled, this consistency was achieved by the ambiguity of the basic principles and actual defense policies. Post-Gaullist presidents have found, however, a strong national consensus on respecting at least the guise of Gaullism.

The author shows that this legacy is a "living" one in that it has undergone many adjustments—even while de Gaulle was still president—in order to adapt to a changing world. Indeed, Gordon points to that flexibility as a key element of Gaullist defense policies. By the late 1960s, even before de Gaulle resigned, there were already tensions and contradictions in French military doctrines. The strength of the elite consensus around Gaullist principles served as a major handicap to any fundamental adaptations. Changes tended to be incremental and couched in

Gaullist terminology when they occurred. Gordon acknowledges important adjustments in French defense policies but argues that their essential Gaullist nature remains important, as can be seen by comparing French policies with those of any of their neighbors.

In a provocative epilogue, Gordon quite accurately points to the challenges in the 1990s of making delayed adaptations and reshaping French defense doctrines to a post-Cold War world. De Gaulle may have accurately predicted the fall of the Iron Curtain, but the doctrines he imposed on the French military have ill-prepared France for the new security demands of a fragmented Eastern Europe and a uniting Western Europe. One of the strengths of Gordon's analysis is his ability to identify the key Gaullist elements and explain how they can be used to justify a range of defense policy changes. French grandeur and distinctiveness in foreign and defense policies has always been more a product of lights, mirrors, and illusions than of substantive policy. That appears likely to remain true as the Gaullist legacy is given even greater ambiguity as France adjusts to the new political and strategic realities.

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PEGGY K. LISS. *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 398. \$30.00.

Students of early modern Spain have long awaited a reliable and discerning study of Queen Isabel of Castile, one that does more than rehearse the usual clichés about her religious faith and piety. She was pious, of course, but in a distinctively fifteenth-century way. Her faith, Peggy K. Liss points out, was not the kind we associate with sainthood. Her aspiration to be an ideal Christian monarch was not devoid of the use of power as well as persuasion. Her piety fused devotion and severity, justice and revenge, love and fear. "Within the world as she knew it," writes Liss, "she strove to be just and pious . . . Hers is a story of conjugal love, familial warmth, and ambition to excel, as well as . . . extraordinary reserves of will, resolution and courage. That combination in one monarch 500 years ago has left an indelible imprint on Spain, on Europe, on America, on the world" (p. 359).

From our point of view, Isabel was a contradictory person: seemingly merciful, yet sponsor of the dreaded Inquisition; deeply religious, yet ruthlessly expelling the Jews from Spain; compassionate, yet partially responsible for many of the injuries committed against the natives of the West Indies (although she did more than anyone else to protect them from exploitation). Tolerance was not a component of fifteenth-century Christianity, particularly with contemporary pressures toward religious unity and confessional conformity. From the perspective of her

own time, and the demands of her unique position, she was more consistent than we might think. Isabel tried to conform to the image of the ideal monarch: tough, responsible, jealous of her prerogatives, protective of her subjects and of the legacy she inherited. She had high expectations of herself and performed her regal duties to the best of her ability. Her influence on subsequent Spanish rulers was significant.

The Castilian queen that Liss describes is a very human individual, genuinely in love with her husband, Fernando, king of Aragon, solicitous of his safety and deeply concerned over the health and integrity of their children. She also worried about the *infantes'* conjugal happiness and their ability to advance the dynastic duties of their birthright. She was a strong personality, with long-range goals of establishing peace, harmony, and justice within her realm and making Spain the leader among Christian nations. To help achieve these goals she established the Inquisition, conquered Muslim Granada, and expelled the Jews from Spain. She also reformed and regenerated religious worship, reorganized the council system, reduced lawlessness and disorder in the countryside by instituting a national police force (known as the *Santa Hermandad*), and increased royal revenues while winning the allegiance of many previously disruptive grandees. At the same time she was the focus of a nationwide artistic revival. Liss is particularly successful at revealing the turbulent world of Isabel's youth as she survived the civil wars between her half-brother Enrique IV and the great nobles to become queen of Castile. The author skillfully leads us through the intricate workings of Isabel's reign, her personal and political relationship with Fernando, the civil conflicts and war with Portugal and France, the prolonged war in Granada with its dramatic conclusion in 1492, and her patronage of Christopher Columbus and his Enterprise of the Indies, an enterprise, Liss demonstrates, that was in tune with Isabel's own world view.

This is an excellent book, well researched from original chronicles and secondary works, mildly revisionist in its interpretation of Isabel, and convincingly written. Although it is not as smooth-flowing and easy to read as Nancy Rubin's *Isabella of Castile: The First Renaissance Queen* (1991), it is more penetrating and interpretive. It is must reading for anyone seriously interested in Spanish history.

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MANUEL FERRER MUÑOZ. *Elecciones y partidos políticos en Navarra durante la Segunda República*. (Historia, number 68.) Pamplona, Spain: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación y Cultura. 1993. Pp. 558.

As the climax of modern Spanish politics, the Second Republic of 1931–36 has been the subject of more

study than any other period of contemporary Spanish history, save the Civil War of 1936–39. Although by now many aspects of republican affairs have been investigated, no single area has drawn as much attention as local and provincial politics, with research especially focused on electoral studies. The concentration on this dimension has been due to the convergence of several factors: the extraordinary increase in concern for local and regional history under the present system of de facto democratic federalism in Spain, the special salience of political factionalism in the history of the republic, and the relative practicality of concentrating research on the press and the political and electoral records of a specific delimited area. The result has been the development of an extensive local political and electoral historiography that grows each year as more and more dissertations—sometimes even master's theses—appear.

Compared with many other provinces, Navarre has attracted less attention, due especially to its strong conservative character and the electoral dominance of Carlism. Yet, as Martin Blinkhorn has pointed out, Navarre was in fact a more complex and pluralist province than has been thought, and it sheltered in microcosm nearly all the numerous political options and forces present elsewhere.

This is amply demonstrated by Manuel Ferrer Muñoz, who provides us with one of the most precise and thorough studies of political parties and elections that has been published for any part of the country. The first chapters present a detailed introduction to the social and demographic structure of Navarre, followed by a 200-page section that systematically describes and analyzes all the political parties that functioned in the province, treating each in terms of its origins, development, and relations with other forces. The final 250-page section presents a detailed and systematic account of each election, with a statistical breakdown for each party and local district.

In addition to providing a wealth of new data, Ferrer Muñoz also demonstrates conclusively that "Navarrism" was in varying ways supported by the Left as well as by the Right, in distinction to Basque nationalism, which remained weak. In Navarre, concern for agrarian problems not surprisingly dominated. Despite the Carlist hegemony, other political options enjoyed significant support, especially in southern Navarre. Moreover, Ferrer Muñoz argues that his data do not indicate that the enfranchisement of women, beginning in 1933, added so disproportionate a number of rightist votes as has often been thought.

There is very little with which to quarrel in this thorough and objective study, a model of its kind. The volume of electoral data is complete enough to satisfy the most demanding critic, and it is lucidly analyzed and arranged. The only dimensions missing are complete comparative tables at the conclusion that would summarize the global results for each election, together with longitudinal results for all the

major parties. This is one of the very best of all the provincial political studies for the Second Republic and a most welcome addition to its historiography.

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MARJOLEIN C. 't HART. *The Making of a Bourgeois State: War, Politics, and Finance during the Dutch Revolution*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. xii, 238. \$59.95.

Dutch history in the seventeenth century seems to refute the general rule that war promotes state-formation. Although the republic engaged in long and expensive wars, pioneered advanced methods of military and financial organization, and achieved a global position of commercial hegemony, no powerful central state emerged. To explain this contradiction, Marjolein C. 't Hart first endeavors to establish with precision both the overall cost of the republic's wars between the 1580s and the 1640s and how they were financed. Then she examines how the preferred financial expedients reinforced existing political fissures and federal tendencies, thus preventing centralization.

Her discussion of the cost of war (which occupies three-quarters of the text) includes some important and original data, usually presented in a graphical format, on the costs of the Dutch Revolt to the republic. The size of the armed forces and the cost of the defense establishment are given on an annual basis, proving that the army absorbed almost twice as much money as the navy and that by the 1640s almost 90 percent of the republic's total expenditure—about 24 million guilders a year—went to war. Perhaps 95 percent of this sum came from taxes, but by the 1640s central funds provided less than one-fifth of the state's military needs: the seven constituent provinces of the republic provided the rest, mainly through excise duties. The yield of Holland's excises rose from 4 million guilders in 1608 to 6 million in 1624, to over 9 million in 1645, by which time, in towns such as Leiden, taxes accounted for 60 percent of the price of beer, 25 percent of the price of bread, and 14 percent of the price of meat. Even the loans contracted to bridge the gap between revenue and expenditure remained primarily a provincial affair. Although the Union's debt rose from 5 million to almost 10 million guilders between 1618 and 1649, that of the province of Holland soared from under 5 million to perhaps 147 million.

't Hart attributes the success of the Dutch republic in "escaping absolutism" to this crucial combination of the decentralization of finance (both taxation and credit) with the decentralization in the war effort (for navies, and to some extent armies, remained under provincial rather than central control). Unable to monopolize military, naval, or fiscal power, the cen-

tral organs of state remained weak. Federalism helped to keep bureaucracy at bay: even in 1648 the central government in the Hague commanded less than 200 civil servants.

The argument is certainly elegant, and it rests on impressive research in the archives of both central and provincial government; but certain doubts remain. First, on the theoretical level, might not the type of war fought by the republic have also played a role? Wars for hegemony, which normally involved fighting abroad, seem to have stimulated state-formation because they did require central direction; wars for self-defense did not. With the notable exception of the "Descent upon England" in 1688, the Dutch—almost alone among the Great Powers—never engaged in "hegemonic wars" in Europe. Their decentralized system therefore suited their strategic goals and thus constituted another reason for its survival. On a more practical level, it seems regrettable that the detailed figures on which 't Hart bases her analysis rarely appear, and the few that do appear seem to contradict the evidence of the graphs. For example, Table 6.2, "Origin of the generality debt as of 1649," presents an itemized total of 7,788,854 guilders (p. 169); yet Figure 6.1, "Long-term loans contracted by the generality (accumulated and still extant in 1649)," citing the same source, shows a total for 1649 of almost 10 million guilders (p. 167). They cannot both be right. Finally, the book is marred by poor style, too many untranslated quotations, and much careless editing. Nevertheless, assuming that the figures cited are broadly correct, the work is highly significant and forms a worthy sequel to the classic study of the origins of Dutch finance by James D. Tracy, *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands* (1985).

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J. L. VAN ZANDEN. *The Rise and Decline of Holland's Economy: Merchant Capitalism and Labour Market*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 186. \$69.95.

This crisply written book effectively presents a wealth of quantitative data describing the features of the Dutch labor market from the early modern period to the end of the nineteenth century. In succession, J. L. van Zanden describes immigration and the labor market in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century (highlighting the regional specialization of immigrants and their occupational destinations), the creation of forced labor in the Spice Islands by the Dutch East India Company (contrasting the success of taxing native labor producing cloves in the Middle Moluccas with the failure to maintain native production of nutmeg and mace in the Banda Islands), and the use of slave labor in sparsely populated Surinam by the Dutch West India Company (attributing its lackluster performance compared to the East India

Company to the failure of the slave population to reproduce themselves). He also traces the course of wages and the cost of living in the Netherlands from 1600 to 1850 (maintaining that this entire period was dominated by merchant capitalism, which fell only when it had run out of ways to compensate for its failure to pay living wages to its labor force), the rise and fall of the sugar refining industry between 1825 and 1855 (arguing this was sustained on an artificial basis of exploitative labor conditions in Java and export subsidies from the state, rather than competitive adoption of modern technology by the industry), and the changing patterns of seasonal migrant labor as it developed from the seventeenth century to mid-nineteenth century. The character of such labor was fully developed by 1670 and then only the sources of immigrants changed successively until 1850, when those sources dried up altogether, forcing the change to industrial capitalism.

These empirical chapters, which are very useful as they present to the English-language reader the results of quantitative research on various aspects of Dutch labor markets by Dutch scholars, have previously only been available in Dutch. There are also theoretical chapters designed to give a coherent framework for these diverse studies. Chapter 1 presents an economic theory of merchant capitalism, in which van Zanden argues that there were four variants of merchant capitalism, which differed in how they solved the problem of reproducing their labor force. Only "proto-industrialization" could lead into industrial capitalism and even that variant could not assure a successful transition. An alternative, which the author documents for the region of Twente in the eighteenth century, was to depopulate and reorganize agriculture into larger farms. Chapter 2 gives an overview of Holland's demographic development with population responding positively to changes in real wages. Chapter 6 presents an economic interpretation of proto-industry, arguing that merchant capitalists could pay workers less than their costs of reproduction, provided only that they employed workers seasonally and allowed them to make up the difference in agricultural pursuits in the off-seasons.

These theoretical excursions will be (rightly) attacked by scholars on both economic and historic grounds: the cost of reproduction of labor is not a constant but varies with tastes and internal organization of the household; the development of the Dutch economy was not evolutionary but traumatic, and nowhere does van Zanden mention the traumatic effects of the Thirty Years' War or the Eighty Wars on the Dutch economy; and his only mention of Napoleon is that he reduced the national debt by two-thirds (p. 143). These kinds of errors stem from the faulty theoretical base. But the book's (not wholly) compensating virtue is that it provides a coherent framework that enables the reader to grasp quickly a wide range of salient features of the economic history

of the Netherlands, an important progenitor of the modern world and the global economy.

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LUC HUYSE and STEVEN DHONDT. *La répression des collaborations, 1942-1952: Un passé toujours présent*. Assisted by PAUL DEPUYDT et al. Translated by SERGE GOVAERT. Brussels: Centre de recherche et d'information socio-politiques. 1991. Pp. 345.

The study of the history of Belgium during World War II and its aftermath presents Belgian scholars with special problems. Many of the issues that divided the country during the occupation and the years that followed continue to produce conflicts to the present day: chief among these are the relationship of the Flemish and francophone segments of the population and the problem of creating a mutually acceptable organization of state and society. The persistence of these deeply felt conflicts may explain the relative scarcity of scholarly treatment of the 1940s: in a highly politicized society, objectivity is hard to come by, and any position taken could easily become detrimental to professional advancement and career plans. The present study by Luc Huyse and Steven Dhondt attempts to close this gap in Belgian historiography.

The authors, however, have set themselves an additional task. They hope that their study will contribute to the healing process of the continuing malady in Belgian society because, in their view, certain wartime and postwar realities such as the *épuration* must be faced if Belgium is to overcome the trauma of the 1940s.

The punishment of Belgian collaborators was hindered by a number of somewhat unique complexities. First, the country had experienced the entire cycle of collaboration and punishment once before, during and after World War I. In fact, a few of the World War I "Activists" again engaged in collaboration during the second occupation. Second, the internment and punishment of collaborators commenced in 1944, when the country was still at war, and it received a new impetus in 1945 when a new wave of collaborators and deportees returned from Germany. Third, the entire process of *épuration*, like everything else in public life in Belgium, was highly politicized, depending on the political complexion of parliament and the government in power at any one point in time. It also intersected on occasion with the resolution of the "royal question," which became the dominant issue of Belgian politics in 1949-50.

Huyse and Dhont cover a great deal of ground in their study. They examine legislation and decrees governing the punishment of collaboration from the early decrees of the government in exile in 1942 down to 1952, when successive governments had

modified or set aside most of the original sentences and when only some 700 collaborators remained in prison. The authors also analyze in detail the changing judicial structures and processes through which the punishment of collaborators was carried out. They analyze in a variety of ways the penalties inflicted, including the examination of sentences in terms of changing severity over the years, of the categories of offense committed, and of the social status of the offender. The book abounds in statistical information drawn largely from governmental publications.

Some of their findings are not too surprising and parallel the experiences in other liberated countries. At first, in 1944 and to a lesser extent in 1945, the process of apprehending, detaining, and sentencing individuals accused of collaboration was chaotic, and miscarriages of justice undoubtedly occurred. Sentencing was erratic and, according to the authors, excessively severe. Penalties became more systematic and more moderate as indignation over wartime crimes and suffering receded and as the judicial machinery began to function more smoothly. The authors also emphasize the great differences between punishment of different kinds of collaboration: collaborators who had worked with the Germans politically or worn German uniforms received more severe sentences than economic collaborators who frequently were not even prosecuted.

More surprising is the conclusion that, contrary to generally received opinion, Flemish collaborators were not punished more frequently or more severely than francophone defendants. The authors show that the percentage of condemnations in relation to population was roughly proportional. From these data they conclude that the repression was not a witch hunt against the Flemish as such but that instead it was intended to weaken and discredit the Flemish nationalist and separatist movement.

In general, the authors are very critical of the entire judicial process. They view it as having been excessively disorganized, arbitrary, and harsh, particularly at the outset, and as having been unfair, particularly as between the different categories of transgressions. They deplore the overlapping of punishments, such as adding excessive fines to prison sentences, depriving defendants of their civil rights, and denying the *certificat de civisme*, a certificate of good conduct required for all kinds of employment. They claim that the wounds inflicted by these punishments continue to fester and propose an *effacement de condamnations*, a sort of general pardon that would remove future discrimination without raising again the question of whether criminal offenses had been committed during the war.

In my opinion, Huyse and Dhont intend to be unprejudiced and objective in their assessment of this process. In their criticism of the early stages of the judicial process they acknowledge explicitly the pressures exercised by public opinion, by the Resistance,

the political Left, and by patriotic organizations, but it seems to me that they fail to comprehend fully, in the sense of *verstehen*, the emotional climate of the post-liberation and immediate postwar months, and the horror and indignation prevalent after the opening of the concentration camps and the return of deportees from Germany. No judicial process is immune to the political climate of the day, and therefore the authors' condemnation of the flaws of the early days of the repression seems excessive. It is apparent that their basic sympathy lies with the former collaborators and their families who are viewed as the victims of an unnecessarily harsh and arbitrary process. But despite this observation, their study provides a solid base of information for scholars who want to study in greater detail or in a comparative perspective the punishment of Belgium collaborators after World War II.

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YRJÖ KAUKIAINEN. *A History of Finnish Shipping*. (Maritime History.) New York: Routledge. 1993. Pp. xiv, 231. \$59.95.

This book by Yrjö Kaukiainen is the first volume in a series of national shipping histories that eventually will include major maritime powers such as Britain, the United States, Japan, and Greece. In terms of generating interest in the series, it probably would have been better to have started with one of those countries. Although there have been periods in history when the merchant marine was a reasonably important sector of the Finnish economy, at no time can it be said that the Finnish merchant marine was a major contributor to world-wide shipping. Nor, of course, does it follow from the fact that because the Finnish economy depended on shipping, a domestic merchant marine was required to fill that need.

Given this background, it is no surprise that the narrative history of the Finnish merchant marine presented in this work must be considered of limited interest to anyone not working on Finnish economic history. This is the case notwithstanding the fact that the book is obviously well researched, exhaustive in its coverage of the field, and very well written. Put somewhat differently, the book has effectively exhausted its topic.

On a more general level, the book does, once again, provide evidence that factor proportions do matter and that markets do work. During the period of wooden ships, Finland's ready supply of virtually free timber and cheap naval stores (tar, for example) clearly gave a major lift to shipbuilding and at least some support to the domestic shipping industry (although the ships themselves, of course, could be exported). More importantly, low wages combined with a substantial coastal population, which accumulated maritime human capital just by growing up,

gave the Finnish merchant marine a major labor cost advantage. As a result, Finnish sailing vessels were able to operate profitably as third-party carriers throughout much of the world.

The consequences of iron and steel vessels and steam and motor propulsion on the Finnish industry were equally predictable. Forests were no longer of value either to shipbuilding or to shipping and the newer capital intensive technology reduced the value of low labor costs. Thus, on the one hand, wooden ships and sails survived as long, or longer, in the Finnish merchant marine than in that of any other Western country. Indeed, Finnish clipper ships were still operating during the interwar period. On the other hand, the importance of the Finnish shipbuilding and shipping industries generally declined with the new technology.

Most recently, the modest modern shipping sector that did emerge has been severely damaged, at least in terms of registered tonnage, by rapidly rising wages and by various restrictive and expensive rules and regulations. As in the case of many other countries affected by such developments (including the other Nordic countries), much Finnish-owned and operated tonnage has been placed under flags of convenience. The rise of multinational firms and the emergence of a tightly integrated world economy therefore has put the very concept of national shipping industries in doubt.

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JARI EHNRROOTH. *Sanan vallassa, vihan voimalla: Sosialistiset vallankumousopit ja niiden vaikutus Suomen työväenliikkeessä 1905–1914* [Power of the Word, Force of Hatred: Socialist Revolutionary Doctrines and Their Effect in the Finnish Workers' Movement, 1905–1914]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia, number 167.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1992. Pp. 589.

Jari Ehrnrooth's interesting dissertation is an important contribution to the literature on the Finnish working-class movement and the background of the Finnish revolution and civil war. It is both a sociological and a historical study, complementing and adding to the work of historically oriented sociologists such as Risto Alapuro and social and political historians such as Osmo Jussila, Hannu Soikkanen, Anthony F. Upton, and David Kirby. Ehrnrooth penetrates the public veils of the printed word to reach the raw reality behind them. His main concerns are the connection and relationship between words and deeds, ideas and action, the abstract and the concrete. He is interested in how theories interact with emotions and in the resulting political dynamics and historical forces.

These concerns Ehrnrooth has explored in the Finnish working-class movement during the decade that followed the abortive Russian Revolution and the

Finnish turmoil of 1905–06. Finland emerged with, proportionately, the largest socialist party in the world and a radically changed political landscape owing to the introduction of equal and universal voting rights in national elections. Ehrnrooth emphasizes the importance of emotional dynamics based on class hatred and envy, a sense of injustice, and the hope for salvation on this earth. Instead of waiting for a paradise in the afterlife, Finnish workers saw salvation in the redistribution of property and incomes, the leveling of human conditions to create a classless new socialist society.

Ehrnrooth explains the rapid spread of socialism by relating it to religious beliefs. Such comparisons were also made by some perceptive contemporary observers. Although he presents persuasive arguments, notably between the parallel social psychology of religious revivalism and early socialism, he might also have considered the impact of early Finnish nationalist agitation on the awakening of the masses. Playing on class resentment against privileged Swedish-speaking elements, the nationalists prepared the ground and provided an example for later socialists. Often practically the same slogans could be recycled.

Ehrnrooth does not give a clear-cut answer to the important question of where the working-class grudge, hatred, and thirst for revenge mainly originated. He makes no allocations of cause and effect between objective conditions and the role of agitation, in increasing or distorting consciousness of those conditions. Although Finland gave birth to the proportionately largest socialist movement in the world during the years that he discusses, it hardly had the most unjust society on the face of the earth. Here lies a continuing challenge to further research.

Ehrnrooth has explored little-used materials, such as handwritten newsletters and circulars put out by the locals of the working-class movement. These have allowed him to familiarize himself with the workers' mood and mentality beyond the output of the movement's paid functionaries, the leaders, organizers, journalists, and traveling agitators trained in the use of the spoken and printed word. Thus, the empirical base of his study is solid. Combining his discoveries in such primary sources with his methodological and theoretical apparatus effectively, Ehrnrooth has made a major innovative contribution to the field.

All in all this is an exceptionally stimulating and brave dissertation. Ehrnrooth has not chosen a safe and easy path toward his doctorate and he gives promise of further important contributions in the future.

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MATS GREIFF. *Kontoristen, från chefsens högra hand till proletär: Proletarisering, feminisering och facklig organisering bland svenska industritjänstemän 1840–1950* [The

Office Clerk, from the Boss's Right-Hand Man to a Proletarian: Proletarianization, Feminization, and Trade Union Organization among Office Workers in Swedish Industry]. Ystad, Sweden: Mendocino. 1992. Pp. 438. 190 KR.

The title of this book tells the story; how a handful of office personnel, always men, in small manufacturing industries had a fairly comprehensive understanding of the entire operation. There were opportunities for promotion. They were on a salary and were considered part of management. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with the growth of the firm and the introduction of office machines, the chief's right-hand man had been replaced by a host of clerks with their own typewriters, key-punch machines, duplicating machines, mass-mailing machines, and eventually calculators. No longer did any one of the clerks have more than a limited knowledge of the entire process of acquisition, processing, and distribution of the firm's product. They were going from "the quill pen and the ledger" (p. 97) to a mechanized office. By the early twentieth century, industry offices were increasingly comprised of women.

Mats Greiff has carried out a thorough and well-documented study using five trade-union archives, relevant union journals, twenty-eight interviews with workers born during the first two decades of this century, the municipal archives of Malmö and Gothenburg, and the archives of the Swedish Ballbearing Company (SKF) and Kockums Mechanical Engineering Factory. These corporations, two of Sweden's largest, are located in Gothenburg and Malmö, respectively. The office employees of these two firms are the primary focus of the study. Finally, there are eleven pages of published sources, both primary and secondary. Good use is made of similar studies in Germany, Great Britain, and the United States. There is a summary in German.

According to Greiff, "The modern scientific debate on the change in the way work was done and its consequences for labor's power really got started with Harry Braverman's *Labor and Monopoly Capital* [1974]" (p. 39). With some reservations, Greiff states that "as a general thesis about the degradation of labor from a long-term perspective and the importance of Taylorism, Braverman's thesis is a productive point of departure for an investigation of the conditions of clerical workers" (p. 42). The author accepts the argument that Taylorism and scientific management were the culprits, at least in part. A large number of new and inexperienced workers felt no degradation because of the new machines, while older workers felt squeezed out of decision making. As for feminization, it was not the two world wars that brought women into the office work force but rather lower wages and a shorter period of employment because of marriage and/or children. Women came with lower qualifications and as temporary help. This

in turn meant that they were less inclined than men to support a union.

Greiff argues that the growth of the clerks' union at Kockums in the 1920s saw more and more working-class members on the payroll who were favorable to unions. He states that this was not from a desire to be professional. By implication, they identified with labor. It is not all black and white for Greiff; there were office workers who could and did rise, but not many.

The author makes his case. The Industrial Revolution finally came to the office workers; the work was dull, the possibility of promotion slim and possibly degrading. How should it be? How many chiefs are possible in a large office force?

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PHILIP M. SOERGER. *Wondrous in His Saints: Counter-Reformation Propaganda in Bavaria*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 17.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 239. \$38.00.

This book makes an important contribution to our understanding of Catholic culture in early modern Germany. Philip M. Soergel's analysis of pilgrimage books focuses on the ways in which Catholic propagandists revived and reworked traditional devotion to saints to meet the converging needs of resurgent Catholicism and the confessional state of Bavaria. Grounded in an extensive reading of devotional materials and a vast amount of secondary reading (which makes the absence of a bibliography particularly unfortunate), this book emphasizes the central role of pilgrimages and shrines in the Counter Reformation.

Soergel begins with a discussion of the character of Bavarian pilgrimages in the late Middle Ages. In this period, pilgrimage books sought to demonstrate the sanctity of shrines and the efficacy of their miracles. Devotional works for educated audiences, however, also tried to link the shrines to important moments and people in the Bavarian past. In chapter 2 Soergel discusses the Protestant critique of pilgrimage piety, particularly its attack on the "popular excesses" of these devotions. These attacks weakened the attachment of Bavarians to their shrines in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Chapters 3 through 6 discuss the resurgence of the Catholic church in Bavaria (and throughout Germany) in the century after 1560. An important aspect of the Catholic revival was a campaign to promote not only shrines but also those devotions (like the cult of the Eucharist) that Catholic leaders felt would strengthen popular piety. Soergel focuses on the works of Martin Eisengrein, perhaps the dominant Catholic polemicist of the period, and the shrine of Altötting, which became the national shrine of Bavaria.

In chapter 4 Soergel traces the difficult task of

propagandists like Eisengrein. Although they could and did defend shrines as ancient and traditional (as opposed to Protestant "innovations"), they also needed to present shrines as places where contemporary Catholic belief and devotion were strengthened. Furthermore, as Tridentine clerics, the propagandists sought to discipline and organize pilgrimage piety, tying these essentially popular devotions to the church and the confessional state. The best polemicists successfully combined these elements. Eisengrein, for example, created a new history for the Altötting shrine, tracing its origins to late antiquity and giving it a particularly Bavarian identity. He also described contemporary miracles as evidence of the shrine's ongoing power while simultaneously emphasizing, along Tridentine lines, how the example of saints served as reminders of the sinful nature of man and bolstered individual piety. Chapter 5 follows this up with a discussion of the polemical battle that Eisengrein's promotion of Altötting generated between Catholics and Protestants.

In chapter 6 and the epilogue, Soergel examines the impact of the campaign to revive pilgrimage piety in Bavaria. It is clear, for example, that Catholic propaganda succeeded in convincing the Wittelsbach dynasty and the church establishment to support, both financially and personally, shrines and pilgrimages. It is less apparent, however, if the campaign to promote shrines led to the popular explosion of pilgrimage piety in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Soergel suggests that the elite creation of *Bavaria Sancta* bolstered, if it did not create, the revival of popular Catholicism, arguing that the "rituals of pilgrimage in fact demonstrated a general appropriation of ideas first articulated by the Bavarian clergy" (p. 230). One example of this process is found in the "shrine-oriented mythmaking" (p. 170) of the Catholic propagandists, which tied Counter-Reformation discourse to the oral traditions of medieval Bavaria. In this new discourse, the legends of the shrines revolved around the themes of "holiness tried yet triumphant," "holiness lost and found," and "holiness suddenly revealed"; Soergel's sources do not, however, indicate to what extent these legends resonated for the people of Bavaria. In the end, as Soergel himself recognizes, "Bavaria's pilgrims retained the ultimate right of ownership over the peregrinational network" (p. 230).

This book is not a study of popular culture but rather an examination of the role of Catholic propagandists in the heated religious polemics of the sixteenth century. As an analysis of the ideas and goals of these writers, it illuminates in new ways both this polemic and the religious culture of Catholic Bavaria.

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MAXIMILIAN LANZINNER. *Friedenssicherung und politische Einheit des Reiches unter Kaiser Maximilian II. (1564–*

1576). (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 45.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 588. DM 118.

Ever since the publication of Moriz Ritter's monumental study of Germany in the age of the Counter Reformation and the Thirty Years' War a century ago, the general assumption has been that the Treaty of Augsburg (1555), while bringing peace to the empire, left it confessionally and politically divided, thereby preparing the way for the coming of the Thirty Years' War. Largely as a result of the work done in recent decades by Martin Heckel, Volker Press, Gerhard Benecke, James A. Vann, and others, historians have begun to reevaluate this view, portraying the empire less as an archaic, moribund structure and more as a well-functioning federation of states whose components, while frequently at loggerheads, on the whole worked well together. Maximilian Lanzinner notes that "the history of the Holy Roman Empire in the years 1564 to 1576 is the story of successful constitutional resolutions of conflicts" (p. 511). The question today no longer is whether the empire worked, but rather why it worked so well, why peace and unity were maintained in the decades following the peace of 1555. To answer this question the author has scrutinized a vast amount of unpublished and hitherto largely unexamined materials from the archives of Saxony, the Palatinate, Bavaria, Mainz, and Hesse. The result is a lengthy, fascinating, and truly revisionist interpretation of the old Reich in the post-Reformation period.

Contrary to traditional assumptions, Lanzinner finds that the peace of 1555, rather than introducing a destabilizing confessional element into German politics, actually provided the constitutional structure—he speaks of a "*Libertätsprinzip*"—that allowed Germany's estates, both Catholic and Protestant, to maintain their political autonomy while providing them with a framework within which they could cooperate and resolve their differences. The imperial organs—the diets (*Reichstage*), circles (*Kreise*), electoral meetings (*Kurfürstentage*), and their various ancillaries and subsidiaries—provided the mechanism for maintaining this peace and stability. With the exception of Elector Frederick III of the Palatinate, who pursued a militant anti-Catholic course already in the 1560s, Germany's estates on the whole followed the lead of the "religiously neutral" Elector August of Saxony who, eager to consolidate his newly won electoral rights, needed peace and therefore was willing to use his considerable financial and military resources to defend the principles of 1555 by avoiding any direct linkage of politics and religion.

In the two decades after 1555 people's confessional orientation thus ceased to be the "dominant structural principle" in German politics. Evangelicals sought and found protection not within the Protestant camp but in the empire and its institutions"

(p. 85). "This complete dissolution of the religious fronts is an astounding and truly novel discovery" (p. 516), Lanzinner argues. What ultimately undermined this stability were not any inherent structural weaknesses in the 1555 peace, as M. Ritter, J. G. Droysen, and others have alleged, but the religious wars in neighboring France and the Low Countries which increasingly spilled over into Germany, "newly inflaming the conflicts in the empire which had just been extinguished" (p. 516).

Lanzinner's claim that the "constitutional liberties" of 1555 exerted a strong influence throughout the reign of Maximilian II becomes less convincing for the 1570s. Once the emperor decided to support the French and Spanish crowns in the religious conflicts abroad, he not only compromised his neutrality but also fanned the shriller and more militant voices of Frederick III of the Palatinate and his supporters, thereby adding to the confessionalization of German politics and undermining the very consensus that had assured peace and stability.

BODO NISCHAN
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ULRIKE MÜLLER-WEIL. *Absolutismus und Aussenpolitik in Preussen: Ein Beitrag zur Strukturgeschichte des preussischen Absolutismus*. (Frankfurter Historische Abhandlungen, number 34.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 1992. Pp. 414. DM 138.

Ulrike Müller-Weil's book provides a welcome addition to the dwindling literature on diplomacy and foreign relations. This survey begins with a brief but valuable historiographical review, focusing particularly on the recent emphasis on social history and the still more recent renaissance in the study of Prussian history. Müller-Weil employs not a chronological approach but rather a topical one, examining the institutionalization of Prussia's foreign policies and their structural consequences. In the process she underscores the interdependence of domestic and foreign relations as well as the importance of foreign policy as a structural element in Prussian absolutism.

Müller-Weil argues that the absolutist system became first and fully functional through the adoption of a successful foreign policy. The structural crises of Brandenburg-Prussia during and after the Thirty Years' War melded with a foreign-policy crisis. The porous boundaries and extended nature of the Hohenzollern lands reinforced the basic concern with security just as the striving for greater independence in matters of trade underscored the larger goal of loosening ties from and within the Holy Roman empire. For Frederick II in particular trade was critical in funding his *Machtpolitik*, yet it was at the same time a logical consequence of such policies. The calculated economic isolation of Danzig is but one example. Tightening official control of the press also shows the nexus between domestic and foreign rela-

tions and logically followed from the dictates of foreign policy, particularly in wartime. The constant official control of the press naturally devolved to the department of foreign affairs. Müller-Weil, however, accepts too readily the standard view that Frederick II had a greater role in foreign affairs than his predecessors.

Müller-Weil has consulted the Zentrales Staatsarchiv of the former DDR and the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem as well as classic secondary works by Gustav Droysen, Hans Rosenberg, Gustav Schmoller, and Gordon Craig. Strangely, she has not included such important works as Albert Waddington's *Histoire de Prusse* (1911), Arnold Berney's *König Friedrich I und das Haus Habsburg* (1927), Erich Hassinger's *Brandenburg-Preussen, Schweden, und Russland, 1700–1713* (1953), and Karl Schweizer's *England, Prussia, and the Seven Years War* (1989) and *Frederick the Great, William Pitt, and Lord Bute: The Anglo-Russian Alliance 1756–1763* (1991). Moreover, attention to Ernst Berner's "Die auswärtige Politik des Kurfürsten Friedrich III: von Brandenburg, König Friedrich I in Preussen" (*Hohenzollern Jahrbuch* 41 [1900]), E. Schaumburg's "König Friedrich I und die Niederrhein: Die Erwerbung von Moers und Geldern" (*Zeitschrift für Preussische Geschichte und Landeskunde* 15/16 [1878/1879]); Wolfgang Peters, "Die Franche-Comté, Neuchâtel und die oranische Sukzession in den Planen der preussische Politik während des spanischen Erbfolgekrieges" (*Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte* 28 [1915]) would have been helpful. A useful bibliography and two indexes complement the work.

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KARL J. FINK. *Goethe's History of Science*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1991. Pp. xii, 242. \$47.95.

Karl J. Fink's central chapters, which focus on Goethe's untranslated *Materials on the History of Chromatics* and his polemic against Isaac Newton, argue persuasively that Goethe was a pioneer in the historiography of science who realized early on the roles of individual psychology, the authority of institutions, and the sociology of reception in the formation of knowledge. As has been widely noted, Goethe saw clearly that all "facts" are "theory-laden," and that even the most revolutionary theories in science quickly ossify into institutionalized, authoritarian paradigms, whereby the "free republic" of science becomes a "despotic court."

Predictably, Goethe was most acute in his analysis of scientific discourse. The moment of discovery, science as "the re-creation of the border experience, the 'attempt' to narrate nature, an 'experiment' in the re-presentation of growth, of nuances of change"

(p. 50), is progressively debased by the standardization and relentless abstraction of scientific language from the "gold" of poetic insight into silver, copper, and finally worthless paper. Thus, Goethe blamed the zoological debates of 1830 on the inadequacies of the Parisians' mechanistic tropes: "They used the word design, but were immediately brought to the concept of a house, of a city, which, even when applied reasonably, cannot serve as an analogy to an organic being" (p. 89). For Goethe, it was imperative that scientific metaphors and the models they imply be drawn from the realm under investigation.

Other aspects of Fink's study are far less satisfying, however. The introductory overview of Goethe's scientific career is superficial, and Fink's attempt to devolve Goethe's early scientific views out of a few lyric poems is singularly unpersuasive. Opaque terms such as "classical science" and "storm and stress anthropology" are imported but never integrated into a larger interpretive argument, or even explained. Least satisfying of all is Fink's cursory and naive account of Goethe's epistemology and scientific method. He completely misunderstands, for example, Goethe's response to Schiller's dualistic objections in their famous first encounter (barely suppressed anger relieving itself in a terse and ironic epigram) and vastly overestimates the influence of British empiricism on Goethe's thinking. Fink is entirely correct in his assertion that "Goethe's science was shaped by a search for the elusive sutures, the hidden borders, the key linkages, namely, by the recognition of thresholds in nature, where the study of static forms yielded to a vital and unified nature" (p. 50), but other recent studies—notably Bockemühl's and Brady's—have gone much further in exploring such methodological innovations (see the bibliography in the volume I edited with Francis J. Zucker and Harvey Wheeler, *Goethe and the Sciences: A Reappraisal* [1987]).

Fink's conclusion takes a bizarre turn: a gratuitous and uninformed attack on Rudolf Steiner's editing of the first critical edition of Goethe's scientific writings, the *Weimar* edition, praising instead the "neopositivism" of the "East German" *Leopoldina* edition—a project directed for decades by the "West German" scholar Dorothea Kuhn. Not only is Fink apparently ignorant of that which he would praise but he also fails to see that his concluding paean to neopositivism effectively retracts his own claim that Goethe is a sophisticated historian by virtue of having anticipated contemporary anti-positivistic historiography. One cannot praise Goethe for having understood that there are no "facts" apart from theory, criticize Steiner for having "interpreted" Goethe, and then float one's own absurd theory that Goethe was heavily influenced by atomism. The final irony is that Steiner's book on Goethe's epistemology, *Grundlinien einer Erkenntnistheorie der Goetheschen Weltanschauung* (nowhere mentioned by Fink), attacks the very dualism of which Steiner is accused. Fink offers some valuable insights into Goethe's work as a historian of science,

but for a reliable introduction to Goethe's own scientific work, the reader is advised to look elsewhere.

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JOHANNES KANDEL. *Protestantischer Sozialkonservatismus am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts: Pfarrer Rudolf Todts Auseinandersetzung mit dem Sozialismus im Widerstreit der kirchlichen und politischen Lager*. (Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Reihe: Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 32.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1993. Pp. 375. DM 75.

Rudolf Todt (1839–87) is one of those prophets without honor in which German history abounds, an otherwise unremarkable pastor from the hinterlands of Brandenburg who emerged briefly in the late 1870s as an advocate of conservative social reform and the reconciliation of Christian ethics and socialist ideology. Todt figures marginally in most studies of the period. Johannes Kandel's sympathetic analysis attempts to reclaim him as a representative historical type: an "outsider within the Protestant church," to be sure, but one nonetheless important for embodying the "strengths and limitations of a [religious] conservatism that has discovered its social obligations" (p. 11).

What Kandel offers, in essence, is a contextual reading of Todt's principal work, *Radical German Socialism and Christian Society* (1877). Kandel first provides a painstakingly drawn picture of Todt's immediate social, occupational, and cultural milieu. The core of the book is a careful exposition of Todt's anti-liberal ideology, an amalgam of naive biblicism and eclectic social analysis that included a remarkably sympathetic and nuanced appropriation of emerging socialist critiques. The last section of the book moves from theory to practice, detailing Todt's unimposing career as founder and guiding spirit of a short-lived "Federation for Social Reform." Less than five years after the publication of his magnum opus, Todt had already turned his back on social-conservative activism, partly out of disillusionment with the aggressive political agitation of his sometime ally Adolf Stoecker, partly in the fond expectation that Otto von Bismarck's social legislation heralded the arrival of a genuinely humane state socialism.

Kandel has produced a finely textured case study of political culture on the eve of the antisocialist laws, when it may still have been possible for a person of good will to assume a certain fluidity in ideological fronts and envision alternative configurations. In reality, as Kandel is quick to acknowledge, Todt's mediation project was doomed to irrelevance by the very forces of class and culture that it most desired to transform. It suffered from a host of crippling impediments, including a lack of social-ethical imagination on the part of the Protestant establishment, a lack

of common purpose among reformist conservatives themselves, and not least a profound lack of interest in Todt's agenda on the part of most Social Democrats. Ultimately, that agenda reflected Todt's own lack of political realism. Although his prescriptions for industrial society were by no means hopelessly wrongheaded, as Kandel sees it, they derived more from the books in Todt's study than from actual exposure to life experiences in the socialist subculture.

Kandel does an impressive job of reconstructing Todt's mental universe, although he never quite succeeds in uncovering the precise motives that led a conservative country parson to a vocation of dialogue with socialism. The last section of the book tends to drift out of focus at times; a lengthy discussion of Stoecker adds little to the argument, and it is questionable whether Kandel really needed almost 80 pages and more than 400 substantial footnotes to assess Todt's impact (largely negligible) on contemporary political and religious debates. All in all, however, this study offers much to admire. Kandel makes a good case for adding Todt to the growing roster of unheard voices and untried "third ways" that are gaining new prominence in the polyglot discourse of postmodern German historiography.

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ROGER CHICKERING. *Karl Lamprecht: A German Academic Life (1856–1915)*. (Studies in German Histories.) Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 491. \$55.00.

Karl Lamprecht holds the distinction of having been the most vilified historian among his contemporaries in Wilhelmine Germany. Despite (or in some cases because of) the almost complete rejection of his ideas for new historical approaches by his German colleagues during and after the famous *Methodenstreit* a century ago, his calls for an all-encompassing *Kulturgeschichte* echo more strongly in the halls of academe today than ever. The degree to which the reactions of Lamprecht's colleagues to his proposals might be called hysterical, the sense of threat they felt his ideas posed to their narrowly political approach to the past, and even the extent to which Lamprecht was vaguely thought to have something to do with Marxism all may explain the thick blanket of silence that has lain on Lamprecht's reputation since his death during World War I. Lamprecht was not the only bold innovator to be crushed by the narrow, conservative, monarchist guild of German historians, but he was its most renowned victim at the time.

The victory of Lamprecht's opponents, long outlasting the monarchy, Hitler's Reich, and the first decades of the Federal Republic, has undoubtedly discouraged major critical biographical approaches. As Roger Chickering's excellent and informative life

of Lamprecht makes clear, however, that victory was not the only reason for the decline of its subject's reputation. A brilliant lecturer, blessed with an astonishing ability to absorb and remember data; a superb organizer, fund raiser, and empire builder; a persuasive visionary who could charm hard-headed bureaucrats and businessmen, Lamprecht also emerges from Chickering's account as a slapdash, self-contradictory, and confusing thinker, writer, and prophet.

This biography has as its leitmotif the "grave failing" of "analytical impatience" (p. 109). True, "In the perspective of another century, Lamprecht seems to have asked all the right questions," but "the answers . . . were so marred by error and inconsistency that they appeared to leave German history in chaos" (p. 130). And Chickering gives numerous examples. Despite Chickering's sympathy, or at least *Verstehen*, he usually sides with the substance, if not the tone, of Lamprecht's critics in the historical profession, starting with the reactionary Georg von Below.

One of the secondary themes that emerges from this carefully researched intellectual biography is the workings of the German academic establishment in banishing one of its members from its midst. It is hard to say what different fate would have befallen Lamprecht's theories if he had been better able to perceive their weaknesses and address and correct them. For, as Chickering makes clear, the major professional forums (such as journals and conferences) were quickly closed to him; he became a nonperson among the mandarins of Wilhelmine historiography. Although he had many and even influential backers, they were more likely to be found among teachers in Gymnasiums or were laypersons. In the course of telling this tale, Chickering presents the most lucid and insightful story of the networking of the Wilhelmine historical establishment that I have encountered. Even for those not much interested in Lamprecht, the *Methodenstreit*, or even historiography, this work gives valuable insights into the inner workings of one of the most important communities of the era.

Several other themes are skillfully developed by Chickering, including Lamprecht's activities as a fundraiser and academic entrepreneur and his ideas about university reform. He was ahead of his time in many of these areas, partly because of his experiences in the United States. Another reason for today's historians to be interested in Lamprecht concerns his attempts to create a framework for the study and teaching of world history.

This work is a well-written and solid contribution to the history of academic culture as well as what will long stand, one suspects, as the definitive biography of the unjustly neglected pioneer of cultural history in Germany.

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PETER MÜNCH. *Stadthygiene im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Die Wasserversorgung, Abwasser- und Abfallbeseitigung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Münchens*. (Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, number 49.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 384. DM 94.

Peter Münch's dissertation about urban hygiene describes the water, sewer, and trash-removal services of German cities from their beginnings in the middle of the nineteenth century to the present. There is a great deal here for specialists. The reader with a professional interest in the history of public health, ecology, municipal services, or urban planning will thank Münch for having read so much and for having presented his findings in largely nontechnical terms. The book is written from the vantage point of the people whose professional and technical publications and administrative records provide the bulk of the evidence. Thus, the main actors in the book are municipal officials, physicians, engineers, and others involved in the planning and administration of urban hygiene.

The first third of the book (pp. 19–121) provides a general survey of the public-health efforts of German cities. Here one learns primarily about the largest cities, of necessity the first to face up to the health hazards posed by contaminated water, air, streets, cellars, and yards. Hamburg was the first German city to build municipal water and sewer systems (pp. 89, 99), after the disastrous fire of 1842. On this subject one can learn more from Richard Evans's *Death in Hamburg: Society and Politics in the Cholera Years, 1830–1910* (1987).

Hamburg, like other German cities that took action during the middle third of the century, relied heavily on British expertise (p. 39). Hamburg, however, provides the only significant example of such action taken before the 1860s. All 150 of Germany's cities with populations of 25,000 or more had built municipal water supply systems by 1900, but only twenty-three of these systems had been in place in 1870 (p. 89). German cities were even slower to intervene in the process of trash removal. Few took action before the 1890s (p. 111).

The last two-thirds of the book (pp. 123–337) tells the same story in much greater detail for the city of Munich. Here one gets a better sense of the politics that made it possible—and sometimes impossible—for German cities to address public health and environmental issues in the past 150 years. The reader learns about the cooperation among Max von Pettenkofer, Arnold Zenetti, and Alois von Erhardt (p. 138), who personified the alliance among physicians, engineers, and municipal officials that promoted municipal water and sewer systems in Munich in the 1860s and 1870s. The alliance was embodied nationwide in the *Gesellschaft für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege* (the Society for the Promotion of Public Health), an effective

advocate of cleaner cities. Munich's public health advocates took advantage of the public alarm that followed each of the city's three cholera epidemics in 1836–37 (p. 127), 1854 (p. 128), and 1873–74 (p. 134) to win approval for the water and sewer systems Münch credits for much of the 40 percent decline in the city's mortality rate between 1870 and 1900 (p. 140).

In his introduction Münch relates his subject to a variety of significant topics in German social and urban history of the past twenty years. This historiographical survey and the bibliography will provide useful leads to scholars not well read in all these fields. Münch has little to say, however, that would lead his readers to question the conclusions of other authors.

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CORNELIE USBORNE. *The Politics of the Body in Weimar Germany: Women's Reproductive Rights and Duties*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 304. \$42.50.

Cornelie Usborne has written a "history of the body" at a time when the body had become highly political" (p. xi). In this study of Weimar population policy (*Bevölkerungspolitik*), the most contested anatomical function—reproduction—intersected with the notion of a *Volkskörper*, a national "body politic." The subtitle's juxtaposition of "rights" and "duties" reflects the resultant conflict between individual and collective interests. The body at issue was female because women, more than men, decided to limit fertility and were made accountable for moral standards. Topically organized, the book has chapters on four basic themes: maternity, sexuality, contraception, and abortion, moving from the least to the most controversial issue.

Usborne traces the German government's interest in population policy from the pre-World War I period, when a declining birth rate seemed to jeopardize national strength and vitality, prompting a complex and incoherent pronatalism. Weimar's largely ad hoc policy was influenced by eugenics and postwar social chaos. A concern for the quality of Germans superseded a fixation on mere numbers, and regard for the family's role fostered demands for state intervention to stave off forces threatening its collapse. Usborne argues that Weimar reforms brought remarkable achievements in such areas as maternal and child protection. Although aware of the tension between motherhood-related issues and emancipation, Usborne disputes the notion that women made little progress during the Weimar period. Even in the area of abortion reform, she finds positive change despite legislative failure to sanction a woman's right to choose.

Usborne focuses on the making of policy. Although

she clearly delineates the pressure from below applied by such groups as lay sex reform leagues, birth control clinics, the medical establishment, the bourgeois women's movement, the churches and denominational women's organizations, and even by popular outrage over abortion prosecutions, her stress is on legislation and those who made it. (An appendix contains useful chronologies of legislation and parliamentary bills relating to abortion.) Although support across party lines permitted maternal protective legislation, more controversial reforms inevitably requires Osborne to dwell on the Left parties.

In her treatment of the Left, Osborne aims to rehabilitate the Social Democrats, who are frequently portrayed as half-hearted or opportunistic in their support for abortion, in particular, as against the Communist Party's high profile in the campaign against Paragraph 218. On the abortion issue, Osborne points out the unlikelihood of legislative support for a woman's full right of self-determination given the political balance of power; yet an SPD-supported penal reform in 1926 brought a meaningful change in the treatment of women facing prosecution for abortion as well as furthering fruitful discussion of the issue.

The most valuable aspect of Osborne's book is perhaps her recognition of the inconsistencies that— from the superior position of hindsight—afflicted all sides. The Left, for example, beyond having to fit gender into a class perspective, was not free of traditional views of motherhood and the patriarchal family. Everyone, including even the Catholic clergy, was affected to one degree or another by eugenic notions. Although she sometimes seems troubled by these inconsistencies, Osborne presents an accurate picture of the ideological messiness of Weimar Germany.

Acknowledging the problematic nature of a Left-versus-Right scheme, Osborne posits a more fundamental gender-based division. Her discussion of the divergent secular and denominational women's movements undercuts any notion of an all-inclusive common front. Yet she demonstrates the role of female party members in pushing the SPD and KPD toward progressive stances on "women's issues." Moreover, however sincere and even courageous the Left's support, it placed women in the context of other collective interests.

Osborne's attention to religion is in keeping with her overall perspective of a Weimar Republic still influenced by traditional and conservative forces. Compared to the large denominational women's organizations, the celebrated "New Woman" had little resonance in policy matters beyond the Right's use of her as a cautionary proof of family breakdown. Yet Osborne pointedly makes regional comparisons within Germany, especially between Protestant and Catholic areas, and she makes effective use of periodic references to the less-advanced state of discussion and legislation elsewhere in Europe, especially

Great Britain. Although she finds bridges to National Socialism in such themes as eugenics and the concept of the *Volkskörper*, Osborne portrays a Weimar Germany that was relatively progressive on these women's issues. The catch was that women had no independent political power. When their support on the Left went under, so did they.

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WILLI OBERKROME. *Volksgeschichte: Methodische Innovation und völkische Ideologisierung in der deutschen Geschichtswissenschaft 1918–1945*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 101.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1993. Pp. 307.

During the 1920s and 1930s "volkish" history (*Volks-geschichte*) grew into a separate school of historical and sociological scholarship. The established guild of historians maintained tolerant relations with this school, but they were not much influenced by it. Fewer than 10 percent of the articles published in *Historische Zeitschrift* between 1936 and 1944 were concerned with such history or its methodologies. Nor did the new subject capture the attention of the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, which continued on its narrative path, ignoring the analytical, cross-sectional approach used in volkish history's studies of, for example, a village or a German linguistic enclave. Volkish history had its own publication outlets, however, and established its own academic centers, located for the most part in border regions affected by the Versailles settlement.

To a great extent, volkish history was politics by other means, combining primitive assumptions with innovative methodologies. Drawing on geography, sociology, history, linguistics, agriculture, and folklore, volkish historians studied place names and field and settlement patterns, drew linguistic and dialect maps, compiled statistical tables, and plotted graphs. Some practitioners did fieldwork, gathered oral evidence, and investigated architecture, utilization of living space, and folk customs.

Although the methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches of this school had merit, its governing ideas did not. The German peasant, especially in linguistic enclaves, was idealized beyond all reason. This fixation on the supposed purity and special Germanness of the peasant was retrogressive and, to Willi Oberkrome, constituted an obstacle to the full scholarly development of the field. It was also dangerous. Fear that "bastardization . . . by alien races destroys the German Volkdom, not only in body, but in soul" (quoted on p. 158) was expressed as early as 1935. Overt racism and anti-Semitism, relatively rare at that time, had by 1939 become commonplace and thereafter was the norm. Although Oberkrome provides many examples of volkish historians' overvaluation of things German and contempt of things

Slavic, he does not stress the point made by Michael Burleigh (*Germany Turns Eastward: A Study of Ostforschung in the Third Reich* [1988]): that during the war several leading members of the school rendered "scholarly" assistance to the SS, where their statistics, maps, and card files served a new purpose.

Oberkrome's stated objective is to see how much volkish history influenced the social history of the post-World War II period. Not very much, he thinks. Contemporary social history in Germany is not fixated on the peasant and is far more influenced by Western (primarily American) sociology, the theories of Max Weber and Marxism, and the historical work of Otto Hintze and Eckart Kehr. Although volkish history practitioners like Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Theodor Schieder produced some memorable works and had an impact on their students, they did not create a school that directly affected postwar social history.

But Oberkrome actually devotes only a few pages to the question of the continuity of the school. Many more pages are devoted to an account of the actions and ideas of the volkish historians. He pays tribute to their methods, but he exhumes their repugnant statements from the ultranationalistic, irrational, racist, and anti-Semitic mire in which they lay. The history of historiography is a species of thinking about thinking, and as Oberkrome engages in that process he contributes to a task greater than his stated one: helping Germany come to terms with its past.

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EMMA FATTORINI. *Germania e Santa Sede: Le nunziature di Pacelli fra la Grande guerra e la Repubblica di Weimar*. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico, monographia, number 18.) Bologna: Mulino. 1992. Pp. 422. L. 48,000.

On learning of the publication of this volume on the early period of Eugenio Pacelli's tenure as Papal Nuncio in Germany, I expected a great deal, perhaps too much. The crucial years covered in this monograph extend from his attempt to obtain imperial support for Benedict XV's peace initiative of 1917 through the turbulent 1920s, when the Weimar Republic faced internal and international crises. In these pages Emma Fattorini touches on the Vatican's reaction to the Russian Revolution, the end of World War I, and the peacemaking process, as well as the tormented birth and early life of the Weimar Republic, including the role of Catholics therein. I hoped the work would shed new light on Pacelli's controversial pontificate (1939–58), criticized for its silence during the Holocaust, and the subsequent changes introduced by the Second Vatican Council (1959–65).

Fattorini has carefully examined the sources to provide a lucid narrative of the Holy See's postwar international policy in general, and its attitude toward

developments in Germany in particular. Notably important is her use of the correspondence between the secretary of state and the apostolic nuncios in Munich, Berlin, Warsaw, and Paris, found in the Archive of the Sacred Congregation of Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs of the Vatican, which are still being organized and consequently not broadly available. Sixty of these unedited documents, appended in the documentary appendix, will prove invaluable to those interested in Pacelli and the Holy See's postwar policies.

Fattorini's meticulous research confirms what we already know, including that Pacelli found German thought and culture congenial and quickly established close personal relationships that would color his perception of subsequent events. She likewise corroborates that the Nuncio's anti-Bolshevism was reinforced by the revolutionary outbursts in Munich. She reveals his conviction that a strong, united Germany represented the best safeguard against the onslaught of Bolshevism and masonic laicism, necessary for the preservation of Christian values in Central Europe. Pacelli's pragmatism is exposed in his support of Catholic participation in a government alongside the Socialists, as well as during the course of the negotiations for the Concordat with Bavaria (1924).

Many of these developments have been outlined in works such as Stewart's Stehlin's *Weimar and the Vatican, 1919–1933: German-Vatican Diplomatic Relations in the Interwar Years* (1983), cited in the notes (unfortunately, the volume does not include a bibliography). Furthermore, the picture drawn of the future pope does not provide insights beyond those found in works such as A. Riccardi, ed., *Pio XII* (1984), or the earlier B. Wuestenberg and J. Zabkar, eds., *Der Papst und die Deutschen* (1956). Still, Fattorini does make some contribution in revealing that Pacelli initially was fooled by the diplomacy of the imperial government, which sought to use the Vatican's mediation primarily to open talks with Great Britain via Spain (p. 58). Perhaps this played a part in making the Nuncio more cautious and considerably more cynical, as the correspondence suggests. Apparently he did not learn the lesson completely, because he was also taken in by the German propaganda campaign against the use of "colored" French forces in the occupation of the Rhineland, playing a part in the futile Vatican effort to induce the French to replace them with "white" soldiers.

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PETER REICHEL. *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus*. (Die Zeit des Nationalsozialismus.) Paperback edition. Frankfurt a.M.: Fischer Taschenbuch. 1993. Pp. 452. DM 28.90.

Adolf Hitler had a singular talent for reconciling beauty and ugliness, aestheticism and repression, transcendence and criminality. His world view was based on this dualism, which appeared so foreign to the bourgeois mind shaped not by the macabre memory of Flanders fields and Verdun but instead by a materialistic redefinition of heroism that featured captains of industry as directors of industrial mass production and marketing. Hitler's evil genius enabled him to join the seductiveness of myth and racial elitism with the new technology, bathing the whole in the grand illumination of what Peter Reichel calls "der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches." National Socialism was thus at once a "product of bourgeois culture and organized mass protest against it" (p. 30). The Nazis promised to reorder a world torn asunder by communist class hatred, capitalist greed, and the distortions of modernism.

Reichel, acutely aware of the dangers of his subject, makes every effort to re-create the rhetoric, fascination, and aesthetic tone of fascism while maintaining a critical distance from the subject. He structures his book around three central themes, positing that by the twentieth century the national state had coopted the arts in a union of aesthetics, secular religion, and politics. As culture and politics grew together, so did the aestheticization of politics and society. The National Socialists drew on this tradition and refined the use of national symbols in their effort to merge art with politics. Film and theater, architecture and music, sculpture and painting, poetry and literature—along with the arts of popular culture—all contributed to the illusory world of fascist beauty. Millions of people, longing for unity, found this union of power and beauty to be irresistible.

Successive chapters of Reichel's work deal with cultural politics and rivalries among the elite, the motifs of *Volksgemeinschaft* and the Führer cult, as well as propaganda and entertainment, with particular attention to film, press, and radio. He skillfully analyzes the importance of party rallies and festivals, the death cult, the bizarre rituals of the SS, and the reordering of the Marxist May 1 holiday. The author demonstrates his ability for synthesis in a chapter embracing Nazi attempts to merge aesthetics and work as an antidote to the class struggle ("Schönheit der Arbeit"), their efforts with state-supported tourism ("Kraft durch Freude"), and their exploitation of the popular interest in sport. A section on the mythology of the autobahn—uniting political, cultural, economic, and military components—is fascinating. The party's use of traditionalism and modernism led to pluralism in architecture, which ranged from the megalomania of the new buildings planned for Berlin to the functionalism of provincial architecture. Nor was mass consumerism overlooked, as the party cultivated everything from the *Volksempfänger* (peoples' radio) to the *Volkswagen*.

In a final chapter, Reichel surveys the literature, theater, music, painting, and sculpture of the era,

correctly noting that many writers have exaggerated the break with the past in 1933, often overlooking the historic continuity in the arts. Nowhere was this more evident than in the theater, where the classics enjoyed a remarkable revival. Great directors such as Heinz Hilpert of the Deutsches Theater in Berlin offered few works by decidedly National Socialist playwrights.

Although Reichel is to be commended for the breadth of his book, it has significant weaknesses. Far too much of it is derivative, and it often reads like a survey. Archival research is sadly lacking, with the result that the work will be used more often as a scholarly handbook than as a source of interpretation. The extensive bibliography, topically organized, is quite useful, and one must laud the author for the wealth of detail he presents on many neglected themes.

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ROBERT G. MOELLER. *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 346. \$42.00.

While millions of German men were being slaughtered on the eastern front during World War II, German women confronted the terrors of allied carpet bombing on the homefront. When the fighting stopped in 1945, German women's battles for survival continued into 1946, 1947, and even 1948. These "women of the rubble" (*Trümmerfrauen*) dug out Germany's ruined cities with their own hands, combed the rural districts for food, and scrounged on the black market to keep their families alive. By 1949, when the Basic Law laid the constitutional foundations for a West German democratic state, women could scarcely be denied the right to full citizenship. Yet, as Robert G. Moeller's important book shows, even though the Basic Law declared women's full legal equality, the laws and social policies of the early Federal Republic treated women as if they were fundamentally different than men.

Social policy in the 1950s bore the imprint of a widely shared belief in a postwar "crisis of the family." Intense discussions of "half-families," "incomplete families," "mother-families," and women's "forced emancipation" (p. 32) avoided any critical reappraisal of inherited notions of "normal" family life. Indeed, the postwar debate on the German family was dominated by discussions of how best to reconstitute "normal" German families. This insistence on the necessity of family "restoration" in turn imposed severe limits on what could be said about women's place and women's roles in postwar West Germany. Women's legal identity was submerged in their socially assigned roles as (actual or potential) mothers. As family policy became a weapon in the Cold War,

the (real or imagined) subjection of the family to the control of the "totalitarian" state in communist East Germany served as a frightening point of negative reference, as did the fate of "normal" family life under another, earlier "totalitarianism" on German soil, the Nazi regime. Yet population policy experts did not find all of the Third Reich's family policies objectionable. The postwar provision of family allowances (*Kindergeld*), for example, displayed a significant continuity with the Nazi past.

The legal equality of women with men, promised by Article 3 of the Basic Law, required a fundamental revision of the German Civil Code, which had given men considerable legal powers over their wives and children since 1890. The new family law that finally went into effect in 1958, however, allowed fathers to retain the ultimate authority over their children (p. 203). Although the Constitutional Court rejected this part of the Family Law, the ruling did not establish the precedence of the Federal Republic's commitment to women's equality over its declaration of responsibility for the "protection of the family" (stated in Article 6 of the Basic Law). Proponents of labor laws to regulate women's position in the workplace were, for example, less interested in making sure that women received "equal pay for equal work" than in "protecting" women's reproductive capabilities, both biological and social.

Moeller concludes that the particular political context of postwar Germany permitted no real "space for a language of women's individual rights" (p. 224). The combination of Cold War anticommunism, the political predominance of Christian Democracy, capitalist economic reconstruction, the relative weakness of organized feminism, and the influence of postwar social theory ensured that "representing difference as a relation of equality" (p. 224) became virtually impossible in the early Federal Republic. Future research will need to emulate the type of careful and detailed reconstruction of political and legal "discourses" that makes Moeller's book an indispensable contribution to the literature. But this type of analysis should also be combined with detailed examination of the effects of laws and social policies on the everyday lives of ordinary women. Moeller has been able to do this in only one section of his book, which draws on the reports of factory inspectors responsible for enforcing the Law for the Protection of Mothers (1952). Nevertheless, Moeller's book is an admirable example of his own claim that "gender must be a central analytic category" (p. 4) in the writing of postwar German history.

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VOLKER R. BERGHAHN and PAUL J. FRIEDRICH. *Otto A. Friedrich, ein politischer Unternehmer: Sein Leben und*

seine Zeit, 1902–1975. Foreword by HELMUT SCHMIDT. New York: Campus. 1993. Pp. 438.

Most scholars agree that the most important story in the history of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) has been its economic—and specifically its industrial—development. Rapid industrial reconstruction and modernization after 1945 catapulted the FRG to one of the world's most powerful economies; it has also produced a system of labor relations that is studied and admired the world over. Furthermore, many believe that prosperity has formed a keystone for the development of liberal democracy in the FRG and its orientation toward the West.

It is thus small wonder that historians have turned their attention to explaining the origins and unfolding of the FRG's *Wirtschaftswunder*, or economic miracle, with special attention to specific industries and firms. This has been especially true in the last decade, as official and private archival sources have become increasingly available.

Missing from many of these studies, however, is sustained attention to the individual businessmen who made the decisions that contributed to the FRG's prosperity. Volker R. Berghahn and Paul J. Friedrich have produced a rich, detailed monograph that explores the life of one such individual, Otto A. Friedrich, in the context of German industrial and political history. The authors base their work primarily on their subject's unusually extensive correspondence and diaries.

Friedrich's career in business started in the 1920s, when he worked for B. F. Goodrich in Akron, Ohio, before returning to Germany to start a long association with the rubber industry there, primarily as a manager, and later chairman of the managing board, of Phoenix A.G. in Hamburg. During the National Socialist period, he was also active in government circles, as a deputy for raw materials supply problems. But the bulk of his career—and of the book—concerns the reconstruction and modernization of German industry and the economy after 1945, and he was especially active as an advisor to Economics Minister Ludwig Erhard, as an officer in industrial associations, and as a go-between in negotiations between government and business.

In some ways, Friedrich was atypical of industrialists in the FRG. As the chairman of the managing board of a rubber company, he did not have the usual engineering or science background that such a position would presume but instead had been trained in sales. His intimate familiarity with the United States was also somewhat unusual: not only had he lived and worked there but also his brother, the prominent Harvard political scientist Carl J. Friedrich, guaranteed him easy access to American academic and political elites. Finally, Friedrich, although politically conservative, was atypical in his respect for and association with prominent Social Democratic Party

politicians, including Helmut Schmidt and Karl Schiller.

Still, the authors argue convincingly that Friedrich's career sheds light on a number of issues that business elites in the FRG struggled with in the postwar period. In chapter 3, one of their strongest, they describe Friedrich's difficulty in the immediate aftermath of the war in coming to terms with the legacy of National Socialism. Like many other industrialists after 1945, Friedrich was extremely critical of Adolf Hitler and his policies. At the same time, he was a German patriot, had been imbued in the language and ideas of the National Socialist period, and at first shrank from the prospect of Germany aligning itself fully with either of the two major victorious powers, the United States or the Soviet Union. The book describes well what was apparently a process common to many prominent industrialists in Germany after 1945: Friedrich's criticism of the National Socialist period gradually became more complete, culminating in a commitment to the Western world, to a market economy, and to liberal democracy.

This growing commitment was part of what Berghahn here and elsewhere has termed the "Americanization of German industry," and the presentation of the concept in this book is particularly convincing, primarily because of its subtlety. Friedrich admired the United States, not just because of its productive capacity, technical ability, and business organization but also because of its political stability and its system of labor relations. Because of his great familiarity with the American system and because of his brother, Friedrich helped other industrialists and politicians in the FRG to develop a similar level of admiration along with a willingness and ability to "Americanize" the FRG. At the same time, the authors point repeatedly to evidence that, for Friedrich, as for others in the FRG, "Americanization" had its limits: "he never attempted to achieve more than a mixture of German and American elements" in his attempts to renew and modernize the FRG (p. 382).

This is, then, an important book that should serve as a model for further scholarly inquiries into changes in the mind-set of postwar German industrialists, business and government relations in the FRG, and relationships among German elites. If there is a weakness here, it lies in the fact that Friedrich's activities as chairman of the Phoenix managing board are virtually neglected. How was his admiration for things American translated into reality at the firm level? What specific decisions about technology and work organization did Friedrich make to help shape the FRG's ability to compete on international markets? To what extent were his activities in politics and within the firm connected to or separated from one another? Questions remain, but this book is a valuable first step toward answering them.

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JEFFREY R. WATT. *The Making of Modern Marriage: Matrimonial Control and the Rise of Sentiment in Neuchâtel, 1550–1800*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 302. \$39.95.

In this book Jeffrey R. Watt adds his voice to a number of debates current in the history of marriage and the family in the early modern period. Among the major issues with which he engages are shifts in sexual culture, the place of sentiment in marital relationships, and the role of the state in regulating marriage, sexuality, and broader gender relationships. The evidence brought to bear in this book derives from the courts of Neuchâtel, whose records detailed all manner of family litigation: suits to enforce marriage contracts, petitions to be permitted to marry, petitions to be permitted to separate or divorce, and legitimization actions, as well as prosecutions initiated by the authorities against individuals and couples accused of fornication, adultery, and other forms of misconduct.

Much of the evidence that Watt produces may seem familiar to students of early modern marriage. Neuchâtel became Protestant in the sixteenth century and embraced an ideology and marriage laws little different from those elsewhere in Protestant Europe. Customary rituals of marriage—exchanges of tokens, drinks, and the like—declined, and a new stress was placed on state-recognized forms. Divorce was legalized, at first on very narrow grounds administered by judges who were not at all keen to dissolve marriages. Neuchâtel's judges might have been even more rigorous than others in this respect, and Watt suggests that unhappy couples there had a better chance of getting out of marriage before the Reformation than in the first decades after it.

Over time, notably in the second half of the eighteenth century, Neuchâtel experienced the shifts in sentiment and litigation that have been widely commented on in other work. Litigation focused less on the formation of marriage and more on its dissolution, suggesting the beginning of a period of more widespread marital instability.

The great merit of Watt's study is to have examined these issues over a longer time frame—250 years—than other studies have done. Continuous court records allow Watt to create long runs of statistics that convey the scale and timing of change in aspects that are quantifiable, and these sections of the book are complemented by a thorough and sensitive reading of the fascinating court material that offers an equally convincing sense of attitudinal shifts.

The organization of the book jars a little with its findings. It is divided into two broad sections, 1547–1706 and 1707–1806, corresponding to the transfer of sovereignty over Neuchâtel to Prussia in 1707 and to Napoleon in 1806. Watt notes that there were few legal or institutional changes after 1707. Yet the major behavioral and attitudinal changes he documents date from the mid-eighteenth century, and he

might well have treated the second half of the eighteenth century as a period separate from the first two hundred years.

There is no faulting the thoroughness with which Watt has treated his material, however. The court evidence is firmly placed in its social, economic, and institutional contexts. There are good discussions of the way the beginnings of industrialization affected familial relationships.

Moreover, the book is distinguished by constant references to earlier work for comparative purposes. Watt has clearly set out to situate his findings for Neuchâtel within the contexts of research in other parts of Europe, particularly Switzerland, France, and England. Readers interested in comparative perspectives will find these sections useful, although on some occasions Watt's excursions into recent historiography seem to lead him nowhere in particular. He notes, for example, that there is no consensus on issues such as the relationship of economic change and population growth in eighteenth-century Europe. But instead of using the Neuchâtel evidence to throw support behind one school of thought or another, he tends to be somewhat diffident and, anxious not to be monocausal, suggests conclusions that appear weaker than his very good evidence might allow. Although Watt is to be applauded for resisting dogmatic and simplistic explanations, he should be encouraged to declare himself more boldly.

This interpretive hesitancy detracts only marginally from this otherwise excellent and engagingly written study. The book is not only valuable to scholars in the field but also accessible to students, who will appreciate the admirable way in which Watt has brought his research to bear on broad issues where there is still room for lively debate.

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CHRISTIANE UHLIG. *Utopie oder Alptraum? Schweizer Reiseberichte über die Sowjetunion 1917–1941*. (Die Schweiz und der Osten Europas, number 2.) Zurich: Hans Rohr. 1992. Pp. 432. 80 FR.

Christiane Uhlig's work comprehensively examines the reports of Swiss travelers to the Soviet Union in the interwar period. She makes extensive use of studies in other languages of other travelers—the works of Paul Hollander and Sylvis Margulis bear special mention—in first considering a “theory of travel reports” and then offering a “typology of travelers.”

The main body of the work considers the observations of the travelers by subject, including daily life in Moscow, Moscow factories, leisure, medical care in Moscow, housing in Leningrad, the Volga, the Caucasus, Kirghizia, and Turkmenistan, the new man, and the new woman. Uhlig concludes with biographical sketches of the authors whom she has discussed,

including Walther Bringolf, Fritz Brupbacher, Jules Humbert-Droz, and Leon Nicole, as well as specific delegations such as the group attending the Spartakiad in 1928. The volume also includes thirty-two photographs.

Uhlig's fundamental question is whether the travel reports are of any use for historical research. For the most part, the Swiss travelers were dependent on official intermediaries in speaking with Soviet citizens, but they identified “contradictions” in Soviet life, especially in the standard of living. The body of literature, she concludes, offers a rich area for research, “not only as concerns the described land but also in regard to the authors of the reports and their own social context” (p. 412).

Underlying the author's considerations would seem to be a fundamental assumption that there was an “objective truth” that the travelers were either approaching or ignoring. Hence she concludes, for example, that Jules Humbert-Droz's “report was based exclusively on lies, which he did not create but which he had accepted literally” (p. 307). To classify historical judgments and statements as “lies” or “truths” is risky business, and one might look for a lot more shadows and shading.

Despite all the stereotypes that Americans carry of the Swiss as being drab and business-like, the travelers to the Soviet Union included some truly unique personalities. As I read this book, I recalled that Humbert-Droz, the long-time secretary of the Swiss Communist Party, had told me of how he had been the one to expel the anarchist Fritz Brupbacher from the party: “I think I did them both a favor,” he chuckled. These personalities perhaps do not emerge from these pages in as full color as they deserve, but the book does make for interesting reading.

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EDWARD MUIR. *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1993. Pp. xxx, 390. \$45.00.

Grounded in extensive archival research and theoretical reading, Edward Muir's study chronicles the evolution of vendetta in Friuli (conquered by Venice in 1420) from the early fourteenth century through the 1560s. The book's references cover an even longer time span and a more expansive geography, reaching back to the *Iliad* and touching on feuds in nineteenth-century Corsica and twentieth-century Albania. To understand the politics of Friulan vendetta, Muir places Friuli not only within the larger context of Venetian politics but also within the development of European principalities during the early modern period. Yet at the same time this is the story of an event spanning a few weeks and confined to the geography of Udine and its territory: “The Cruel

Carnival" of Udine in 1511, which Muir asserts was "the most extensive and most damaging popular revolt in Renaissance Italy" (p. xix). Muir's task is to understand why this carnival vendetta was so explosive and why its acts of violence were so cruel and literally beastly.

Vendetta between two family factions—the Savorgnan (Zambarlani) and Della Torre (Strumieri)—guided politics in Renaissance Friuli. The importance of the feud was determined in part by Venetian indirect rule, whose principal concern in Friuli was to control the alpine passes leading into Austria, thus leaving matters of internal strife and justice to Friuli's clans; in part by Friuli's mountainous terrain and mix of dialects that cut it off from general developments in Italian Renaissance culture; and in part by the total absence of any indigenous city-state culture.

Yet neither these preconditions nor Friulan backwardness can explain the particular development of vendetta during the late fifteenth century leading up to the cruelties of 1511. First, marriage networks created unequal power bases between the two principal clans. Whereas the Strumieri continued to marry within their aristocratic ranks, the Zambarlani married leading families in Venice and other territorial states. Personality played a further role. With the rise of Antonio Savorgnan as leader of the Zambarlani, the traditional symmetries characteristic of feuding clans (whether in Scotland or the Mediterranean) broke down. Instead of party alliances within the Friulan aristocracy, Savorgnan turned to peasant and artisan clients, championing their reforms even against his own economic interests and effectively bringing them into the ancient antagonisms between families. In turn, his efforts were assisted by broader transregional developments: Turkish incursions into Friuli; the consequential training of peasants as local militiamen; the development of commercialized agriculture, which spelled heightened exploitation, indebtedness, and misery for the peasantry.

Muir devotes a large part of his book to describing and ferreting out meaning from vendetta violence: the destruction of Sterpo castle and the carnival of Udine in 1511. He shows how vendetta made use of the metaphors of hunting, purposely blurring the boundaries between animal and human behavior. In the most interesting and problematic part of his study, Muir argues that Renaissance books on manners defined honor and nobility as the repression of emotions and comportment associated with the animal kingdom and that the diffusion of books such as Erasmus's *Manners for Children* and Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* can largely account for the disappearance of vendetta in Friuli during the 1560s.

Muir's narrative embodies far too much research and analysis to fit the usual microhistory on which it is modeled (see p. xxii). Unlike most microhistories, however, this work should interest historians, social scientists, and students of literature across a wide

range of topics. But the wealth of information scattered through this book—from matters as disparate as Venetian treatment of Jews to ancient Burgundian laws that forced robbers to kiss a dog's anus—encumbers the narrative making it sometimes difficult to find the principal plot.

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MICHAEL SEGRE. *In the Wake of Galileo*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1991. Pp. xix, 192. \$27.95.

This book ably accomplishes the difficult task of treating a broad subject with impressive insight in a brief compass. No attempt is made to give the subject, late-seventeenth-century Tuscan science, anything approaching an exhaustive consideration. Rather, Michael Segre organizes his study of the generation of scientists following Galileo by considering a small number of well-formulated questions. These are aimed at both social and conceptual aspects of science and serve to elucidate the origins of the mythology surrounding Galileo, as well as Galileo himself.

Segre's overall aim is to give an account of the post-Galilean period that can explain why no Galilean school or tradition managed to survive very long after the master's death. Central to this inquiry is the question of who Galileo's disciples were, and what were their chief interests. The consideration of this question sheds light, on the one hand, on Galileo's science and methodology, and on the other hand, on the origins of the myths that have so tenaciously clung to Galileo to the present day. The inquiry concludes with an account of the Accademia del Cimento and the causes of its demise. Prefatory to his argument, Segre provides a valuable (although somewhat flawed) "general sketch of Galileo's time" (the introduction) and a brief survey of Galileo's life and works (chap. 1).

In the course of his investigation Segre finds that from the very beginning there was a lack of consensus about the roles of experiment and mathematical theory in "Galilean" science. He traces this notion back to a pervasive ambivalence in Galileo's own works. Furthermore, Segre asks whether, in the time following Galileo's death, any stigma appeared to be attached to the advocacy of atomism. This is an important question in view of Pietro Redondi's argument (*Galileo: Heretic* [1987]) that the real issue behind Galileo's trial was not Copernicanism but atomism, which was seen as inconsistent with the doctrine of transubstantiation. Segre finds no evidence that those who criticized atomism did so for any religious reasons. Although he does not refute Redondi's thesis, Segre's conclusion casts some doubt as to whether atomism was widely viewed as suspect on religious grounds.

Central to the investigation of the Galileo myths is

Vincenzo Viviani's biography (*Racconto Istorico*), the source of many of those myths. Segre performs the valuable service of placing this biography in its context: as an example of the genre of Renaissance biography, in the style of such writers as Giorgio Vasari. Such biographies, Segre shows, followed certain conventions that included a generous amount of fanciful embroidery. Within these conventions, however, Viviani displayed a concern for accuracy that suggests that none of the tales can be entirely dismissed as mere fiction. Thus, Segre lays the groundwork for a new understanding of Viviani's achievement, which may be useful in the continuing reassessment of Galileo himself.

The concluding account of the Accademia del Cimento takes up the question of why science died out in Tuscany. Here, Segre departs from the usual explanation—that scientific activity was repressed by the church—and places much of the blame on the suffocating patronage of the Medici, particularly Prince Leopold. By restraining and censoring the work of those he supported, the prince succeeded where the Inquisition had failed.

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PAMELA M. JONES. *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 386; 100 plates. \$95.00.

Federico Borromeo (1564–1631) was a model post-Tridentine prelate. The scion of Lombard patrician families used to running states and churches, he was a dutiful student; influenced by both the Jesuits and the Oratorians, he was tutored by two saints, his cousin Carlo Borromeo and the founder of the Oratory Filippo Neri. As cardinal (1587) and archbishop (1595) of Milan, he was a conscientious administrator, patron, and scholar. Beginning in 1607, Borromeo founded a combined library, museum, and short-lived art academy, the Ambrosiana, as a research and training center for reforming Catholic scholarship and art. This book by Pamela M. Jones is a monograph on the role of art at the Ambrosiana, complete with a set of documentary catalogues, appendixes, and illustrations. It adds to a discrete number of modern works on the "other" Borromeo, and these add in turn to a growing number of studies, many of them by American scholars, on the Catholic church in northern Italy after the Council of Trent.

The reasons for this belated interest in what Eric Cochrane, some twenty-odd years ago, called the "forgotten centuries" of Italian history are fairly clear: among them, the crowded turf of Renaissance studies and a desert to reclaim from confessional biases in the later period; the recent vogue of cultural history with religion as its historiographical ballast; the sheer embarrassment of historical riches in Italy

thanks in large part to its early modern escape into political insignificance. The results are scattered, but here too some conclusions are fairly clear. Both the labels "Counter Reformation" and "Catholic Reformation" have come to seem too tendentious and simplistic for the complexity and cross-currents in Italian history after, say, 1530; the Council of Trent did consolidate the ideological and institutional ground for a disciplining modernization of Catholic orthodoxy, but its reception depended on local circumstances. Far from being oppressively conformist, Italian cultural life was expansively multivalent after Trent, not so much in spite of religion but because religious issues raised high stakes for the faithful, the indifferent, and the heretics alike.

Jones has hard-earned knowledge along these lines. Her book represents nearly a decade's work. By credentials she is an art historian, by her reading *au courant* in history. Her overarching argument is that Borromeo drew on fortunate coincidences of background, training, taste, and position to institutionalize a coherent "post-Tridentine" program for the figurative arts, preeminently painting, at the Ambrosiana. Her three central chapters deal accordingly with the interlocking roles Borromeo assigned to art in his writing, collecting, and patronage. These roles were devotional inasmuch as the beholder contemplated in art the order and variety of God's creation; didactic in that art could illustrate doctrinal and moral lessons; documentary insofar as images drawn from sacred and profane history were authentic. Under these traditional and reformist rubrics, the cardinal managed to be, in all senses of the word, a "catholic" collector and cultural impresario. His interests ran from history (hence his collection of 306 portraits of famous men) to natural science and from High Renaissance and contemporary Italian to northern, especially Flemish, art (he was a notable patron of Jan Brueghel the Elder).

There are, however, less appealing sides to the man and his culture, and this book reflects them only too well. It shows convincingly that Borromeo was hardly interested in style, as distinct from content, and that his ideas were earnestly and prolifically derivative. Beyond iconography and cataloguing we get little sense either of the look or of the impact of the art in question. The author's interpretive framework is taken over synthetically but mechanically from the current secondary literature; her display of learning, like Borromeo's, is not discriminating, and this together with the plodding and repetitive prose makes the book much longer than it needs to be. For all the optimism attributed to Borromeo, an air of apology and defeat hang heavily around the Ambrosiana project and the book. The pace of his collecting slackened after he donated the Ambrosiana to the city of Milan in 1618 and nearly ceased after 1625. The Ambrosian Academy evidently failed after a decade or so. The tensions between ambitions and results, and between contemplative and utilitarian commit-

ments, must have persisted, and in the end the cardinal-archbishop spent his last years ministering to his flock in a catastrophic wave of famine and plague.

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ALBERT BOIME. *The Art of the Macchia and the Risorgimento: Representing Culture and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Italy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xxi, 338. \$55.00.

The contemporary attack of diverse academic critics on the artistic and literary canon has opened the way for a reevaluation of hitherto marginalized art and literature. Albert Boime approvingly notes in his introduction. He presents the Macchiaioli, a group of nineteenth-century Italian painters based in Florence and known for both their social realism and unconventional artistic techniques, as candidates for the kind of reevaluation that has become possible with the decline of canonical elitism. He obviously has their international reputation in mind because, in Italy, the Macchiaioli are part of the canon and the subject of a voluminous scholarly literature. One of their number, Giovanni Fattori, long has been regarded as the leading Italian painter of the nineteenth century, and several others in the group—Telemaco Signorini, Giuseppe Abbati, Raffaello Sernesi, Odoardo Borrani, and Silvestro Lega—are artists of recognized stature. Named for their theory about the *macchia*, or spot, as the fundamental principle of painterly vision, they sought “to surprise nature,” in the words of one nineteenth-century critic, by evoking it rapidly and synthetically in juxtaposing simple zones of color, giving their finished work a sketch-like appearance in which they took pride as antagonists of still-regnant academic painting in Italy.

Despite their exciting theoretical innovations and momentous achievements as artists, Boime complains, the Macchiaioli generally have been undervalued outside Italy while their great and overwhelmingly successful rivals for the critics' favor, the Impressionists, have been overvalued. His beautifully illustrated book contains various arguments in favor of reversing this verdict on the Macchiaioli, who are portrayed here as typical victims of the “French connection” (p. 2), that is, the strongly pro-French purveyors of art history in the Western academic world.

Although Boime frequently cites the historical theories of Antonio Gramsci and seeks to place his study in the social and cultural context of Risorgimento and post-Risorgimento Italy, the Macchiaioli are commended to our attention largely because of their late-twentieth-century sensibilities on race, gender, and class. In their concern for these issues he finds the paramount reason why the Macchiaioli are incom-

parably more deserving of our study and appreciation than, in his characterization, those conformist celebrants of middle-class pleasures, the Impressionists.

Like many other artists and intellectuals of the Risorgimento generation, the Macchiaioli quickly became disillusioned with their newly unified country. Boime fits them into what is unquestionably the dominant pattern of alienation in Italy's cultural politics from the Risorgimento to fascism. He has a peculiar way of documenting this pattern, however. The precise point at which their disillusionment set in is never adequately explained. To have furnished such an explanation, which is the crucial element in making his thesis work, Boime would have had to examine the careers of the painters in a detailed group biography and to explain in far more depth than he does the complicated relationship they had with the liberal middle-class and aristocratic elites who bought their paintings. Instead of framing the argument historically throughout, at critical junctures he abstractly poses gender, race, and class themes and then illustrates them with impressionistic comments on representative specimens of the movement's art. He produces some affecting passages on the plight of Italy's Jews, women, and workers; it is never quite clear, however, how much of this lamentation is Boime's or that of the Macchiaioli.

For example, to describe a figure in a mid-nineteenth-century painting as disrupting “the conventional designation of feminine social space and [denying] the voyeuristic potential of the male gaze” (p. 255) is to ignore, at the very least, the artist's own language and possible range of expressible sentiments. In Boime's analysis, four middle-class women at work in a genteel parlor sewing a flag for the Risorgimento become “a kind of feminist collective” not “waiting for a male to divert them” (p. 264). This stimulating and passionately written book derives its character from such observations.

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RAFFAELLA GHERARDI. *L'arte del compromesso: La politica della mediazione nell'Italia liberale*. (Saggi, number 397.) Bologna: Mulino. 1993. Pp. 349. L. 38,000.

In this volume Raffaella Gherardi analyzes the political and administrative problems of post-unification Italy and the transition from the “age of poetry” to the “age of prose,” while examining the theoretical models that inspired the moderate-liberals in their search for solutions. Gherardi has touched on these themes elsewhere, including her *Le autonomie locali nel liberalismo italiano, 1861–1900* (1984); *Marco Minghetti statista e pensatore politico* (1988); and more recently her contribution in *I concetti fondamentali delle scienze sociali e dello stato in Italia e in Germania* (1992). The present study represents a synthesis of aspects of her

earlier work, including the theoretical elaborations and political strategies of the free-trade school in the peninsula, her appreciation of the extraordinary contribution of Marco Minghetti to the administrative, theoretical, and political evolution of the post-Risorgimento reconstruction, and her assessment of the impact of the German models of the science of administration and finance, and the influence of the German "socialism of the chair," which favored state intervention to correct inequities in society.

I concur with Gherardi's conclusion that Minghetti, both as a statesman and as a scholar of administration and political theory, played a key role in the elaboration of an Italian system that combined theory and practice, shunning extremes. Likewise she presents a convincing case that the *via media* pursued by figures such as Minghetti, and others of the party of the *Destra*, or Right, as well as politicians of the *Sinistra*, or Left, gave birth to a unique form of Italian liberalism representing an accommodation between theoretical formulations and mundane considerations, a politics of mediation. Although the author admires Minghetti for his refusal to be drawn into the world of theory and abstraction, and his insistence on confronting the existing reality and pressing political problems of the peninsula and its people, she is more successful in elaborating the clash of ideas than the clash and resolution of particular policies and specific events in the historical process. Not surprisingly, she does better in presenting the theoretical foundation of Minghetti's politics of accommodation and art of compromise than in describing the concrete achievements of that program. Even in her chapter on transformism, which she correctly views as part of the liberal compromise rather than pure political opportunism or party corruption, her approach remains more theoretical than historical. Furthermore, her coverage of transformism, emphasizing the theoretical roots of the arrangement, downplays the bitter opposition and controversy provoked by the coalition between the *Sinistra* of Agostino Depretis and the *Destra* of Minghetti.

Unquestionably Gherardi's work provides important new information on the development of Italian liberalism and the politics of the last half of the nineteenth century, revealing the theoretical, and to a lesser extent the political, roots of their development. Yet it tends to exaggerate the acceptance of that "consensus" by virtually ignoring the widespread opposition to the "deal," which denounced the political corruption of the compromise and its departure from the dogmas of "economic science" and political purity. Transformism, after all, still remains a dirty word in Italian political parlance, and the opposition of the economist, political theorist, and sociologist Vilfredo Pareto found fertile ground both in the conservative liberal camp and in the groupings of the extreme Left. Indeed this resistance later played a central role in demonizing the policies of Giovanni Giolitti, who dominated Italian politics in the first

decade of the twentieth century. Giolitti's policy of accommodation was denounced by free traders of the Right and Left, playing a part in branding him *il ministro della mala vita*. Consequently, although Gherardi has revealed the roots of the Italian *via media*, in my view overstating its triumph, she has not explored its ultimate failure. Another volume is needed, perhaps by another author.

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MARIUCCIA SALVATI. *Il regime e gli impiegati: La nazionalizzazione piccolo-borghese nel ventennio fascista*. (Biblioteca di cultura moderna, number 1,028.) Rome: Laterza. 1992. Pp. vii, 267. L. 38,000.

To judge from this monograph, the class analysis of fascism continues to flourish in spite of the current scholarly preoccupation with the mass appeal and popular culture aspects of fascism. The particular concern of Mariuccia Salvati's study is the process whereby Benito Mussolini's regime gradually won the support of certain categories of public employees, seen here as emblematic of fascism's petite-bourgeois constituency. But no such brief precis can do justice to the content and message of Salvati's intriguing book. From the analysis of personnel rosters of various government ministries and the responses of government employee associations to questionnaires sent out by the fascist party, the study draws conclusions about the regional origins of the state and party bureaucracies and the continuities between fascist and post-fascist Italy. Along the way, it takes into account insights drawn from the social sciences. The result is a provocative and original interpretation of the national bases of the fascist regime.

Starting from the solid premise that when Mussolini was appointed prime minister in October 1922 fascism was a minority movement confined almost entirely to the northern and central regions of the peninsula, Salvati moves on to discuss the various fascist strategies for gaining control first of the state and then of society. Winning the support of the state bureaucracy, a necessary step toward the "fascitization" of the state, proved to be difficult, one reason being that the largely southern state bureaucracy proved to be a bulwark of traditionalism, more concerned with legality than politics, and deaf to fascist appeals for renewal and modernization of the state apparatus. Mussolini refused to purge the ranks of the state bureaucracy, initially because he wanted to maintain administrative continuity and later because he did not want to alienate powerful southern clientèles who could make trouble for the regime. Thus, fascism allowed the mostly southern and traditionalist state bureaucracy to grow and consolidate its hold in certain strategic sectors of the public administration.

This created a dilemma for Mussolini and fascism, because the mostly northern "fascists of the first

hour" demanded their share of the spoils, and because fascism could not afford to repudiate its own promises of renewal without undermining its political credibility. The resolution was found in the creation of a second bureaucracy of younger political enthusiasts attracted by the dynamic aspects of fascism. Salvati calls this parallel bureaucracy "modern." It ensconced itself in the syndicalist and corporatist agencies that followed the reforms of 1925–26: new labor unions, social welfare agencies, and a plethora of economic regulatory bodies. The bureaucratized regime of the 1930s resulted from such compromises, which drained fascism of its renovating impulses, stressed regimentation over enthusiasm, and left postwar Italy with its troublesome double legacy of fossilized administration and government interventionism.

The strength of this book is its originality, which cannot be fully conveyed in a short review. But the search for originality creates some problems, the most obvious being that the personnel rosters, which constitute most of the primary documentation, are too small a peg on which to hang such large conclusions, no matter how tentative they may be. Also perplexing is the distinction between traditional and modern bureaucracies, a distinction that seems to be more cultural than institutional. Cultural differences are not easily located within institutional frameworks, tend to be elusive, and are highly subjective. Fascists were indeed preoccupied with modernization, but the last thing they wanted was to foster institutionally based regional distinctions. If they did, it was an unintended consequence of their reforms. One cannot escape the impression that it is the concerns of Italian public life in the 1990s that breathe life into this study: the relationship between politics and the law, cost of government, compatibility of north and south. Such presentist concerns do not invalidate this study, but it would be preferable to acknowledge them.

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RICHARD BELLAMY and DARROW SCHECTER. *Gramsci and the Italian State*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 203. \$59.95.

In their introduction, Richard Bellamy and Darrow Schecter correctly state that Antonio Gramsci's thought was often manipulated "to apply to concerns and ideas far removed from his original preoccupations" (p. xv). The importance of Gramsci's writings in terms of "humanizing" Marxist theory made his ideology attractive to intellectuals of all countries. With the end of the Cold War, however, the authors believe that it is time to put Gramsci's thought back into historical context and to determine which parts of it are still valid. This is a laudable goal that makes

the book a welcome contribution to the English-language literature on the Marxist philosopher, especially for scholars unfamiliar with the context of war, revolutionary agitation, and the emergence of fascism in which Gramsci crafted his thought.

The historical account that the authors provide of the period and of Gramsci's reaction to the dramatic events of the era are sound. The authors also give a good picture of Gramsci's ideology with an analysis of its main concepts, including hegemony, which has been a particularly controversial issue. For historians, the chapter on Gramsci's view of the Risorgimento and its implications is especially interesting because it concentrates on the views of political scientists. The book ends with a brief conclusion in which the authors try to sort out what is living and what is dead in Gramsci's ideas.

Although the book ventures some criticism of Gramsci's philosophy, it is marred by an attitude from which much of the literature on Gramsci and communist theory suffers. In discussing Gramsci's ideas, the authors stick primarily to criticisms made of his philosophy within the camp of communist thinkers; this attitude emerges even when they praise him as possibly having ideas differing from V. I. Lenin and Joseph Stalin (pp. 133–34). In short, the criterion for judging Gramsci is not the validity of his ideas compared to the ideology of other philosophers or politicians, but is almost exclusively how he compares with other writers in the same "club." This is not to say that other philosophers are not mentioned, but they are examined as a function of Gramsci's beliefs, and sometimes as foils. This is true, for example, of Benedetto Croce, with whom Italian thinkers of the period had to come to terms. But would it be possible to write a good, full-scale work on Croce considering, in effect, only liberal interpretations or criticisms of his philosophy?

This narrow methodology results in weaknesses that might otherwise have been avoided. Thus, although the authors fully discuss Gramsci's criticism of the socialist reformists, they only allude to the reformists' responses and ideology. The reader comes away with a poor impression of social democratic critics even though Gramsci's opponents proved to be correct about many of the implications of communist ideology and its effects. Furthermore, this one-sided approach has led the authors to ignore contemporary Italian critics of Gramsci such as Luciano Pellicani, Norberto Bobbio (quoted by the authors on a tangential issue), Massimo Salvadori, and Lucio Colletti, who place Gramsci squarely in the Leninist tradition.

This methodology results in a less than satisfactory examination of key Gramscian concepts and their implications. For example, the authors state: "Gramsci maintained that the traditional vehicles of working-class struggle were no longer the primary agents of the socialist revolution, since they originated as defensive instruments during the period of bourgeois ascendancy" (p. 32). Because the authors stress the

Italian context, they demonstrate how Gramsci's view reflected the reality that reformists founded the unions and had control of them when Gramsci was writing. But after World War II, when the Italian Communist Party (PCI) took control of the unions, the issue disappeared. It would be unjust to pin all the PCI's sins or virtues on Gramsci, but it was admittedly inspired by his thought, and the authors would have produced a more interesting book had they taken issues such as this one into account. The same might be said of other questions that are discussed in the work, such as Gramsci's contention that the Russian Revolution could not be Jacobin because Jacobinism was "bourgeois," his view of culture's function, and his concept of hegemony.

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RONALD GRIGOR SUNY. *Looking toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 289. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.

With this book, Ronald Grigor Suny confirms his stature as one of the leading authorities on contemporary Armenia and its place in the modern world. An eloquent writer, well trained, broad in his vision, and willing and able to look beyond narrow, nationalistic perspectives, he has done more than anyone to raise the field of modern Armenian historiography to the level of sophistication that the study of the Soviet Union long ago attained but which for so many decades has eluded historians of the various Soviet nationalities. Anything that Suny writes is worth reading, and this is one of the most important works that he has produced.

The book is divided into two parts. Part 1 (six chapters) describes the salient facts of Armenian history prior to World War I. Dwelling mostly on the Armenian Question, it concludes with an assessment of the genocide of 1915–21. Part 2 describes Armenia from the period of the Russian Revolution and traces the full seventy-one-year history of Soviet Armenia, the events surrounding the emergence of the Karabagh Question, the rise of the second independent Armenian Republic, and the complex and evolving relationship between the new state and its far-flung diaspora.

The book is more a collection of interrelated essays than a narrative history; only chapters 6, 13, and 14 consist of new material, the remaining eleven having previously appeared elsewhere over the past several years. Nevertheless, there is considerable merit in taking up the study of modern Armenian history as a series of discrete topics. The creation of a history of modern Armenia conforming to the standards of contemporary scholarship presupposes the rethinking of conventional wisdom on any number of such specific issues as the significance of the diaspora, the

role of the Armenians in the Soviet Union, and the impact of the Soviet experiment on the emergence of a modern Armenian state. All of these subjects are dealt with by Suny in a profound and original way.

Space does not permit a detailed analysis or even a mere citation of the many insights in this brilliant compilation. The most interesting chapters are those that deal with the events since 1988, when the Soviet ethnic pot boiled over first in Armenia. This set in motion the developments that eventually led to the precipitous collapse of the Soviet Union three and one half years later. These events, so stirring yet still too close to analyze easily, badly need the approach of a major historian of contemporary affairs, and they have found their master in Suny. Chapter 14, "Armenia on the Road to Independence, Again," contains an excellent analysis of the causes of the failure of what Suny calls "Gorbachev's triple revolution [of] democratization, marketization, and decolonialization" (p. 233), of the causes of the fall of the Soviet Union, and of Armenia's role in this disaster. His description of the four stages of the "Armenian revolution" (February–December, 1988; December 1988–June, 1989; June–October, 1989; October 1989–August 1990) makes clear the events of an astonishingly complex and rapidly evolving situation whereby in a matter of months the Armenians had "moved from being one of the most loyal Soviet nations to complete loss of confidence in Moscow" (p. 238).

So rich in new insights and fresh perspectives are Suny's essays in general that the chapter dealing with the genocide disappoints. There is no question that the attempt of Turkish "historians" and their foreign sympathizers and hirelings to prove that the genocide never took place requires as frequent and authoritative a rebuttal as possible, and Suny's considered defense of the Armenian case certainly adds to the arsenal. One would still wish to see at least some revisionism in our outlook on the affair as the century that produced it draws to a close. The attempt by Armenian President Levon Ter Petrosyan to effect some kind of rapprochement, if not a reconciliation, with the government of modern Turkey demonstrates a sophistication and perspicacity that qualifies him as a remarkable statesman. Suny might also have taken us a step beyond the traditional interpretation of this ghastly episode.

With this collection of essays, Suny has not only laid the foundations for a definitive history of Soviet Armenia (which still needs to be written) and greatly advanced our understanding of Armenia in the modern world but has also produced the first major work of post-Soviet Armenian historiography.

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LARRY L. WATTS. *Romanian Cassandra: Ion Antonescu and the Struggle for Reform, 1916–1941*. Boulder,

Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1993. Pp. x, 390. \$45.00.

In Homer's *Iliad*, Apollo punished the Trojan princess Cassandra, who rejected his advances, with the power to utter prophecies no one would believe. Why apply this myth to a controversial and comprehensive study of Ion Antonescu (1882–1946), a military “genius” and the *Conducator* of Romania during World War II? This eloquently penned biography by Larry L. Watts, an American scholar granted seemingly unrestricted access to hitherto classified archives in Romania about the Fascist era (1940–44), attempts to rehabilitate Adolf Hitler's ally Antonescu, praising him for insistently warning of German-Hungarian threats to Romania's territorial integrity long before the Vienna Award of 1940. Furthermore, Watts argues that Antonescu was as supportive of constitutional rule as the incorruptible National Peasant Party leader Iuliu Maniu, that during his four-year rule “there was never any danger of a Final Solution,” and that he was an idealist who believed in the “fundamental goodness of his people” (p. 376).

In August 1990, less than one year after the executions of the Ceaușescus, Romania's National Assembly initiated a reexamination of experiences during World War II, including a reassessment of Antonescu's role. This new study can go a long way to assist in a rewriting of that era and of Antonescu's participation in it. Until Romania's forces on the Eastern Front began to suffer immense losses, most people in that forlorn Axis-aligned nation supported the Antonescu regime, crediting it with having suppressed the Iron-Guard/Legionary movement, purged the government of corruption remaining after King Carol II fled in 1940, and permitted some latitude to opposition political parties; Antonescu's Romania was probably the least servile of all the Axis satellite regimes.

Four decades of Communist condemnations of the Antonescu regime must be undone, and Watts admirably presents a favorable reconstruction of that sad era for Romania: squeezed between two giants, Hitler's Germany and Joseph Stalin's Russia, under a “Cassandra” who gave fair warning in the 1930s. Regrettably, an index is lacking, but copious notes make for some convincing findings.

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GUNNAR HERING. *Die politischen Parteien in Griechenland 1821–1936*. In two volumes. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 90.) Munich: Oldenbourg. 1992. Pp. 597; 599–1253.

This is a big book in many ways. In length, it reaches over 1,200 pages, divided into two volumes; in chronological scope, it covers 115 years; in importance, it

will quickly take its place as the most authoritative work on the development of the political system and parties in Greece from independence to the rise of the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas. Gunnar Hering combines original archival research with an impressively wide reading of the secondary materials in Greek as well as the other major languages. His judicious borrowing from political science theory combined with a solid grasp of the empirical sources allows him to revise some of our current ideas about political development and to produce more nuanced interpretations about others. His extensive bibliography and copious notes will provide a mine of information for students of the political development of Greece. No short review can do justice to the richness of this work.

The book is divided into six major analytical units. The first section is a broad-ranging introduction that discusses the salient literature on Greek political history as well the major works in political science and sociology on political culture. The second, on the origins of political movements and parties in Greece in the period just before the War of Independence, during the Republic of Kapodistrias, and on the first part of the reign of Otto until 1844, sets the stage. Hering sketches out the power networks and interest groups in the Morea before the outbreak of hostilities and then shows how these cleavages developed during the course of the conflict itself. His discussion of the heterochthon/autochthon (diaspora Greeks versus indigenous Greeks) debate, when placed alongside the recent book by Ioannis Dimakis (*I Politiki Metavoli tou 1843 kai to Zitima ton Autochthonon kai Eterochthonon* [1991]), elevates the discussion of this important issue to a new level. His use of correspondence between the key shapers of policy in particular enables him to render insights into the dynamics of factionalism often lost in a literature prone to structuralist arguments.

The third section of the book deals with the constitutional monarchy of Otto from 1844 to 1862. Hering deftly sketches out how the advent of parliamentary politics gave political discourse in Greece a new spin. In particular he demonstrates how a new generation of politicians arose and introduced new elements into the political discourse of the nation. Sections four and five cover the often neglected period from 1862 to 1894. These two chapters will in future provide the starting point for any discussion of Greek politics in the late nineteenth century. The constitution of 1864 altered the course of party development. There was an explosion of political factions, each focused around a dominant figure. The mechanisms for constructing factions were clubs and patronage networks. Hering's lengthy discussion of the career of Harilaos Trikoupi is especially welcome. This major figure has been the subject of a number of unpublished doctoral dissertations and some articles published in Greek, but otherwise he has not received the level of attention that his impor-

tance in the development of modern Greece war-rants. The discussion in this book fills that void and provides the most developed discussion of party politics and organization in that period to date.

Section six, further subdivided into two parts, covers the much better known period from 1894 to the Asia Minor debacle of 1922. The historiography of this crucial epoch in Greek history is littered with controversies, each of which is at the center of ongoing debates. Among these are the controversy over the nature of Venizelist liberalism, the heated discussion over the causes and nature of the military coup of 1909, and the longstanding debate over the National Schism that during World War I split the country with some supporting the pro-German stance of the monarch, King Konstantine, and others rallying to the pro-Entente position of Eleftherios Venizelos. Hering contributes to each of these debates in significant ways. His careful scholarship, grounded firmly in the sources, is particularly welcome in debates that often revolve more around the ideological inclination of the analyst and less on the historical record. Using newspapers and correspondence, Hering shows, for example, the complexity regarding the issue of whether or not the military coup of 1909 was part of a "class conflict"—contemporary sources can be found to support both views—before agreeing with the following: "Vlasiv Gavrilidis spoke of 'class struggle' in 'Akropolis' not in the sense of antagonisms between classes, but in the sense of struggles of classes against the political 'oligarchy'" (p. 683). On each of the major debates, then, Hering offers reasonable, empirically grounded, and thoughtful contributions.

The last section of the book covers the interwar years, and in particular the Republican period. Much has been written recently on this subject, and Hering's contributions to the literature is less pathbreaking than the other sections of the book.

Hering's study is a major accomplishment. It is the most detailed discussion available on the development of political parties in Greece and on Greek politics generally from Independence to the 1930s. Based on a prodigious amount of research, and using a vast array of primary sources, Hering's account will stand as the starting point for future research on this topic. He is to be congratulated for producing a superb piece of historical scholarship, and he should be encouraged to come out with a condensed version translated into English for use in the classroom.

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EVANGELOS SPYROPOULOS. *The Greek Military (1909–1941) and the Greek Mutinies in the Middle East (1941–1944)*. (East European Monographs, number 360.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York. 1993. Pp. vii, 480. \$59.00.

Toward the end of this book, Evangelos Spyropoulos notes that the wave of history books on Greece's wartime experience (1940–44) published in Greece following the fall of the military dictatorship in 1974 were for the most part "shoddy and apologetic or propagandistic" (p. 411). He adds that he wrote this book to examine this era in a more "scientific, analytical, and objective way" (p. 411). These goals are laudable, but I was surprised to learn that the political upheavals of the twentieth century "can be explained by the traits of Greek character: volatility and fickleness; love of change and preeminence; individualism and contentiousness; a tendency to provide answers to all questions and to be a jack-of-all-trades but master of none" (p. 61). When it comes to ethnicity, Spyropoulos is an essentialist: the Greek character has been fixed for centuries.

This approach overlooks the fact that for most of this century Greece was a predominantly rural society, divided by kinship groups, integrated through competitive institutions, and tied to other social groups by patronage. In his pathbreaking book on the Greek military from 1916 to 1936 (*Oi Epemvaseis tou stratou sten ellinike politike, 1916–1936* [Interventions of the Military in Greek Politics, 1916–1936] [1977]), Thanos Veremis has shown how these social conditions, values, and institutions hindered the development of a professional officer corps. Spyropoulos ignores this approach. He explains the political divisions and conflicts among Greece's wartime rival organizations and politicians by claiming: "Divisiveness is a Greek characteristic from remote antiquity" (p. 316).

The reader's confidence is further shaken as it becomes clear that Spyropoulos has not consulted the key works of George Mavrogordatos (*Stillborn Republic* [1983]), Mark Mazower (*Greece and the Interwar Economic Crisis* [1991]), Procopis Papastratis (*British Diplomacy towards Greece during the Second World War* [1984]), and Hagen Fleischer (*Im Kreuzschatten der Mächte*, 2 vols. [1986]). Internal textual evidence suggests that the manuscript was written in the mid-1970s but languished unpublished until 1993. Still, the book provides a wealth of information on the wartime exile government of Emmanuel Tsouderos and the mutinies. Spyropoulos draws on a wide array of participant memoirs, secondary works published in Greek and generally inaccessible, British Foreign Office documents from the Public Record Office, and materials from the Office of Strategic Services, although he has not used British War Office files pertaining to wartime Greek affairs.

Spyropoulos shows how Greek Communists in the Middle East built the strongest secret military organization in the Greek Middle East Armed Forces between 1941 and 1944, the Antifascist Military Organization (ASO). Completely different from any previous secret Greek military society, the ASO's strength lay in its membership, dominated by the rank and file rather than officers. It directed several

mutinies and even toppled two émigré Greek cabinets before it overreached itself in the mutiny of April 1944. The failure of the April mutiny was a disaster for the Left and an opportunity for the Right to gain control of the Greek Armed Forces.

Spyropoulos argues that neither the émigré Greek government of Tsouderos nor the British military and political authorities fully understood the role played in the Middle East by Greek Communists who acted on their own without any reference to the National Liberation Front and the Greek Communist Party in occupied Greece. Although this information is not new, as Fleischer and Papastratis have used the same sources, it has never been presented in such rich, useful detail. There is no index.

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WILLIAM CRAFT BRUMFIELD. *A History of Russian Architecture*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. 644; 80 plates. \$95.00.

This is the English-language survey for our generation. Unlike earlier surveys by Western scholars based on limited access to sources and inadequate Soviet scholarship, William Craft Brumfield has the benefit of modern Soviet art-historical research and his own twenty years of Russian journeys, with camera. His fresh perspective avoids the old chestnuts of interpretation sometimes found, for instance, in the classic books by Arthur Voyce or G. H. Hamilton's *Art and Architecture of Russia* (1954). But Brumfield is curiously silent about those previous workers in the vineyard. Voyce is not even listed in the bibliography; the only actual reference to Hamilton is in a footnote discussing the painter Alexander Ivanov. There is also no mention of Hubert Faensen's *Early Russian Architecture* (1975) or *Kirchen und Kloster im Alten Russland* (1982), and thus no mention of the excellent photography that Klaus Beyer did for Faensen's books. Nor are the superb photographs by Aleksei Aleksandrov for the three-volume survey *Moscow: Monuments of Architecture*, produced by Soviet scholars in the 1970s, given any mention. Whatever the explanation for this silence here, given the massive bibliography it seems ungenerous.

This is a reference book; no one but a reviewer will sit down and read it through. The eighty-four pages of footnotes, 677 photographs and drawings, and eighty color plates provide an inventory-catalogue of current scholarly consensus on the major Russian buildings. The chrono-spatial definition of "Russian" is largely restricted to medieval Kiev-Novgorod and Vladimir, the seventeenth-century Volga River towns, and the environs of Moscow and St. Petersburg, thus leaving out "Ukraine" as a category, the Baltic area, the Caucasus, and Siberia and Central Asia (the "Russian empire" of old.)

This is not a book to read for "history," although

Brumfield relies on good available contemporary English-language surveys to set the historical context. The histrionic tone on some issues (such as Ivan the Terrible's "paranoid dementia" [p. 74], the hostility to Nicholas I's buildings, the view of Stalinist "totalitarianism") seems to come more out of the authentic rage of a Sergei Eisenstein or Alexander Herzen or Alexander Solzhenitsyn than either our own contemporary experience or contemporary historical writing. The medieval narrative alternates between credulity and skepticism in the reading of sources: either one utilizes source-criticism on "the facts" in the chronicles or one does not, but an arbitrary mixture of the two in a synthetic authorial voice is unsettling. Some historical assertions stretch the limit of historical popularization. The analogy between the defense of Moscow by Kuzma Minin and Prince Dmitrii Pozharsky and the French "levée en masse" is not useful (p. 140). Catherine's rational Enlightenment neoclassicism did not conflict with her autocratic political preferences (p. 262). What can we do with the suggestion (p. 356) that the Decembrist Sergei Trubetskoi got his revolutionary inspiration from the iconography of his mother-in-law's neoclassical mansion? Is Peter Behrens's German Embassy (p. 475) really a precursor of totalitarianism? What of the assertion (p. 575, n. 6) that the post-1945 restoration of ruined aristocratic estates reflects "the elitism of late Stalinism"? In general, the entire discussion of socialist realism in terms of "monumentalism" seems to mirror an older Western "totalitarian" analysis, one that recent popular-culture readings of Stalinist culture has substantially challenged. On more narrowly art-historical questions that have often been clouded, however, this book is superbly clear and straightforward: the difference between "Moscow baroque" and "Naryshkin baroque," the putative relationship between wooden Russian architecture and Muscovite masonry churches, and a clarification on which eighteenth-century architects were European-trained and which were "native" are particular examples of many.

The "historians' questions" of importance appear in the architectural data also. Were the post-Petrine architects "imitators" or were they "originals"? Do we interpret Russian "chinoiserie" in the 1770s as a reflection of Russian interest in trade with China (p. 270) or as a reflection of Russia's imitation of Western European fashion (p. 570, n. 57), which itself reflects European interest in trade with China? If the former, what do we make of Russian "pseudo-Gothic"? The issue of imitation is writ large in the phenomenon of nineteenth-century Russian classicism, where imitation has been turned into an authentic "native" style by Russian nationalist practitioners a century later. Is the architecture of Russian capitalism (1870–1914) an imitation of European capitalism's architecture (as was Russia's capitalism itself), or does it demonstrate independent simultaneous Russian response to similar

social and economic stimulus? Brumfield's data inevitably raise these important questions for historians.

Hermeneutical practice is only for the very daring and the semiotics of architecture is a minefield. Brumfield walks as carefully as he can. What can we make of the putative message of a neoclassicism used both by patrician American southern slaveholders and by democratic New England towns; by nineteenth-century St. Petersburg imperial bureaucrats and by resistant Muscovite provincial gentry; by antimodern conservatives and by "rational" modern architect-engineers in 1910? Do the answers to such questions of meaning lie only in the buildings themselves (produced within the limitations of nature, money, time, and contingent accident) or also in the words ("intentions") of the patrons and designers and users?

This book is handsomely produced; it is especially noteworthy that illustrations are placed within a page of the appropriate text. But some drawings (often taken without attribution from older Russian sources) are unreadable in detail, especially scale-measures. The level of proofreading is respectable; the minor misprints (such as "semetry," "concensus," 1973 for 1793, and 898 for 989), some inconsistent rendition of European-origin Russian names (such as Ol/Ohl), and a few missing prepositions are slips of the sort that an older publishing industry would feel compelled to correct with an errata slip, especially in such a luxury product. This is a beautiful book.

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ANDREAS KAPPELER. *Russland als Vielvölkerreich: Entstehung, Geschichte, Zerfall*. 2d ed., rev. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1993. Pp. 395. DM 58.

Empires, by definition, are multi-ethnic conglomerates. Traditional Russian historiography ignored this fact and treated the history of the Russian empire as if it were the national history of the Russians alone. Even more disconcerting was the readiness with which Western, especially American, historians of the empire adopted this russocentric bias. Fortunately, Andreas Kappeler, a leading specialist on the empire's non-Russian subjects, has written a work that provides a much-needed corrective to this imbalanced view. Indeed, so successfully does his book fulfill this function that its appearance should be viewed as a major historiographical event in the field.

The book's scope is vast. An introductory chapter deals with medieval precedents. But the core of the book encompasses the period between Moscow's first major conquest of non-Russians in 1552 and the disintegration of the tsarist empire in 1917. In an innovative, enlightening manner, the author divides the more than 350 years of tsarist expansion into well-defined stages and identifies the distinguishing features of each phase. He not only analyzes the tsars'

strategy and tactics in subjugating the non-Russians but also describes the responses of the latter to incorporation into the empire. Thus, the empire-building process is treated from the perspective of the periphery as well as the center. The author also skillfully interpolates the political with the socioeconomic and cultural aspects of tsarist empire-building. He describes the social structures, occupational profiles, and cultural characteristics of the major non-Russian nationalities and examines the functions that they performed in the imperial system. Data on the nineteenth century, much of it gleaned from Kappeler's separately published analysis of the 1897 census, are especially informative. And his judicious use of social-science concepts elucidates the problems that rising literacy rates, a growing intelligentsia, and the spread of nationalism among the subject peoples posed to the empire. The final chapter deals with Soviet nationality policies up to 1991.

Enlightening insights and generalizations abound. For example, Kappeler elaborates on the relative socioeconomic and cultural underdevelopment of the Russian center in comparison to its Western, non-Russian peripheries, on the favoritism shown by the tsars to non-Russian as opposed to Russian elites, and on the predominance of political-strategic over economic considerations in the expansion of the empire. A tour de force of erudition and synthesis, Kappeler's important book ought to be essential reading for all historians of imperial Russia. It should, therefore, be translated into Russian and English as soon as possible.

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EVGENII V. ANISIMOV. *The Reforms of Peter the Great: Progress through Coercion in Russia*. Translated and foreword by JOHN T. ALEXANDER. (The New Russian History.) Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. 1993. Pp. xi, 327. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

Evgenii V. Anisimov's book is a remarkable work of historical synthesis and a refreshing reexamination of Peter's reign in the light of recent events. The author describes clearly and thoroughly the main developments in all areas of national life: war and diplomacy, domestic politics and legislation, the economy, and culture. As is to be expected of a work of synthesis, specialists will find little new material here. At the same time, in the course of the narrative, Anisimov makes many trenchant, thought-provoking comments about Peter's personality and style of rule and the ways in which his policies contributed to the texture of Russian political and social life in more recent times. His work clearly rests on a firm knowledge of the documentary sources of the period and Russian historiography on Peter, as well as a good command of the main currents of Western and

Central European intellectual, political, and cultural life in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Moreover, in a gratifying break with academic etiquette of the Soviet period, he graciously acknowledges his debt to non-Russian scholarship.

Anisimov sees Peter's reign as a dramatic example of "progress through coercion." Some of his best pages analyze the emperor's philosophy of government and personal inclinations as ruler. A visionary, driven by the ideal of a strong, modern Russia, Peter was also a "technocrat," an archetypal micromanager, and a convinced paternalist who assumed that he understood the needs and desires of his subjects better than they did. Contemporary European theories of government provided the rationale for these inclinations and for the emperor's conviction that he personified as well as served the Russian state.

Anisimov unsparingly describes the misery Peter caused as well as his triumphs. A firm believer in the transformative power of the state, Peter ruled through an intricate hierarchy of written regulations, a complex network of bureaucratic organizations, and a ubiquitous system of surveillance and police control. In many respects, Anisimov argues, he took contemporary European theories and practices of government and pushed them to extremes to suit Russian realities and his own personal inclinations and needs. In the process, he accomplished many of the goals he set for himself and Russia. At the same time, as later Russian governments discovered, a forceful reforming regime may unwittingly create conditions and stimulate modes of behavior far different from those intended. Anisimov points to many examples in Petrine economic and social policy.

In contrast to some of his distinguished predecessors, Anisimov emphasizes the revolutionary aspirations of the emperor and the extent to which his policies radically transformed Russian life and institutions. To mention one example, he insists that, far from being a continuation of the reform attempts of the seventeenth century, Peter's military reform organized the army along entirely new lines. Peter's new army, unlike its predecessor, consisted of volunteers or draftees from all social ranks who were trained to fight wars of mobility and pitched battles in the open field rather than to besiege fortresses.

Although it encompasses an entire epoch, Anisimov's book does not neglect the central events in Peter's personal life. In addition to his masterly analysis of Peter as ruler, the author traces the complex story of his family life and makes the best attempt I have read to disentangle the fatal conflict between the emperor and his son, Aleksei.

In my view, Anisimov's work is now the best survey of Peter's reign in English. It surpasses its main rival, the translation of the Petrine chapters of V. O. Kliuchevskii's course on Russian history, in clarity of exposition, particularly of the reform of the empire's administrative structure. It provides a more even balance between domestic and foreign policy and

shows an appreciation of the profound nature of the transformation through which Peter dragged a largely unwilling nation. Anisimov shares with his great predecessor an engaging style and a dry wit. The one thing this volume lacks is adequate maps.

Anisimov's work will probably long remain the standard introduction to Peter's reign and quickly become required reading for American students of the period. They will be fortunate to have it.

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W. H. ZAWADSKI. *A Man of Honour: Adam Czartoryski as a Statesman of Russia and Poland 1795–1831*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 374. \$79.00.

W. H. Zawadski's closely focused study of Prince Adam Czartoryski's years of Russian service is primarily about politics. It weaves the ideas and actions of its protagonist into a dense mosaic that records in telling detail Czartoryski's intentions, hopes, and fears, his strategies and theories, from his arrival in St. Petersburg in 1795 through his flight into exile in 1831. Until the end, Czartoryski believed that Russia was the key to Poland's future as a free society, that Tsar Alexander I sincerely wanted to reconstitute Poland, and that it was political circumstance and personal weakness that made him appear to waver. These convictions help to explain why a Polish patriot would give his best years to Russia. And there were other factors as well. A personal bond existed between Alexander and Czartoryski, especially in the early years, while Czartoryski, with Alexander's understanding and approval, became the tender lover of Alexander's wife. There were also the extensive Czartoryski estates, critically important for the family's finances, which had fallen under Russian sovereignty. It was to protect these lands against sequestration that Prince Adam and his brother went to St. Petersburg in the first place.

The major part of the material Zawadski uses comes from the manuscript holdings of the Czartoryski Library in Kraków. There is additional unpublished material from the Public Record Office in London, the Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris, and various private and university depositories. Prussian, Austrian, and Russian archives do not appear, nor do the smaller states' holdings. If this were just diplomatic history, it would seem that only part of the requisite work has been done. But this is a study of Czartoryski, and the manuscript sources consulted, together with a rich range of published primary and secondary materials, provide the information necessary to frame the narrative. Undoubtedly archives in the former Soviet Union hold additional data germane to Czartoryski's service. Given the sheer depth of material evidenced

in these pages, however, and the fact that the vast bulk of it is what Czartoryski wrote, it seems unlikely that anything will appear that would materially alter what Zawadski has to say. In terms of the book Zawadski set out to write, what he has is comprehensive and probably definitive.

Zawadski portrays Czartoryski as a man of the Enlightenment, a humane and sensitive aristocrat, a Polish patriot, and above all an honorable statesman. A man of reason, he detested disorder and social violence. He rejected "Jacobinism," holding rather to a Burkean preference for laws organically developed through convention and tradition, yet he also promoted the tsar's interventionist role in fostering reform. The man who held these views is less well limned, and Zawadski does little to develop what could have been a rich psychological portrait. Prince Adam seems to have been remote, even withdrawn, and with a marked sense of alienation from the world he inhabited. This gave rise to an imputation of arrogance, a charge for which the written material quoted gives some support. He was stubborn and capable of anger, although he seldom gave vent to his feelings publicly. He was strongly attached to his mother, and when he fell in love with Grand Duchess Elizabeth, it was to begin a commitment that kept him from marrying until it was finally apparent that he could never have her. Then he married carelessly, almost off-handedly, in 1818. When Elizabeth died eight years later, he mourned her deeply.

Czartoryski's political record was mixed, but Zawadski describes his victories and defeats without analyzing the prince as functioning politician. On the basis of the material presented here, it could be argued that Czartoryski did not understand the dynamics of negotiation or the limits of power, that he conceptualized boldly, and then could not escape from his own assumptions, and that Alexander had a better sense of what was possible, and how to get it. Czartoryski seriously overreached himself with Prussia in 1805, while in Poland the tsar used him to build a settlement that gave Russia the security Alexander wanted and significant control over the new monarchy. None of the desiderata Czartoryski urged were realized, nor was the prince to be Alexander's viceroy. Although undoubtedly a man of honor, Czartoryski appeared to lack the ability to get what he wanted, or perhaps his goals were always too elevated or too unrealistic to be won. But then if the prince had been a realist, probably Zawadski would have needed a different title. As it is he has written a solid book based on strong primary sources, many of them unpublished, which allow us to follow Czartoryski through his Russian years. It is a substantial book, elegantly phrased, and a positive contribution to the historical literature.

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ROBERT WEINBERG. *The Revolution of 1905 in Odessa: Blood on the Steps*. (Indiana-Michigan Series in Russian and East European Studies; Studies of the Harriman Institute.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 302. \$29.95.

Whereas for some the recent events in Europe have drawn attention to the theme of revolution in Russia, the very first Russian revolution of this century, that of 1905, had already begun to attract serious scholarly interest more than a decade ago. In studying 1905, scholars have focused on a variety of topics. They have dissected the various groups involved, including the nobility, urban professionals, skilled workers and artisans, peasants, and soldiers and sailors that seemingly coalesced at that moment to confront the autocracy. They have examined the emerging urban and rural revolutionary movements that had been growing in importance in Russia since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Finally, scholars have also studied the institutional and structural character of the regime in order to determine how it had become so vulnerable to such a disparate coalition of opponents. Other significant, but less frequently studied, occurrences were the manifestations of anti-Semitism that surfaced in the empire in those days. While noting the rising tide of anti-Semitism, most scholars have treated that issue as peripheral to their overall discussion of the revolution. Because he focuses on Odessa, home to the second largest Jewish community in the empire and the scene of the most violent pogrom to have occurred in Russia before World War I, Robert Weinberg is compelled to take seriously the violence directed against the Jews there in 1905.

Weinberg's study is an important one. His work, free of ideological presuppositions, contributes to our growing understanding of the nature of Russian labor at the beginning of this century and of its important role in the making of the revolution of 1905. Within the context of Odessa's own growth and development, Weinberg offers us a picture of sober, pragmatic-minded workers who had come to realize that fundamental political change was necessary in order to gain control over their living and working conditions. Weinberg's presentation leads us to conclude that labor's politicization in Odessa was pragmatic rather than ideological. His work suggests that organized labor in Odessa understood the October Manifesto, which conceded legislative authority to a popularly elected assembly, as the successful end to which it had committed so much of its energies in the past few months. Accordingly, when violent attacks against the Jews followed immediately after the public celebration of this victory, those groups were so exhausted that a coordinated resistance to the pogrom makers and a defense of the Jewish community was both physically and psychologically impossible. Consequently, the newly created political vacuum was immediately filled by elements fearful of change,

especially those who focused on Jews as both the architects and beneficiaries of change. The ensuing onslaught, therefore, was occasioned by frustration and fear and was neither a part of the revolutionary effort aimed at toppling the existing sources of authority and its supporters nor a calculated effort by the authorities to deflect popular anger onto the Jews of the city.

The strength of Weinberg's presentation lies in his careful depiction and characterization of labor in Odessa. In addition to studying the growth and development of workers' organizations in the city, Weinberg is especially sensitive to the theme of ethnicity and potential ethnic conflict within the ranks of the labor movement. Through his meticulous reconstruction, Weinberg is able to show that organized labor played only a minor role in the violent confrontations that occurred in Odessa in June and October of 1905. In fact, his account highlights the role of the mob in both the burning of the harbor area and in the violent assault against the Jews, showing how mob violence steered the revolution away from the concrete political objectives envisioned by responsible labor leaders.

With respect to the pogrom itself, Weinberg presents a clear and comprehensive account of the events of the day. He uses all of the available testimonies to describe and evaluate the parameters of the riot and the ineffective responses of those officials (D. B. Neidhardt and A. Kaul'bars) responsible for maintaining order in the city. Although we are not offered a thorough pathology of the pogrom, especially of the more significant social and cultural factors within both the larger society and the local community which may have triggered it, we are presented with a fair and thorough description of its devastating impact on both the Jewish community and on the revolution of Odessa.

Weinberg is to be commended not only for clarifying a very complex topic but also for stimulating us into considering the subtheme that he has developed here: the relationship in Russia between revolution and an ensuing violent and explosive anti-Semitic reaction. The relationship first seen so graphically in Odessa in 1905 surfaced in subsequent revolutionary confrontations in Russia throughout this century. One hopes that other scholars will now focus on this pattern as they continue to study the phenomenon of revolution in twentieth-century Russia.

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ABRAHAM ASCHER. *The Revolution of 1905: Authority Restored*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. xii, 443. \$47.50.

By its very name, Russia's first revolution has been equated with 1905; as a result, the equally dramatic developments of 1906 and 1907 have often been

slighted by scholarship as little more than a period of decline. Although the general title of Abraham Ascher's study might suggest otherwise, with this second volume he sets out to redress this imbalance and thus complete his encyclopedic history of the 1905–07 revolution in Russia. Given the wealth and quality of recent work by John Bushnell, Robert Edelman, Terence Emmons, Laura Engelstein, David Macey, Roberta Manning, David McDonald, Timothy Mixer, Scott Seregny, Gerald Surh, and others on various facets of the revolution, it finally has become possible to attempt a more comprehensive and synthetic treatment that can take the place of Sidney Harcave's long outdated and highly inadequate narrative (*First Blood: The Russian Revolution of 1905* [1964]). Ascher deserves great credit for presenting us with a vastly superior account of the critical events, "whose failure marked a turning point in Russian history" (p. 8).

The revolution Ascher depicts is not a scripted one. Nothing about it is inevitable and its outcome is anything but foregone. Ultimately unsuccessful, it nonetheless bequeathed a new understanding of politics and the beginnings of a civil society to posterity. Although more than half of Ascher's study is given over to the first six months of 1906, the traditional major outlines are clearly recognizable: the elections to the First Duma; the confrontation between Duma and government over the alienation and redistribution of private lands, a responsible ministry, and the justification of political terror from below and above; the revival of agrarian unrest in mid-1906; the interventionist policies of P. A. Stolypin; the elections to and fate of the Second Duma, as sealed by the June 3 coup d'état.

Yet, more often than not, Ascher concentrates on the road not taken; in emphasizing the missed turns and opportunities, he unwittingly imposes a script of his own. Exploring the repeated efforts at reconstituting the government on a partly or wholly liberal basis, for example, Ascher concludes: "Had the negotiations succeeded, the course of Russian history would have been fundamentally different from what it came to be" (p. 163). Or tracing the ultimately fruitless discussions between Stolypin and P. N. Miliukov over the liberals' renunciation of terror, Ascher speculates on what might have happened if Miliukov had heeded his interlocutor's entreaties. We shall never know.

The two Dumas stand at the center of Ascher's volume, a direct outgrowth of his belief that they represented Russia's last best hope and an alternative to reaction and revolution. His focus is on individuals, their motives and failings; almost invariably, these individuals belonged to the Duma, especially its (predominantly liberal) leadership, and to the government, including the tsar himself, of course. All of them, at one point or another, are faulted for their misjudgments of the public's mood, their lack of

common sense and realism, and their unwillingness to compromise.

Ascher succeeds admirably in reallocating responsibility toward various Duma parties and their spokesmen and away from the exclusive blame on tsar and government, yet his emphasis on individuals endows them with more autonomy than may be warranted and thus tends to slight their constituencies. The major popular protests and upheavals of 1905 and 1906 are described as "spontaneous affairs" (p. 372); their avowed lack of preparation, organization, and coordination not only makes for a certain disjuncture between the social and political dimensions of the revolution but also highlights, for better or worse, the appearances of individual criminality and mass chaos. Ominously broad findings, such as "lack of political maturity" and "universal intransigence" (pp. 369–70) on the part of masses and leaders alike, raise more questions than they purport to answer and thus do little to account for the tragic failure of a third, more moderate path.

Such impressions may be traceable, at least in part, to Ascher's sources, which certainly constitute the most problematic aspect of his work. In addition to the substantial older and newer secondary literature, Ascher makes extensive use of newspapers, memoirs, published documents, and foreign diplomatic dispatches. As well-informed as the latter appeared to be, often (for example, the Austrian ambassador's report on the Bialystok pogrom) they tell us more about the observers than the actual event. In fact, the very lack of intentionality and appearance of confusion so manifest in Ascher's account may well be attributable to the externality of his sources. Conspicuously missing are the vast unpublished materials contained in Russian archives; not only would these have helped to confirm or disprove the veracity of many published accounts but they might have brought to light much additional information as well. Thus, the archival record clearly contradicts Ascher's version of the so-called Kutler affair in February 1906, which is based on published memoirs instead. Recollections by S. V. Witte and V. N. Kokovtsov are notoriously unreliable, as are secondary works, such as those by Howard Mehlinger and John Thompson, that have used these memoirs.

Ascher's sometimes uncritical reliance on existing historiography has the effect of legitimating all interpretations, whether deserved or not, and of closing off further inquiry. It would have been helpful had he pointed out lacunae in our knowledge and raised new questions, as Manfred Hildermeier did in his synthetic treatment of the Russian revolutions. Such criticisms notwithstanding, there is little doubt that Ascher's comprehensive history of the 1905–07 revolution, lucidly written and handsomely produced, is probably the best we can expect for a long time.

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JAMES VON GELDERN. *Bolshevik Festivals, 1917–1920*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 15.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 316. \$40.00.

James von Geldern, author of this pioneering study of art and society in revolutionary Russia, explores the mass festivals the Bolsheviks promoted to honor and enshrine the revolution and its participants. He brings to this task the tools of the new cultural history. This is therefore a history of public displays and public art in which contested meanings of new and old national symbols bulk large. The author illuminates the pluralistic character of these years, when despite the Bolshevik Party's somewhat shaky monopoly of political power many groups struggled to express themselves, to define Russia culturally in their own image, and also to use culture to shape the country's future political development.

This is essential, exciting, and very pleasurable reading for anyone interested in the history of the October Revolution. It is also a contribution to the history of all the arts in Russia and most importantly to the history of theater and fine art.

One advantage of von Geldern's approach is that he explores the arts in their widest social context, the point at which art appeared in the lives of ordinary people and commingled with the existing popular culture. As a result, he brings a new perspective to the study of how the arts were reconfigured in the wake of the revolution. This is a story that unfolds on many levels. He describes not only the futurists' ambitious and iconoclastic decorations for the first anniversary of the revolution and the Bolshevik leaders' irritable response but also the grandiose activities of such new institutions as the Red Army Studio, which staged its own theatrical version of *The Overthrow of the Autocracy* in March 1919.

This book is also interesting as a gloss on early Soviet politics. Von Geldern argues that the festivals show the Bolsheviks' difficulty defining themselves and creating a symbolic center of authority. Perhaps this is so. He demonstrates convincingly how disoriented and unorganized the Bolsheviks were in 1918. The photographs of the sparsely attended official May Day celebration, which the opposition boycotted, are particularly revealing. Yet what I found missing was a sense of how central the festivals were to the Bolsheviks' efforts to take control of Russian society, symbolically or otherwise.

The festivals appear large and important in this treatment, since they are the subject of the book. They were certainly significant for the arts and for the artists employed by the state to create and embellish them. But were they anything more than a marginal and momentary diversion for the politicians who participated in them? Could they possibly have had much effect on the public? Or, should we see such activities largely in terms of the Bolsheviks' early efforts to engage the creative intelligentsia in their

great cultural project? In that respect, this story also belongs to the prehistory of Soviet official culture. These are issues the author might well have developed further, but perhaps that will come in a second book.

The final section on the efforts of Bolshevik managers to control the festivals is illuminating. What surfaces from the discussion is the Bolsheviks' old dilemma of choosing between the spontaneity of the masses and the consciousness of the revolutionary elite. In culture, as in politics, they hardly hesitated in choosing the narrower path.

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ROBERT EDELMAN. *Serious Fun: A History of Spectator Sports in the USSR*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 286. \$27.50.

The final chapter of Robert Edelman's book on Soviet sport is entitled "Bread or Circuses? Choose One!", a fitting conclusion to this perceptive and well-balanced account. Edelman makes the case that spectator sports enhance our understanding of Soviet society, and he navigates the obstacles that would shipwreck a less subtle book. Taking sports from the spectators' viewpoint (except for the final chapters, where he abandons the approach), he shows that the sports monolith, the "Big Red Machine," was never so big or red; it was often unwieldy, and it promoted official values poorly.

Edelman starts by reviewing the sports theories of socialist and Western thinkers and then modifies them to fit Soviet reality. Many saw sport as an opiate distracting the working class from its rightful interests and infecting it with ruling-class values. Without doubt, official hegemony was part of the Soviet sport world. The state invested its prestige in sports, leading athletes were expected to be role models, and their successes were used to glorify socialism.

Edelman undermines the model by focusing on the consumption of sports that were ill-suited to the task of edification. He shows the tension between spectator sports and egalitarianism; the sport world rejected "leveling" five years before the rest of society. Then when athletes became role models, they proved unsuitable to the task. Official values of discipline and order conflicted with player and fan conduct; as sport became more popular, players became more unruly, and stadiums housed ever-larger masses of uncontrollable spectators. Of the state-sponsored sports, few were less suited to education than soccer, which was by far the most popular. Prewar audiences were mostly working class; postwar years saw social mixing. Yet rather than teaching propriety to workers, nonworker spectators were infected by rowdy behavior. Fighting was common in stadiums and was encouraged by the example of the exalted players.

By 1937, playing fields were cordoned off for big matches. Finally, soccer did not always incline hearts toward the state. Whereas exemplary Olympic athletes were glorifying socialism to the world, fans were bemoaning their soccer team's perennial failures.

Edelman does a good job historicizing Soviet sport. Sport was sponsored by the state for conflicting reasons. Planners in the 1920s saw it as a remedy to the decline in public health, and they promoted mass programs. Spectator sports did less for public hygiene, and the shift to them was an indicator—in fact, as Edelman shows, a harbinger—of the profound impact of Stalinism. Athletes were proto-Stakhanovites, held up as outstanding citizens deserving privileges that would yield glory for all. Wartime sport suffered little decline in popularity, providing citizens with a rare source of pleasure; soccer even continued during the blockade of Leningrad in World War II. Post-Stalin-era sport attracted ever-increasing resources—although never the insane quantities invested in the West—producing success in the Olympics, but also creating the corrosive lie of "shamateurism." And to the Soviet spectator, what mattered most was the continued failure in soccer. Edelman finishes his book by tracing the decline of post-Soviet sport, characterized by the flight of top athletes to Western teams, the dissolution of leagues, and the precipitous drop in spectator interest.

Readers will relish the lore that punctuates official or scholarly myths and was common knowledge to many Russians. There was the Odessa soccer riot of 1926; the unflagging popularity of Moscow's Spartak club, at the expense of the more successful Dinamo and Red Army teams sponsored by the security establishment; the enduring "home-team" boosterism of Soviet radio and television announcers. Where else but in Stalinist Russia could Lavrenti Beria, chief of the secret police and die-hard fan of Dinamo soccer, have the Starostin brothers, stars of Spartak, arrested; or where could the Red Army team, the core of the Olympic squad, "disappear" from the standings—and from public view—after its loss in the 1952 Olympics?

Edelman's social and cultural approach yields rich results; sport, clearly, was consumed more playfully than the state intended. It was as complex as the society around it. My only complaint would be that Edelman does not carry his strategy through to the end; later chapters of the book, which deal with post-Stalinist times, are more conventionally political, and less interesting. A more serious complaint would be addressed to the editors, who served this book poorly. Glaring typos are common, references to important scholars are unfootnoted (a flaw compounded by the lack of a bibliography); and the citation of periodicals is unforgivably skimpy. Edelman has proven that the topic merits further investigation, but students will not be helped by the scholarly apparatus. Nevertheless, he has provided an

account of Soviet sport, and through it of Soviet society, that merits the attention of specialists and nonspecialists alike.

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WILLIAM CURTI WOHLFORTH. *The Elusive Balance: Power and Perceptions during the Cold War*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 317. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$16.95.

This pathbreaking book by William Curti Wohlforth analyzes the evolution of Moscow's conceptions and perceptions of "power" in world politics since 1945 and compares them with American perspectives. In retrospect, the notion that the pitifully poor Soviet Union could compete with the United States and its wealthy allies for world leadership strikes today's onlooker as ridiculous, a view most emphatically not held by most decision makers and observers before 1991. Foregoing hindsight, "the most important or pervasive bias in the systematic analysis of world politics," Wohlforth instead concentrates on contemporary perceptions in tracing the learning process that carried the Kremlin from the "old political thinking" to Mikhail Gorbachev's "new political thinking" and the end of the Cold War.

In world politics, the balance-of-power concept is at first glance deceptively simple, indeed banal. Of course, no prudent national leadership opts for an international alignment that enhances the power of a rival state that threatens domination, or opts for a policy that diminishes the power of an actual or potential ally in resisting such domination. By these lights, all countries after 1945 should have rallied against the United States, by far the most powerful state in modern history. Indeed, the Kremlin publicly professed belief that the capitalist states would fall out with each other and even come to blows. They did not, for, as Wohlforth points out here, states tend to balance against perceived threats rather than against perceived power. Moreover, weaker states also tend to "bandwagon" rather than balance. The stronger a state, the more it may repel; but also the stronger a power, the greater its attraction as an ally. Then, of course, the correlation of power among states is not static. Thus, the very concepts of "balance of power" and "power" as such are so elusive that they defy any pat definition. Their meaning becomes clear only when their application is studied empirically.

Wohlforth's analytical framework entails examination of how Soviet leaders and academic specialists viewed the elements, distribution, mechanics, and prestige of power at critical points in Soviet policy since 1945. How did the Soviet Union navigate between "balancing" and "bandwagoning" in this kind of world?

Moscow's compass was of course the "old political

thinking," V. I. Lenin's imperialism. In the Stalinist gloss, "interimperialist contradictions" drove world politics while the "socialist camp" gained an increasingly decisive voice. As far back as 1925, Joseph Stalin expressed a view he professed until his dying day: "The struggle, conflicts, and wars between our enemies . . . constitute our greatest ally." These contradictions make war and revolution inevitable, but they also afford Soviet leaders a broad field to exploit interimperialist differences, with the caveat that the stronger the Soviet Union became, the more hostile the capitalists would become. Karl Kautsky's anti-Leninist concept of "ultraimperialism," the putative desire and ability of imperialists to bridle their rivalries and unite for peaceful exploitation of the world, was regarded by Soviet leaders—until Gorbachev—as the ultimate absurdity.

This view endured in Moscow, Wohlforth points out, not only because to challenge it could prove fatal but also because it served its proponents well in explaining the world. Nonetheless, shortly after the war doubts were raised in Moscow concerning the continued validity of this world view. Among the strong features of this book is Wohlforth's exploration of various attempts to bring Leninist doctrine into line with what was actually happening in world politics.

The first major challenge came when Eugene Varga, Stalin's favorite economist, sailed close to an "ultraimperialist" course by contending that the capitalist states were in fact finding ways to attenuate the "contradictions." In 1956 Nikita Khrushchev proclaimed that although imperialism still tried to unleash war, wars were no longer "fatally inevitable" (a more precise translation: "fatalistically inevitable"). Khrushchev now seemed to rule out the "inevitability" either of an interimperialist war or an intersystemic war. The correlation of forces had grown so favorable to the Soviet Union that it could demand, but did not win, "parity" with the United States in settling problems of world politics. By 1979, however, the Soviets had achieved "strategic parity" with the Americans and won "detente," but they again failed to win superpower duopoly. A new Cold War ensued between 1979 and 1985. The failure of the projections or premises of the old political thinking to materialize and the sharp turn of the correlation of forces against the Soviet Union impelled Gorbachev to introduce the "new political thinking."

Despite the book's highly abstract and somewhat scholastic analysis, it nevertheless presents extremely valuable empirical nuggets, especially those derived from the Soviet diplomatic archives, on the evolution of Soviet strategic thought. This book marks a most auspicious debut in scholarship.

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NEAR EAST

KENNETH M. CUNO. *The Pasha's Peasants: Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740–1858*. (Cambridge Middle East Library, number 27.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xviii, 277. \$59.95.

This study by Kenneth M. Cuno cogently explores a large number of questions relating to the condition of rural Egypt in the eighteenth century and to the impact that the emergence of a modern state under Muhammad 'Ali Pasha and Egypt's incorporation into a world economy had on that agricultural society in the first half of the nineteenth century. Cuno's lengthy survey of the agrarian administration, the complicated system of land tenure, urban-rural commerce, the rural social structure, and the relation between the ideal of law represented by the *Sharia* and its actual practice as revealed in *fatwas* and religious court records of the eighteenth century leads him to conclude that cash-crop agriculture, the commodification of land, and the existence of a stratified rural society were not the result of Muhammad 'Ali's reforms or of Egypt's incorporation into the world market as previously thought, but rather were centuries-old features of the countryside. He is careful to note that his conclusions relate only to the area of the delta around Mansura, from where he drew most of his archival sources, and do not relate to Upper Egypt, where different conditions prevailed.

Cuno next describes Muhammad 'Ali's agricultural policies and their impact on the rural community. He notes that there was a greater degree of continuity under Muhammad 'Ali's rule than previously thought, especially as some of the pasha's reforms had precedents in the Ottoman and Egyptian past. Cuno's examination of land-tax registers leads him to argue that the pasha had difficulty in maintaining real revenues at the level they had reached in the early 1820s and that measures undertaken to maintain that level were counterproductive, leaving the peasantry in a debilitated state. He views policies such as tax solidarity and the reassignment of lands either deserted or in arrears as attempts to keep the land cultivated and the taxes flowing. His interpretations of the land laws of 1847, 1855, and 1858, which led finally to the emergence of a new landowning class, are equally original. A final chapter that synthesizes the author's major conclusions marks this book as an important revisionist study.

Although Cuno's analyses of land tenure and Muhammad 'Ali's monopoly system are penetrating and revealing, and most of his conclusions are logical and convincing, his description of rural society remains somewhat myopic and static. Cuno's survey of village society uncovers peasants and notables, with heavy emphasis on the village sheiks. Despite its economic ties to the outside world, the village appears as a socially closed community in Cuno's analysis. In his discussion of the *iltizam* system, for instance, he notes that most *multazims* (tax farmers) were still from the

urban military elite, but this group receives little attention in his chapter on the rural notables. He also fails to consider the existence of Turkish merchants, retired officers of the military units, or North Africans within the rural community.

This straightforward and readable study provides an entirely different appreciation of conditions in the rural areas of the Egyptian delta than we have learned from the works of Helen Rivlin, Charles Issawi, Gabriel Baer, and others. Cuno's adoption of a periodization of modern Egyptian history that ignores the French occupation of 1798–1801 permits him to highlight in a new analytical framework the continuities and changes in rural society in the period between 1740 and 1858.

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JEHUDA REINHARZ. *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Statesman*. (Studies in Jewish History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 536. \$39.95.

Lore has it that whenever Chaim Weizmann went to meet with the British high commissioner of Palestine he would clench his fists because, as he is supposed to have said, "if I opened them he would see that they are empty." This story reflects the essence of Weizmann's statescraft, for this was the man who virtually on his own achieved what was considered the most spectacular diplomatic achievement of World War I: the Balfour Declaration.

The second volume of Jehuda Reinharz's comprehensive trilogy covers the years when Weizmann's star was waxing brightly: from a frustrated researcher at the University of Manchester, who in his spare time was actively engaged in Zionist affairs, he came to be the Zionist leader, the most celebrated diplomat of the Jewish people, and one of the most illustrious statesmen of the twentieth century, the man who succeeded in earning international recognition for the Zionist movement and national rights for the Jewish people in Palestine. Within thirty years his efforts culminated in the establishment of the state of Israel. The narrative reconstructs Weizmann's meteoric climb against the background of World War I, with a focus on the diplomatic maneuvers that led to the Balfour Declaration, its endorsement in the San Remo Conference, and within the terms of the official mandate for Palestine that was presented by the League of Nations to Great Britain.

The historiographical pendulum that swings between meriting as more important than the individual's deeds in shaping historical developments, and emphasizing the significance of the historical process, has been moving in recent years toward the latter. After some fifty years during which the Balfour Declaration has been regarded as Weizmann's primary achievement, Mayir Verete argued that it was

the outcome of strict British interests. He claimed that had Weizmann not existed, the British would have had to invent him ("The Balfour Declaration and Its Makers," *Middle Eastern Studies* 6, [January 1970], 48–76). David Vital followed a similar, although more moderate approach (*Zionism: The Crucial Phase* [1987]). Reinharz is successful in striking a balance between giving his protagonist the credit due to him and maintaining historical perspective. He restores the classical historiographical interpretation of the Balfour Declaration, but in a critical fashion, making use of a variety of sources, some of which were not available to previous writers. The balanced picture that Reinharz draws lends credibility to the interpretation that emphasizes Weizmann's central (although not exclusive) role in Zionist diplomacy during World War I and the first year in the postwar period.

As a leader, Weizmann was plagued by serious shortcomings: he had difficulties collaborating with people as his equals. He preferred to act on his own and displayed little tolerance or patience for others. Weizmann was born into a Jewish family in the "half-town, half-village" of Motol in the heart of the Pale of Settlement. Yet he was by nature an aristocrat. Whereas he treated the "masses" with contempt, they embraced him as their uncrowned king. But he failed to translate this adoration into a power base and form his own party. Weizmann's ascension within the Zionist leadership reflected his achievement with the Gentiles: the Jews accepted his authority because the British treated him as the undisputed leader of the Jews. This was both the source of his triumphs and setbacks: although he was unfettered by constraints that democratic machineries of national liberation movements impose, his position was weakened from within as relations between Britain and the Zionists deteriorated.

At the same time, his influence on the highest circles of the British government was extraordinary. What did David Lloyd George, Arthur Balfour, Leopold Amery, and many others come to see in this foreign Jew who had only recently arrived in Britain? Weizmann was not favored by the proper family connections, nor by schooling in the proper institutions. Yet there was something mysterious and authentic in his personality that radiated in the personal contacts he formed with the top British leadership. He was a shameless Jewish patriot and an idealist fanatically devoted to his truth. It was his fire-like passion that captivated these well-bred Englishmen who were far removed from such primordial experiences. But perhaps Weizmann's greatest flair was for face-to-face conversation: he could enchant even the wildest adversary. All of his shortcomings faded when he was absorbed in diplomatic negotiations: he revealed forbearance, endless patience, perseverance, a remarkable sense of timing, sensitivity to the nuances of his partners in discourse, and an unflinching instinct for what was possible.

"Weizmann's achievement," Reinharz quotes Abba Eban, "was perhaps the last instance in diplomatic history of persuasion without power" (p. 402). This depiction conforms to Weizmann's own self-image: he viewed himself as Conte di Cavour, who in his wisdom brought about Italy's unification, although the grandeur was bestowed on Giuseppe Garibaldi, his charismatic arch rival. At its "heroic" period a national movement prefers not to be reminded of its weakness and is loathsome of the compromises that its leaders are forced to make in the name of political realism. Weizmann was one of the first to understand the challenge that the Palestinian-Arab national movement posed for Zionism. Already in 1920 he recognized that the honeymoon between the British and the Zionists was over, and the emergence of another element that lay a claim to Palestine necessitated caution and more moderate demands. But his "empty fists" diplomacy, or "persuasion without power" as others have termed it, was unacceptable to the majority in the Zionist movement. Weizmann's ability to identify the limits of the possible reflected his greatness as a statesman, but his failure to convey this awareness to his public manifested his deficiency as a leader.

Authors of biographies are usually of two varieties: those who love their heroes boundlessly and those who love to hate them boundlessly. Reinharz avoids these two traps: he treats his hero with empathy, sobriety, and critical irony. Reinharz provides us not only with richly detailed material but also treats us to an erudite interpretation and elegance of style, while keeping a fitting balance between the general background of the era and his portrait of Weizmann's dynamic life. Reinharz moves knowledgeably between a number of worlds: that of Weizmann, the British corridors of power, Palestine, and American Zionism, each demanding intimate familiarity with a different leadership and a distinct political, cultural, and psychological background. Reinharz lives up to this difficult task and demonstrates superb mastery of the wide panorama that he unfolds before us.

Appraising an unfinished project calls for caution: Reinharz has still to write the final volume of this trilogy. But one can already risk asserting that this excellent biography will become not only the classic biography of Weizmann for decades to come but also one of the major works in the history of Zionism.

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MADIHA RASHID AL MADFAI. *Jordan, the United States and the Middle East Peace Process, 1974–1991*. (Cambridge Middle East Library, number 28.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 279. \$59.95.

Future historians may point to 1993 as the year that finally broke the impasse that led to a settlement of

the Arab-Israeli conflict. The sight of PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat shaking hands with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, with a beaming President Bill Clinton looking on in front of the White House, created a positive atmosphere that one hopes will lead to peace. With the backdrop of this change in the political landscape of the Middle East, a book detailing the relationship of Jordan, Israel, and the United States in the Middle East peace process from the conclusion of the Yom Kippur War through the convening of the Madrid Conference is a welcome addition. Madiha Rashid Al Madfai does a creditable job of reviewing the major diplomatic events in the Middle East during the period through the eyes of Jordanian policy makers. As William Quandt points out in his introduction, "in most accounts of the diplomacy of the Arab-Israeli conflict Jordan has been neglected, ignored, or taken for granted" (p. xiii).

Madfai's main premise is that King Hussein's announcement of July 31, 1988, that he was severing all administrative and legal ties with the Israeli-occupied West Bank was the turning point in efforts to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict. Madfai argues that until July 1988 the United States insisted that Jordan be the primary negotiator for the Palestinians in any peace process. Jordan refused to do so and forced Amman to declare that the peace process was at a dead end. King Hussein's announcement brought about a period of policy reassessment in Israel and the United States, which culminated in the Madrid Conference in October 1991. Madfai's thesis is acceptable at face value, but she does not give enough credit to the *intifada* and the fallout from the Persian Gulf War.

Despite these drawbacks, Madfai's book is useful for its detailing of the behind-the-scenes negotiations that led to the Camp David meetings, the Reagan Plan, the intra-Arab discussions that fostered the Fez Plan, and the other important diplomatic initiatives of the period. But the author's Jordanian framework often leads to a biased presentation. A case in point is the language Madfai uses to describe American policy in developing the following themes: American inconsistency toward moderate Arabs, the use of arms sales to blackmail Jordan into participation in the peace process without the PLO, and King Hussein's battle to get Washington to see the correctness of Jordanian policy and the Arab cause in general. All exemplify the author's overly subjective style. Madfai's bias is present on other occasions: phrases such as "desperate and absurd" (p. 197) and "in short, they were not serious" (p. 110) are just two examples. The author's heavy reliance on the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Amman and the archives of Crown Prince Hassan helps explain her book's shortcomings. Madfai attempts to balance her presentation by stressing her interviews with key American and Jordanian officials, but her handling of this material is open to question.

Madfai's overall reasoning that the peace process has taken so long because "neither side possessed the

prerequisites for successful diplomacy" (p. 125) is accurate. Her failure to explore the role of the *intifada*, however, detracts from her analysis. Despite these lapses, Madfai says much of value and her book is a welcome addition to the historiography of the evolution of the Middle East peace process.

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F. ROBERT HUNTER. *The Palestinian Uprising: A War by Other Means*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1991. Pp. xx, 292. \$24.95.

F. Robert Hunter found himself unwittingly caught up in the 1987 Palestinian *intifada* to end twenty years of Israeli occupation and military rule. The early years of the uprising gave rise to an astounding number of scholarly and not-so-scholarly books and articles. Historically, Hunter locates the uprising in the twentieth-century Palestinian encounter with Zionism and the emergence of Palestinian nationalism. He then proceeds to examine the institutional infrastructure under occupation, the relationship between the leadership on the outside and the inside, and the growth of the Islamist movement. He succinctly sums up the series of actions and processes that sparked the *intifada*: increasing confiscation of land and the growing number of settlers, the escalating violence of the occupation authorities, and the Palestinian awareness that the occupation was threatening their survival as a people. But more importantly, it was the interference in the conduct of one's daily life—the petty control and humiliation—along with the realization that the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as other Arab states, were in no position to assist, that finally pushed Palestinians to mass revolt.

Hunter provides a detailed account of the daily events of the *intifada*, including the activation of a vast network of grass-roots social institutions known as "popular committees," and the Israeli handling of the uprising. His book is notable for its portrayal of a society in the throes of reorganizing itself. He accurately pinpoints many crucial aspects of this process and is appropriately critical. The early *intifada* produced a host of romantic, overly optimistic accounts of itself as a social revolution. In a refreshing approach, Hunter spares his readers these unrealistic notions. The deployment of "tradition" to resist occupation is framed as both progressive as well as embodying a regressive and repressive potential.

His methods are eclectic, but formal interviews with Palestinian intellectuals, notables, and activists, among others, form the bulk of his material, along with press reports and simply being there and experiencing these events first-hand. One senses an initial distance; Hunter resided in West Jerusalem, was based at the Hebrew University, and "had spoken with few Palestinians, the most notable exception being an elderly gentleman whom I had employed to

help improve my spoken Arabic" (p. xiii). Distance is gradually reduced through his own direct experiences of occupation and the uprising and by venturing outside the at times unreal confines of West Jerusalem.

For a historian writing about a contemporary, ongoing project in resistance, any sense of temporal boundedness to the uprising was impossible. Indeed, Hunter leaves off in 1990, midway through the *intifada*. This begs the question of antecedents. Although the author locates the uprising in a historical framework, remarkably he hesitates to contextualize contemporary resistance, both in form and sentiment, within a past tradition of resistance to displacement and occupation dating to the first few days of the occupation in 1967. Thus, a chapter entitled "From Acquiescence to Resistance" gives the impression that Palestinians, with few exceptions, had consented to occupation. It elides the everyday forms of resistance, however subtle (although at times remarkably evident), engaged in by those under occupation. Surely the sheer number of young people incarcerated at any one time is testimony to resistance.

On occasion, Hunter deploys an annoying device, what one could call the "balancing act" approach to this particular conflict in which balance is precisely what is missing. Although he clearly notes that one side "has prevailed" (p. 1) and recognizes Israel's vastly superior military might and ability to command superpower support, he frequently engages in a juxtaposition of these two peoples as if they were somehow on an equal footing.

In spite of these cautionary notes, this book constitutes a useful reference tool for anyone conducting research on the *intifada*. Richness of detail makes this book recommended reading for those interested in the process of the uprising and the Israeli response.

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AFRICA

B. A. OGOT, editor. *General History of Africa*. Volume 5, *Africa from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. (UNESCO International Scientific Committee for the Drafting of a General History of Africa.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press or UNESCO, Paris, or Heinemann, Oxford. 1992. Pp. xxxi, 1045. \$45.00.

This volume, the penultimate installment of the monumental UNESCO *General History of Africa*, consists of twenty-nine chapters of variable length and quality. It literally covers every region of the continent, from Egypt and the Maghrib to southern Africa. Perhaps anticipating the difficulties of continuity and "feel" that such massive coverage could present to readers, the editorial committee chose to include a final summary chapter written by the volume (and series) director, along with four thematic chapters, on inter-

national trade and Africa; political, economic, and social structures; population movements; and the diaspora. Of these summary contributions, only one (J. Vansina's) is an unqualified success. Others by M. Malowist and P. Diagne have a considerable West African bias, while the chapter on the diaspora is too brief to be of value. An unfortunate omission that should have been included among these overviews was a chapter on Islam.

Most of the volume's essays are by trained historians, well known and recognized by specialists within the field. The level of scholarship and writing throughout the volume is high. I found the most useful material among the chapters dealing with eastern and central Africa, particularly the contributions on the Horn (E. Haberland), Kenya and Tanzania (W. R. Ochieng), northern Zambesia (K. M. Phiri, O. J. M. Kalinga, and H. H. K. Bhila), southern Zambesia (Bhila), and Madagascar (R. K. Kent). Other essays on the upper Guinea coast (M. Izard and J. Ki-Zerbo), the lower Guinea coast (A. A. Boahen), Kanem-Bornu (B. M. Barkindo), the Cameroons (E. M'Bokolo), the Congo kingdom (Vansina), and the Luba-Lunda hinterland (Nziem) are of particular interest. The weakest chapters include those covering international trade and Africa (Malowist); political, economic, and social structures (Diagne); the Sudan (Y. F. Hasan and B. A. Ogot); the Great Lakes region (Ogot, J. B. Webster, and J. P. Chretien); Morocco (M. El-Fasi); and the Senegambia (B. Barry).

Although this volume serves as a fine reference work, it suffers from assorted shortcomings. Given its large size, the presence of a complete bibliography at the back, rather than at the end of each chapter, is highly cumbersome. To further complicate matters, footnotes cite only the author, date of publication, and page number, forcing readers to turn to the bibliography for complete references. A glossary also is included, but the authors too frequently employ untranslated terms in the text, which again requires the reader to turn to the back of this massive work for explanations.

More significant criticisms center on the many ways scholarship has been made to suffer in this particular volume, as well as the general manner in which the entire *General History* was conceived and executed. The unprecedented cumbersomeness of the project has produced a work, along with others in the series, that is conceptually and technically out of date. According to one important figure in its planning and execution, the series as a whole was conceived in the 1960s, while plans for individual volumes were finalized in 1971 (see J. Vansina, *History in Africa*, 20 [1993], 337-44). Therefore, plans for this volume were completed twenty-one years before its publication. Furthermore, a perusal of the bibliography reveals that authors relied on research that is now more than a decade old. Some contributors also wrote on subjects outside their discipline or area of expertise, and it should come as no surprise that the results

in each case lack distinction. Laya, for example, is a sociologist; Diagne was trained in politics and economics. Finally, uneven standards of scholarship, myriad spelling inconsistencies, and woefully inadequate maps in many chapters indicate poor quality control that undoubtedly resulted from maladroit editing done by a committee that was made up of thirty-nine members.

Despite claims by Secretary-General A.-M. M'Bow and series director Ogot, it is clear from their introductions, Vansina's report, and the content of some chapters that pan-African politics took precedence over scholarship, while the project itself seems to have had ill-defined and contradictory goals. On one hand, the avowed purpose of the series was to create a "scientific" study of Africa; on the other hand, UNESCO and the Scientific Committee established to steer the project intended to shape an "inside" history to be directed and written primarily by Africans. Consequently, it was mandated that two-thirds of the "Scientific Committee" responsible for selecting contributors and editing, and five-eighths of its executive committee, would be composed of Africans. African scholars, wherever possible, were preferred over non-Africans. The rationale for this quota system was to correct the errors of past historiography, especially where African oral tradition had been discounted as a reliable source. As M'Bow indicates, the lack of written sources has distorted African history. More recent insights, however, indicate that, although oral tradition continues to be seen as an important source for African historical study, it must be handled with considerably more care than was the vogue of the 1960s and 1970s.

Admirable though it is in some respects, certainly this is not dispassionate history. Nowhere in the volume does this emerge so clearly as in the treatment of slavery and the slave trade. The first item is J. E. Inikori's statement of the dependency school, which situates the origins of African underdevelopment in the slave trade in almost classic neo-Marxist fashion. As evinced by the 1970s debates among R. Anstey, P. Curtin, Inikori, and P. Lovejoy (see the *Journal of African History*, 17 [1976], 595-627), clearly the numbers and the assumptions on which all participants in this debate base their positions are highly elusive; hence, both Inikori's figures and conclusions are politically loaded (especially in view of the current arguments for "reparations"—in place of "aid"—to Africans). Therefore, it is inappropriate that most contributors to this volume have accepted Inikori's arguments virtually without criticism, while Curtin's position is allowed to go essentially unrepresented. The issue is a complex one. Yet Barry goes so far as to aver that Curtin's case for African agency and initiative serves as little more than a "pretext" whose "intention is to perpetuate the dependence of Africa" (p. 276, n. 19). Given the general readiness of most African(ist) historians to acknowledge the evils and excesses of the slave trade, as well as the need for

African-centered African history, one hopes that the field of African historiography has advanced beyond the intellectual intolerance expressed by some in this volume as well as other, more recent and equally dubious effusions, all of which seem to have given birth in one way or another to this particular volume and series. It is proper to ask, therefore, if the historical profession is bearing witness to a new, more "scientific" history of Africa with the publication of this volume, or merely to the substitution of one set of African myths by another more suitable to the politics of its creators and some of its contributors?

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MYRON ECHENBERG. *Colonial Conscripts: The Tirailleurs Sénégalais in French West Africa, 1857-1960*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann or James Currey, London. 1991. Pp. xix, 236.

Myron Echenberg has written a pioneering study of the West African soldiers recruited by France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Working with a scattered secondary literature, uneven lodes of archival data, and some complementary interviews, he has provided the first well-informed account of recruitment, service, and impact of soldiers, and thereby a framework for other scholars to follow. He uses the name, *Tirailleurs Sénégalais*, in its extended reference to soldiers from all of French West Africa. In recognition of his achievement, the African Studies Association awarded Echenberg the Melville Herskovits Prize for the best work in African studies in 1992.

Echenberg arranges his material in a rough chronological order and around a succession of types and purposes: the conquest army of the late nineteenth century, the occupation force of the early colonial era, the conscript army from World War I through World War II, and the transition to a professional and volunteer force after 1945. The conscript form, based on legislation mandating universal male conscription, was dominant in most of the period, and it was only after 1945 that West African soldiers overcame the stigma of low and "mercenary" status associated with the colonial army.

Echenberg also carefully demarcates structures that operated throughout much of the twentieth century: the recruitment system and the patterns of migration set in the interwar period (chaps. 4 and 5), and the veterans and their organizations that emerged after World War II (chaps. 8 and 9). Wherever possible Echenberg tells a story, a social history of men and their families; when his sources do not permit, he establishes the parameters and structures within which that social history will eventually be researched and written. In this connection he provides an invaluable note on sources at the end of the book.

Echenberg uses the very limited nineteenth-century material to advantage (chap. 2). As he summa-

rizes the French conquest of much of West Africa, starting from a base in Senegal, he shows the slow and painful emergence of the colonial military institution from the history of slavery, the slave trade, forced labor, and the acquisition of human and material booty. He does not recount the role of local African auxiliaries in the French advance, but this belongs properly to the narrative of conquest and not to the history of the military institution.

By chapter 3 Echenberg is already at the conscript army phase and World War I, where he finds a great deal more data at his disposal. Much more than Great Britain and Germany, France depended heavily on colonial troops and used them extensively in the European theater. Echenberg analyzes the literature on the conduct of African soldiers and concludes that they fought as well as any other soldiers. He also treats the intensified recruitment campaign led by Deputy Blaise Diagne in 1917–18. When he describes it as an issue of the war, he seems to favor the protagonists of the campaign over Governor-General Van Vollenhoven and others who stressed the strains on African societies. When he looks at the impact of intensified recruitment in chapters 4 and 5, his sympathies move to the other side. In part this is a function of the data available and the shift from a European to a West African focus.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the interwar period but also deal fundamentally with ongoing military and economic structures in the French federation; they represent a further development of articles that Echenberg has published over the last two decades. The author describes the recruitment system in chapter 4: the quotas, draft boards, chain of command, inspections, assembly points, and debarkation centers. On the basis of limited statistics Echenberg is able to show the disproportionate contributions of certain regions of Senegal, Guinea, Soudan (Mali), Upper Volta (Burkina Faso), and Dahomey, and the underrepresentation of Mauritania and Niger. In chapter 5 Echenberg formulates the African responses as patterns of migration, whether by fleeing the recruiters, accepting conscription, or returning to French West Africa after military service. He inscribes the military picture into the larger history of labor and individual choice.

It is in these two chapters, remarkable as they are, that Echenberg could usefully have extended his analysis. He mentions but does not explore the French bias against recruiting “forest” and “stateless” people. He mentions but again does not explore the reasons that led to significantly smaller contributions from Mauritania and Niger (and undoubtedly the Saharan reaches of Soudan): the virtual ban on recruitment of pastoral and “white” societies, and the racism—of the French and of the Moors and Tuareg—that lay behind the ban. Such an analysis would have enabled the author to delineate more fully the differential impact of recruitment on regions and attitudes.

Echenberg makes a convincing case in chapter 6 that the impact of World War II on individual recruits and West African societies was at least as great as its predecessor. Here he begins to make good use of interviews and questionnaires, including his own material from Burkina Faso as well as Nancy Lawler’s study of the Ivory Coast (*Soldiers of Misfortune* [1992]). He is able to sustain this more personal dimension for the rest of the book. Echenberg argues for a better developed ideology of recruitment and a sharpened consciousness among African soldiers. He contrasts the French embrace of colonial troops, in their hour of greatest need in 1939–40, with the shabby treatment of African soldiers and ex-prisoners during the liberation period of 1944–45. He uses the repression in December 1944 of the mutiny by demobilized and demoralized troops in Thiaroye, Senegal, as a symbol of French hypocrisy and a watershed in the rising consciousness and solidarity of African soldiers, veterans, and politicians.

The last three chapters deal with the period from 1945 to 1960 and break new ground in African military and social history. Echenberg carefully charts the interaction of four sets of actors: the French through their government in Paris, Dakar, and the territories; the veterans in the federation who sought their pensions and other promised benefits; the soldiers who sought to profit from the first serious Africanization of the officer corps; and finally the West African politicians who emerged during this period and led their countries to independence. He is able to show how resilient was the ideology of assimilation as “Frenchmen” of many of the veterans and soldiers, how ungenerous and hypocritical was the practice of the authorities charged with responding to the obligations to these loyal servants of the French cause, and how ambivalent were the attitudes of the African politicians. These chapters do not make for easy reading, because the story of the military converges and diverges from the more general political narrative, but Echenberg shows—for the first time—the very important role that African veterans and soldiers played in the history of decolonization.

In summary, this is a well-researched and well-written study of a colonial army over a century of the history of French imperialism. It makes giant strides in the social and military history of francophone West Africa, makes that experience comparable for the first time to that of other colonial areas and other metropolitan powers, and sets a research agenda for scholars in the future. It provides a solid beginning for inquiry into related subjects: impact in specific regions, families of soldiers, service inside the federation, service in such theaters as Algeria and Indochina, specialized units that operated in the desert, recruitment into the French Navy, and a host of other important topics.

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PAUL GIFFORD. *Christianity and Politics in Doe's Liberia*. (Cambridge Studies in Ideology and Religion.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 349. \$59.95.

This book is a well-documented polemic. The extensive bibliography alone is most welcome for one whose reading in the field is long out of date. Paul Gifford has a case to make, a case that he argues with hardly a pause. His thesis is straightforward. Christianity in Liberia during the 1980s was marked by the transfer of American fundamentalism to West Africa. Because it was so other-worldly, fundamentalism provided significant support for Samuel Doe's corrupt and incompetent tyranny.

Gifford distinguishes three kinds of Christianity in Liberia: mainline, evangelical, and faith. The mainline churches are descended from the slave Christianity of the American South and therefore are examples of adaptive Christianity. Christianity makes an otherwise miserable life tolerable. Although the mainline churches showed some stirrings of a social conscience in the 1970s, and even at the beginning of Doe's regime, external pressures and internal difficulties soon led these churches, with a few distinguished exceptions, into quiescence.

Liberian Christianity, however, is best represented by the evangelicals. By evangelical Gifford means a profoundly dualistic theology designed to save the soul from a perishing world and fit for heaven. The Liberian version was also full of demons and apocalyptic fatalism. In this world the Christian's duty is patience in tribulation and obedience to authority. A variation on these themes was provided by the faith preachers, who taught that God wants His children to prosper. The secret is to give, usually to evangelism, and expect great things in return.

Gifford includes the African Independent churches in the evangelical category because, for the most part, the ruin of Liberia under Doe led them, along with all the other churches, into financial and intellectual dependence on American churches. The Americans supplied the literature and the staff who spread the message.

The message was American fundamentalism masquerading as the gospel. But American fundamentalism is an American phenomenon; "red-neck theology." Why did Africans accept such an American phenomenon as gospel truth? Gifford explores the mundane reasons. Because Doe had made such a mess of things, leading a church was one of the few jobs an enterprising young man could find. In a society where everything was disintegrating, churches provided some kind of community. But he goes beyond this kind of reductionism when he points out that "People need to make sense of their lives" (p. 313). But why choose an American religion? When Gifford asked people why they switched from mainline to evangelical churches, they replied they were leaving a political church for a biblical one. Since the

mainline churches were not, on Gifford's showing, very political, people were probably saying something else. What that something else was Gifford does not tell us. He sees Liberian Christianity in the 1980s as an exercise in American hegemony. Despite his extensive field research, he suggests that Liberians accepted American religion for American reasons. I suspect Gifford has underestimated the theological independence of the Liberian people.

Despite this shortcoming, Gifford has given us a good book. It is well written, clearly argued, and provides a very useful case study of African Christianity since the Pentecostal explosion. If the Liberian experience is typical, the church in Africa may well have undergone a significant sea change in the last twenty years.

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THOMAS SPEAR and RICHARD WALLER, editors. *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa*. (Eastern African Studies.) Athens: Ohio University Press, or James Currey, London, or Mkuki na Nyota, Dar es Salaam, or EAEP, Nairobi. 1993. Pp. xi, 322. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$19.95.

No African people has been so relentlessly mythologized as the Maasai. Beginning with the accounts of early European travelers and administrators and continuing in the writings of Karen Blixen (revived by the film *Out of Africa*) and in an endless series of lavishly illustrated volumes, outsiders have constructed the Maasai as a fierce yet artless people who have tenaciously defended a supposedly ancient and primitive pastoral culture against the encroachments of modernization. Yet, as Richard Waller notes, "western observers have always had a far more rigid attachment to the outward trappings of 'tribe' than the 'tribesmen' themselves" and few of these observers have considered whether their notion of the Maasai is not simply a snapshot—from a particular perspective and time—of a "highly mutable and varied identity" (p. 290). This question of the mutability and diversity of identity forms the central theme of this book.

Thirteen separately authored chapters explore the processes through which Maasai people themselves and their neighbors have engaged in the process of imagining and shaping Maasai identities. In an introductory chapter and a separate essay on the agriculturalist Arusha Maasai, Thomas Spear analyzes with his typical clarity the evolution of the Maasai ideology of mobile pastoralism. This essay and the others (notably by historians John Lamphear and Neal Sobania) in the first of three sections trace the development of Maasai identities through the nineteenth century, attacking the evolutionary assumptions that have colored Maasai history. These scholars show that

the pure pastoralism so identified with the Maasai probably only emerged in the seventeenth century, when mixed arable and pastoral farmers abandoned cultivation and forged mobile herding communities. Although these "Lords of East Africa" came to dominate a vast territory, in practice people moved back and forth between pastoralist communities and those that practiced cultivation; and even firmly committed pastoralists retained close economic and social links to neighboring farmers. This history of continuous interaction between pastoralists and mixed farmers—both Maasai and non-Maasai—thoroughly revises the stereotypical views of the self-sufficient Maasai herder and of the Maasai cultivator as failed pastoralist.

The three chapters in the third section explore these same issues in the twentieth-century context of the progressive incorporation of pastoralist communities in a larger capitalist political economy. Here, in a highly insightful essay on the connections among groups of Maasai and Kikuyu speakers, Waller investigates how the contemporary notion of Maasai identity emerged in a contest of ideas, many of which had external sources. Indeed, Waller argues, "the Maasai became Maasai, partly to prevent others from doing so" (p. 243). The essays in the previous section, although individually stimulating, may strike historians as out of place because of their lack of attention to broader context and change over time. It would have been fascinating, for example, to connect questions relating to the penetration of state power and commercial relations to those considered by Donna Klumpp and Corinne Kratz in their brilliant analysis of the ways that personal ornament defines identity. Because the artists are exclusively women, this chapter also provides important insights—that Waller emphasizes in the conclusion—into the gendered characteristics of difference.

Drawing substantially on the work of Benedict Anderson, Waller's concluding essay synthesizes the crucial insights of the individual contributors and connects these to larger debates. Although he stresses the plasticity of Maasai cultural identity, Waller (as does Spear in the introduction) rejects the reduction of ethnicity to a form of false consciousness and rightly criticizes the tendency to define the evolution of identities instrumentally. Yet, whereas the editors correctly assert the importance of core cultural concepts—notably the pastoralist ethos—in shaping identity, the individual authors do not provide much illustration of how the process has worked out in practice. Readers are thus left uncertain about how different groups of people generally recognized as Maasai have drawn distinctions among one another and how these processes of defining difference have varied from those that distinguish Maasai from non-Maasai. Part of the confusion stems from the perhaps insoluble dilemma faced by a study that attempts to interrogate fundamental concepts such as identity, yet must at every turn rely on descriptive terms that are rooted in the very concepts in question.

Nevertheless, the editors have succeeded in assembling a remarkably integrated set of essays that is at once the most important historical study of the Maasai yet published and a significant contribution to the growing volume of literature on ethnicity and identity in Africa. Spear and Waller have made admirable efforts to make this work accessible. The chapters based on archaeological and linguistic research are free of jargon and clearly reveal their methodology. Moreover, in the era of the African book famine, complicated publication arrangements ensure that this volume will be available not only to European and North American scholars and students but to readers in East Africa as well.

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JAMES L. GIBLIN. *The Politics of Environmental Control in Northeastern Tanzania, 1840–1940*. (Ethnohistory Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 209.

This volume by James L. Giblin examines the relationship between poverty, hunger, and politics in Handeni District, part of the northeastern lowlands in what is today Tanzania, during a hundred-year period (1840–1940). The account is chronologically divided into three parts: the precolonial period prior to German colonization in the 1880s; the German period, which lasted until 1916; and the British period of indirect rule, which lasted until the beginning of World War II. The analysis is made against the background of the political conditions in Tanzania in the early 1980s when the author carried out his field research in Handeni.

Although Giblin does not explicitly state so, one of the purposes of his book is to demonstrate the importance of understanding the past in order to succeed in the present. The political patronage system that had guaranteed a certain stability in social relations and environmental control in the precolonial era was destroyed by the Germans. The administrative apparatus that replaced it was never rooted in local structures. It undercut the authority of those—largely chiefs controlling the trade—who had held the old system in place. Whereas earlier famine and environmental degradation had been overcome through the local redistribution of patronage, German colonization put an effective end to these arrangements. The result was that at times of crises, local solutions were no longer available. For example, when famine struck in the mid-1890s many people were forced to go hundreds of miles away from Handeni in search of food and income. Others sought asylum in the Christian mission stations requesting them to pay their taxes to the German administration in return for labor.

Contrary to the Germans who had set out to

destroy the indigenous social structure and replace it with their own system of authority, the British did in the interwar years practice a system of indirect rule. This involved the rehabilitation of local authority systems but was, according to Giblin, too narrowly confined in terms of native tribes as self-sufficient units. By ignoring the fact that in this part of Africa, as elsewhere on the continent, local trade had been an important resource, the effects of British rule were no different from those of the Germans. Local sustainability was undermined and people got more rather than less exposed to the risk of losing their livelihoods.

As the author also discusses in the beginning and at the end of the book, the independent Tanzanian government policy in the past thirty years has been no more helpful for the local population. In fact, the forced collectivization and villagization that took place in the 1970s left people in this fragile environment particularly vulnerable.

This is a well-researched volume where Giblin draws on a range of local archival sources as well as interviews with informants in Handeni. Giblin follows in the footsteps of John Ford, Helge Kjekshus, and others who have made major contributions to our understanding of the negative impact of colonial policies on the ability of local people to sustain themselves in their own environment. These sources are carefully cited in the text. By focusing more specifically on one marginal area, Giblin is able to take this debate a step further and show, in greater detail than Ford or Kjekshus, how politics served as an important factor in controlling hunger and famine.

Writing not as a historian but as a political scientist interested in development policy, I particularly welcome this kind of study. Development analysts have far too long taken their lead from ahistorical social-science paradigms. Books like Giblin's have a value beyond the walls of history in that they demonstrate how little learning takes place in development circles. In this respect, Giblin's volume is a doubly welcome contribution to the literature on Tanzania.

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ROBERT M. MAXON. *Struggle for Kenya: The Loss and Reassertion of Imperial Initiative, 1912–1923*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1993. Pp. 351. \$47.50.

Colonial Kenya has a particularly rich historiography that has benefited from recent intellectual trends: cultural history inspired by Michel Foucault, feminist and eco-history, and especially neo-Marxian political economy. A particular focus since the late 1980s has been the Mau Mau peasant rebellion and the era of decolonization. Robert M. Maxon's book bucks the trend and is something of an oddity: an undiluted

political history of Kenya's early years as a colony, a genre last seen in the 1960s. Why this reincarnation?

There is a need for revisionist imperial history. The political histories of the 1960s were written without access to original correspondence in the Colonial Office, of which Maxon makes extensive use. He is thus able to flesh out the contentious issues that divided the colonial state from its metropolitan guardians—such things as labor policy, railway routes, and European elections to the legislative council—with a view to determining the locus of power. Maxon's argument is that from 1912 through the years of World War I, the colonial state (or rather the settler community through the good—or bad—offices of that state) called most of the shots. By 1923, however, the metropole had regained the initiative and declared Africans paramount in the colony, thereby dashing forever settler aspirations for control of the government.

Maxon's concern is with the making of policy, not its impact. It is not surprising, then, that his emphasis is on those who made policy. Major turning points are attributed to the role of personalities (pp. 42, 81, 88). The interjection and prominence of human beings is a welcome change from the emphases of social historians who ignore the actors but adore the stage; furthermore, the often-ignored London side of imperialism gains entry onto Maxon's stage.

Yet Maxon's empirical approach reifies the assumptions of the old-style imperial school. The Colonial Office is viewed as the beneficent arbiter concerned with African welfare, while colonial governors are seen as the settlers' partners in crime. Hence, in Maxon's estimation, the struggle is over fundamentals rather than details. He also transmits the settlers' voice (not that they ever spoke as one) second-hand through the governor; the latter is thus perceived as both the colonial state and speaker for the settlers. Thus, Maxon is almost incredulous when Governor Edward Northey's initiative was stifled by settler representatives (p. 203); this was not meant to happen among friends.

The imperial government reasserted control in 1923, Maxon asserts, because of the overriding need to promote African commodity production (p. 191). Yet the decline of African production in the late 1920s would seem to indicate that the new initiative was soon lost. This pattern was commonplace throughout Kenya's history, and it did not appear to be resolved in 1923; it was part of what Bruce Berman in his *Control and Crisis in Colonial Kenya* (1990) called the dialectic of domination. Indeed, the abrupt ending of the book in 1923, without reference to the longer term, undermines Maxon's thesis.

This is a well-produced book that analyzes the policy debates and conflicts of these years, but it probably exaggerates their importance. A type of history that has been pushed aside by new-wave approaches, Maxon's work makes lesser, more mod-

est claims but is nevertheless useful. Does Maxon's work symbolize the reassertion of imperial history?

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ELIZABETH A. ELDRIDGE. *A South African Kingdom: The Pursuit of Security in Nineteenth-Century Lesotho*. (African Studies Series, number 78.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 250. \$59.95.

This book has as its central thesis that the history of the Basotho in the nineteenth century was a search for security in the face of formidable natural and human challenges: famines, wars, land losses, and colonial rule. As Elizabeth A. Eldredge writes: "[T]he Basotho were motivated by their search for security, be it military, political, economic, or social, and . . . this explains the actions of leaders and followers, men and women, rich and poor, and . . . apparent inconsistencies in the behavior of people who seem to be acting against their own interests at times" (p. 15).

Eldredge has made extensive use of oral interviews as well as documents to delineate the social, economic, and political history of the Basotho in the nineteenth century. She emphasizes the experiences and achievements of the common people rather than the chiefs. An early chapter demonstrates the sophistication of their traditional agricultural techniques and their iron and leather crafts. The structure of the rest of the book is thematic rather than chronological. Although she praises the state-building achievements of Moshoeshe (1786–1870), Eldredge shows that in his time wealth was distributed more equally than before, economic decisions were taken at the household level, and the initiative of individuals rather than chiefs was responsible for considerable economic growth. Later, however, under British rule, the chiefs became agents of the colonial administration, monopolized wealth, and exploited their people more harshly.

The Basotho continually demonstrated their resilience. They adopted plows, horses, and firearms and turned mountain land into pastures and arable fields. By the mid-nineteenth century they were producing a surplus of food and exporting it to their white neighbors. By the end of the century, however, they were not able to overcome the long-term effects of the loss of half of their arable land to the Orange Free State in the 1850s and 1860s. Their households were no longer viable. The importation of cheap European goods damaged their craft industries, and they were dependent on the wages earned by their men as migrant laborers on white farms and in white mining industries, as they are to the present day. As for women, there "was no security and no escape" (p. 201). Eldredge describes these processes with a wealth of detail and a subtle understanding of human behavior. She also reminds us that nineteenth-century Lesotho was composed of people from different subcultures—Nguni, Sotho, Tswana, and

Pedi—which shows what black South Africans can achieve in building a nation out of disparate ethnic elements.

In a brief historiographical discussion, Eldredge distances herself from the economic determinism of Colin Bundy's influential *The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry* (1979). Although she recognizes that the environment imposes constraints on human action, she also rejects environmental determinism, and she denies that people are valued only for their productive capacity, as Jeff Guy and Claude Meillassoux have contended.

The thematic structure inevitably leads to some repetition, but this is kept to a low level. In places, as in the discussion of the changing role of women in Lesotho, the writing is somewhat dense. Eldredge nevertheless sustains her thesis that the history of the Basotho in the nineteenth century was a search for security. This is the best book yet published on the history of an African people in nineteenth-century southern Africa. No previous work on such a people is as thoroughly researched, as complete, or contains such valuable insights.

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ASIA

PETER K. BOL. *"This Culture of Ours": Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1992. Pp. x, 519. \$49.50.

Peter K. Bol's study is a selective intellectual history of China from about 600 to 1200, spanning two distinct dynasties separated by a chaotic succession of short-lived regimes. Copiously documented and firmly anchored in an impressive array of primary and secondary historical, literary, and philosophical sources, this monograph is a solid interdisciplinary study of the transformation of the educated class (*shih*) from the seventh-century T'ang aristocracy to the twelfth-century Sung local elites. Members of this social group sensed a grave political and social crisis and felt a personal and collective responsibility to guard, rescue, and redefine the political, social, literary, and intellectual culture of the world that they identified with—*ssu-wen*—literally "this strand of culture" and expertly translated by Bol as "This Culture of Ours" (or "this culture of theirs").

In the seventh century, under the political reunification of the country, men from aristocratic backgrounds formed the government with the T'ang imperial family. Bol delineates the corporate identity of this educated class as culture, pedigree, and public office. Erudite scholarship based on the Confucian classics, aristocratic birth, and appointment in the central government were crucial to membership in the educated elite. But with the dismantling of the aristocracy and surging regionalism beginning in the mid-eighth century and escalating into militarism in the tenth century, the educated class was regrouped

among aristocratic remnants and new local elites. The growth of these local elites was increasingly facilitated by the Sui/T'ang civil service examination system, which was providing a broader base of recruitment. "This Culture of Ours" of the educated class became the Neo-Confucian culture of *tao-hsueh*, where the scholarship had an ethical-philosophical basis, where more humble birth was characteristic, and where public office was not always expected because of the larger pool of qualified candidates. Rather than public office, the survival of the local elite family depended on local economic clout, property base, and marriage alliances. According to Bol, the completed transformation of "This Culture of Ours" in the eleventh century defined the educated class until the seventeenth century.

To illustrate the contrast of the two worlds, Bol launches the study with Yen Chih-t'ui and Yuan Ts'ai, men separated by several centuries. Yen was a member of an aristocratic family in the early T'ang, whose culture was typical in combining political service with Confucian scholarship. His counterpart was Yuan Ts'ai, who hailed from a locally prominent, wealthy, educated elite family in the Sung dynasty. Bol notes that the downward mobility of the educated group coexisted with the transformation, when the government could no longer provide the permanent political careers enjoyed by the early T'ang aristocracy.

Leading us through the path of eminent intellectuals and statesmen of the period, Bol shows how the educated class conceived and changed the values that defined "This Culture of Ours." The early T'ang is represented by Ch'en Tzu-ang; post-An Lu-shan rebellion by Han Yü, Li Ao, Liu Tsung-yuan; the early Northern Sung by Fan Chung-yen; and the eleventh century by Ou-yang Hsiu, Wang An-shih, Ssu-ma Kuang, and Su Shih. In the last chapter Bol presents Ch'eng I and the Neo-Confucian *tao-hsueh* culture as a "radical break" in the history of "*shih* thought," contending that the thought of the Ch'eng brothers (rather than that of Wang An-shih, Ssu-ma Kuang, Ou-yang Hsiu, and Su Shih) was adopted by the educated class who came after these men. In spite of divergent opinions in policy and thought, members of the educated class generally concurred in the conviction that the quality of writing had a transforming and civilizing value and should serve as a vehicle for the transmission of morality. They felt that the educated class should take cautionary action about their corporate culture, as they observed its decline in substandard forms of writing and in the unfolding of current events.

Bol's study is a significant contribution to T'ang and Sung intellectual and social history, augmenting the work of Patricia Ebrey, Robert Hymes, David McMullen, Hoyt Tillman, and Yu Ying-shih in reconstructing the collective mentality of Confucian elite classes.

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JAMES W. TONG. *Disorder under Heaven: Collective Violence in the Ming Dynasty*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1991. Pp. xvi, 325. \$39.50.

James W. Tong has written an ambitious and admirable monograph. With over forty tables and nine figures, the book sets out with the latest social-science theories to probe the Ming dynasty's rebellions and other acts of collective violence. Ming historians such as James Parsons have tended to focus on the rebellions of the last forty years of the dynasty, but Tong deals with the entire dynasty of nearly 300 years.

The chapter on "Theoretical and Methodological Issues," in dealing with measuring the levels of violence, draws heavily on the works of Charles Tilly as well as Pitirim Sorokin and Émile Durkheim. It goes on to consider the levels of aggregation, disaggregation, as well as an analysis of data sources and problems. The chapter on "The Empirical Pattern" considers the spatial and temporal distribution, the peaks and the troughs, together with per-capita and per-county measures, and a differentiation of participant groups. Of particular interest is Tong's comparisons of Ming violence with violence in the Qing period and in modern Europe. He concludes that the late Qing had more communal collective violence, but fewer incidents of troop mutinies, tax rebellions, and rent resistance; by the same token, the Ming had no instances of violent occupation of fields and forests, Luddism, and anti-conscription rebellions as are found in modern Europe.

In the chapter on "Motive and Choice: Rational Survival Strategy," Tong considers hardship survival strategies such as migration, monkhood, eunuch status, pawning of family members, cannibalism, and banditry. In other words, outlawry was a "rational survival strategy," the soundness of which has to be tested against Durkheimian "social change" and Marxist "class conflict" theories, neither of which, according to Tong, explains the Ming collective violence.

In the chapter on "Regime Capacity and the Opportunity to Rebel," Tong considers such variables as the centralized despotism of the Ming founder, the Ming's structural weaknesses, inexperienced imperial leadership and eunuchs' control, military breakdown, and fiscal bankruptcy as factors contributing to collective violence. Tong's contribution here lies in providing statistical support to his assertions such as grain deliveries from military farming, relief efforts by decades, the measurement of levels of collective violence by reign, and his correlation of distance to imperial capital with the violence level.

In the chapter on "Social Change and Collective Violence," Tong has drawn on not only the theoretical works of George Simmel, Robert Park, Chalmers Johnson, and Ted Gurr but also Chinese and Japanese scholars on "the sprouts of capitalism," one of the most hotly debated subjects in Chinese historiography. In dealing with the relationship of collective

violence with late-Ming commercialization and urbanization, he asserts that "the most commercialized and industrialized provinces in the Ming were not the most rebellious," and that "there is also no temporal covariation between social change and rebellions in the Ming" (p. 164).

This is an important book. It is pathbreaking in the use of recent Western social-science concepts and quantitative data on a period of Chinese history that has recently gained increasing attention as being pivotal to China's transition to the modern era. Tong has done the prodigious labor of reducing 233 local gazetteers to measurable data. There might be moments of overkill, but on balance Tong's findings give meaning to much of the hitherto descriptive generalizations we have had on the Ming period.

TSING YUAN
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KENNETH POMERANZ. *The Making of a Hinterland: State, Society, and Economy in Inland North China, 1853-1937*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 336. \$40.00.

Kenneth Pomeranz's analysis of an area he denotes as Huang-Yun (named for its intersection by the Yellow River and the Grand Canal) in Shandong, Hebei, and Henan provinces offers stimulating and suggestive insights into the relationship between regional cores and peripheries, and into issues of state and society, the nature of economic development, and the impact of imperialism. It is thus a major contribution to our understanding and conception of current key issues in the field of Chinese studies.

The roles of the state, officials, and local elites form the focus of what Pomeranz calls "a work of political economy" (p. 18). These groups (individuals remain here mostly nameless and faceless) charted the policies and steered the reactions that helped turn Huang-Yun from a core to a periphery. Twin causes of the shift were environmental decay and imperialism. Imperialism brought "a fundamental change in statecraft" (p. 4) and gave rise to determinative state intervention because it produced needs for revenue to undergird state-building and reduce foreign debt. The state intervened in local economies through currency manipulation, the introduction and promotion of new U.S. cotton varieties, and the selection of certain areas over others for help with resource crises and flood control. Pomeranz also argues that the core-periphery shift depended on local social structures; thus, although they both became periphery or hinterland, starkly different social realities meant that North Huang-Yun's interaction with the world beyond produced sharply different results from those in South Huang-Yun.

Pomeranz's interpretation of Huang-Yun assumes the economic-political system is a zero-sum game: economic development in one area brings economic

stagnation or degeneration to another. Pomeranz also challenges frequent depictions of weak and ineffective late Qing and early Republican states; state intervention was the catalyst for economic change, he argues, emanating from a "systematic logic that . . . linked economics and politics" (p. 19). Furthermore, he presents a world where politics were always in command, whether for the state itself or for regional or local elites.

Sometimes in leading with this political theme, Pomeranz too eagerly chalks everything up to political decisions and motivations. He argues, for example, that rural elites of South Huang-Yun opposed new strains of cotton which they saw as a threat to their social and political position, thus supporting his claim that many "may have farmed with goals besides profit maximization in mind" (p. 71). But considerably later he admits that there were clear economic reasons for the choice not to plant the U.S. cotton: it was "riskier than other crops" (p. 98), among other things, necessitating more fertilizer and credit and making the farmer dependent on others for seeds. Such a detail of presentation raises questions about Pomeranz's later argument that, the economic reasons for the actions of village leaders as tax farmers notwithstanding, "social and political motivations were probably the crucial ones" (p. 105).

It seems to me that for all their importance in this account, the identity of the local elites remains unclear. Pomeranz uses terms like subcounty powerholders, village bosses, and solid middle peasants. What was the background of these people? Who exactly are the subcounty powerholders? Are village bosses distinguishable from village heads? The social structures of North and South Huang-Yun seem almost diametric opposites. How did this come to be? And why did the North Huang-Yun villages produce elites that had the very "unelite" quality of not seeking ways to dominate local society? The identities and roles of these elites are important because they may provide clues to their reactions to state intervention beyond supposing that their crucial motivations were social and political.

Sometimes in this detailed analysis conclusions seem to be drawn from little data. Pomeranz argues that "as we have seen, southwest Shandong never brought cotton rushing under control" (p. 104). But this conclusion seems based on only one account from one county (p. 99). An example like this only heightens concern about the presentation of his admittedly "technical analysis" of currency and interest rates in chapter 1. In that analysis, he adopts what was for me the disappointing approach of continually referring the reader in the footnotes to his dissertation for the methodology used in making various calculations; placing them in appendixes to this book would have been a better approach. This tack may have resulted, however, from an editorial decision.

An important contribution of this book is its underscoring of the complexity of social, political, and

economic developments in this period. Pomeranz cogently argues that development and underdevelopment were a single process and that state-making and unmaking were part of a duality dependent on regional variation. The discussion of hierarchical and network "core-ness" (as in the regional cores and peripheries described by G. William Skinner, "Regional Urbanization in Nineteenth-Century China," in Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* [1977]), while suggestive, requires more detailed exploration to be convincing; to my mind, the analysis blurs the meaning of core-ness and contextual centrality. Be that as it may, Pomeranz's analysis has brought a significant new understanding of the social and political realities of the period.

R. KEITH SCHOPPA
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GEORGE M. WILSON. *Patriots and Redeemers in Japan: Motives in the Meiji Restoration*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. Pp. xvi, 201. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 was a radical—perhaps revolutionary—moment, rivaled in modern Japanese history only by the Pacific War, which historians, and public memory, often see as rendering all that preceded it mere prelude to the modern experience. The Restoration-as-event attracts ongoing historical examination and speculation, yet more remains to be understood. George M. Wilson has much to say about the Restoration that is original and stimulating, and says it in elegant fashion. Foraging widely in the writings of Japanese historians, as well as European and American theorists, the author offers a series of provocative musings on the meanings of *bakumatsu*: the last years of the Tokugawa *ancien régime*.

Wilson eschews "cause-and-effect explanation" (p. 3) in favor of "identify[ing] story lines that express the intentions . . . and the motives of historical actors" (pp. 6–7), discovering four groups of actors, each of whom experienced the narrative (chronological experience) of *bakumatsu* in a different mode: the Western envoys, who sought nothing more than stability, he argues, read the text of *bakumatsu* as comedy; the "*bakufu* and *daimyos*" read it as irony. For the imperial loyalists, it was the romance of heroic action in pursuit of noble reward, "redemption" of people and nation through a renewed centering of the emperor (*fukko*, or "restoration").

But for the popular revivalists, the script of *bakumatsu* was tragedy: their millenarian movements were the essential destabilizing condition that enervated the *bakufu* and *daimyo*, making possible the victory of the imperial loyalists; yet in the end, the revivalists were to go from being grist for the mills of *bakufu* and *daimyo* exploitation, to being flour for the bread (*soba*?) feeding Meiji absolutism.

Wilson rejects "causality" as the goal of inquiry,

although the very choice to concentrate on the "tragic" text of the revivalists implies a sense of greater agency in their actions than previous accounts have allowed. For the revivalists, too, "redemption"—Wilson's provocative reading of *yonaooshi*—is the overriding motive; he calls it the "paramount impulse among universal social motives" (p. 10). In *bakumatsu*, however, it was not so much "a move to restore the past [as] to rescue the present." Whether as *fukko* or as *yonaooshi*, Wilson argues that for samurai activists and peasant revivalists alike, "their shared motive of redeeming the realm is undeniable" (p. 11). The notion of redemption offers a challenging conceptual companion to Irwin Scheiner's notion of the peasant presumption of a "covenant" between "benevolent lords and honorable peasants," informing peasant consciousness and collective action.

As insightful as Wilson's new study is, these are essays and musings, not densely researched original scholarship. This book may therefore vex some, who will demand primary sources to sustain the author's speculations and may entirely dismiss Wilson's approach for that reason alone. They would do so to their own intellectual loss, for Wilson's study is richly suggestive of new ways to understand the Restoration.

It is puzzling, nonetheless, that Wilson chooses "to treat [the 260 years of] Tokugawa Japan as a synchronic episode" (p. 30); "a cosmos, self-contained and regulated, functioning through durable systems that absorbed change and persisted" (p. 29). He describes the institutional order of the early seventeenth century as if it were the context of *bakumatsu* protest two centuries later. This seems unnecessarily "orientalist," for a sociopolitical order need not be changeless in order to face crisis. True, there was a sort of constitutional durability, yet was it more "synchronic" (changeless?) than enduring institutions elsewhere? Furthermore, following Watsuji Tetsuro, he treats Tokugawa Japan as a "closed" system, although one in which, contradicting the premise of synchronicity, there were "ample opportunities for innovation and change" (p. 31). Yet, in the light of the last twenty years of scholarship, it cannot be unproblematically asserted that a "closed-country system" was "deliberately installed" in the 1630s, and remained unchanged until the arrival of Commodore Perry in 1853.

Wilson's study rightly asserts the now orthodox *minshūshi* proposition that "popular revivalists," ecstatic millenarians of the 1860s, were as much "*bakumatsu* actors" in the multiple "dramas" of the Restoration as were the "*bakufu* and *daimyo*," "Western envoys," or "imperial loyalists" whose motives and actions have attracted so much more scholarly attention. Wilson thus joins others challenging the classic English-language studies of the *bakumatsu* and Restoration experience, nearly all of which focus on the ideas and actions of the members of the ruling samurai caste, whether in government or in opposi-

tion. By concentrating on the ideas, motives, and actions of the elite, earlier accounts seemed to imply that the elite were more truly "actors" in *bakumatsu* than were ordinary folk; Wilson joins a rising chorus that challenges this approach. Wilson's Restoration drama had multiple authors.

Yet the voices of "the people" themselves are muted in Wilson's text. Wilson argues for greater agency for ordinary people, and more important roles in the "dramas of the Restoration," but hears their voices more through modern scholars than in the *kawaraban* (proto-newspaper broadsides) that William Steele has employed to advantage, or the manifestoes of unrest used so well by Patricia Sippell, Anne Walthall, and others, as well as the songs, ditties, and rumors carefully recorded in contemporary diaries, some now available in modern editions. One wishes that more of these voices were directly audible in Wilson's transcription of the Restoration chorus, along with those of the theorists and historians whose interpretations accompany the song played here.

Still, this may be asking too much, for Wilson's aim is not to uncover new narrative detail but to seek new ways to think about the meaning of narrative itself, and of narratives of the end of an age, and in this he succeeds brilliantly. Those who teach the Restoration, but whose research lies elsewhere, often find overwhelming the mass of narrative detail offered by much of the existing literature. If they seek new readings of its many meanings, not merely as prelude to the future that has been Japanese modernization, nor just as a tragicomic finale to the grand opera of the Tokugawa era, but as a tapestry of possible motives and meanings for contemporaries, and a program for future historical inquiry, they will relish Wilson's book for the wealth of insight and stimulation it offers.

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STEFAN TANAKA. *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 305. \$40.00.

Since postmodernism appeared on the scene historians have been more willing to reflect publicly on the nature and purpose of their work, on its storytelling and explanatory functions and its proclivity to conceal an ideological agenda. This tendency appears full blown in Stefan Tanaka's work; he says he is interested in "constructing histories of the hidden" (p. ix). His book offers an ingenious (and meticulous) inquiry into why Japanese scholars of the early twentieth century were intent on "rendering pasts into history"—China's as well as Japan's.

Its reflective dimension makes this study a compelling commentary on Japanese mood and world view

during the heyday of empire. Tanaka is persuasive as he seeks to show how history is fashioned from ambiguous events that supposedly "fall into place" in the narratives that historians favor for the exposition of their data. He focuses on the Japanese version of "Orientalism"; borrowing his sense of that term from Edward Said (*Orientalism* [1978]), Tanaka explains that Tokyo Imperial University Professor Shiratori Kurakichi (1865–1942) and other practitioners of *tōyōshi* (history of the Eastern seas, that is, the Orient) produced a China whose past was glorious but whose present was parlous under the Qing dynasty and its inept successors.

This is not a biography of Shiratori, however, nor a gloss on the lives of a few Orientalist historians. It is a historical re-creation of the identity that Japan imagined for Asia, and ultimately for itself. Tanaka states that his goal is "to uncover this project of defining Asia" (p. 28). The work of inventing *tōyōshi*, and of reinventing *shina*, an old and irreverent Japanese (and Chinese) name for China, provides the key: "Tōyō . . . became the archives—the pasts—from which history could be constructed. The leading object within that realm was *shina*" (p. 3). Whereas *chūgoku* referred to the Middle Kingdom and glorified China's grandeur, *shina* "signified China as a troubled place mired in its past, in contrast to Japan, a modern Asian nation" (p. 4). Japan, in short, not only had to be modern but also had to fabricate its modernity from a shared Asian past.

Language is the linchpin of postmodern historical studies; language and its place in the representation of reality take center stage in studies of nationalism by Benedict Anderson (*Imagined Communities* [1983]) and Eric Hobsbawm (*The Invention of Tradition* [1983]). Tanaka views language as a tool for developing a Japanese vocabulary that would relate to Asia's past. He notes that an "equally potent agent in the invention of nations is history" (p. 264), made up as it is of texts generated by the structured use of language. Thus, he goes beyond giving us events and ideas, seeking to convey the role of language in representing such historical data.

Finally, Tanaka connects the experience of Japan's Orient to the concerns of the Japanese historical profession. Tsuda Sōkichi (1873–1961), a Waseda University history professor who had been Shiratori's student, tried to revise the Japanese approach to *tōyōshi* before World War II. He appears in the book as a foil to the general Orientalist glorification of the past: "The potential in Tsuda's deconstruction of *tōyō* was to free Japan from a rigid and fixed concept . . . He recognized that history is dialogic in that it is shaped by different forces" (p. 280). Tanaka laments that a tendency to revert to data gathering marks Oriental studies in postwar Japan, throttling both theory and reflection. He invokes a dialectic between past and present, embracing a dimension of contemporaneity that ought to be a hallmark of all good history.

Tanaka's book has few obvious errors. The Shōwa period ended in 1989, not 1990 (p. 23); Rikkyō University (p. x) wants a macron, but Naitō Konan's given name does not (p. 24 *et passim*). A glossary would have helped in view of the wealth of names and professional terms.

There is much of value about modern Japanese thought and culture to be learned from this well-crafted book. Tanaka establishes an ideological context to illustrate the attempt by historians to construct "useful" narratives that would meet the larger requirements of the Japanese state. The author is adept at showing how Japan's image of itself and Asia led to some of the problems of early Shōwa imperialism. The book can also serve as a model for integrating theory into the work that historians do. For are we not ready at last to address the theoretical implications of historical events and what they can tell us about the processes of social change?

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NEIL L. JAMIESON. *Understanding Vietnam*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 428. \$35.00.

Neil L. Jamieson seeks to facilitate scholarly understanding of the American experience in Vietnam by placing it within the context of the cultural changes that have transformed Vietnamese society from late traditional to modern times. In Jamieson's words, "we have failed to understand our experience because, then and now, we have ignored the perspectives of the people most deeply concerned with the war in which we became involved: The Vietnamese" (p. ix).

The work's conceptual framework is the notion—ostensibly derived from the *Tao Te Ching* and Gregory Bateson's "cybernetics theory"—that traditional Vietnamese society was characterized by a dynamic balance between what Jamieson terms the "yin subsystem" (male dominance, high redundancy, rigid hierarchy, strict orthodoxy) and the "yang subsystem" (female participation, high entropy, greater egalitarianism, increased spontaneity) (pp. 12–13). Jamieson analyzes the conflicts that arose over the adjustment of the "social thermostat," or the acceptable norms of behavior, when late traditional Vietnam was subjected to unacceptable stress, beginning with the nineteenth-century French conquest (pp. 13–14). The result is an all-encompassing "cultural" explanation of the Vietnamese Revolution, the main lines of which may be summarized as follows. French colonialism discredited the traditional Vietnamese social system, disturbing the *yin-yang* balance. Western-influenced urban youth reacted by adapting Western individualist ideas as a *yin* subsystem to criticize the *yang* elements of traditional society, which they now considered morally bankrupt. Yet many of these

alienated critics found *yin* individualism unfulfilling and sought instead the commitment and solidarity of a new *yang* subsystem—the Communist Party. The party provided the longed-for community of a *yang* "super-village" to significant numbers of Vietnamese, whose dedication ultimately allowed it to defeat French and American-supported regimes. But the new *yang* system enforced by the party inevitably (such is the Tao) produced its own *yin* opposition, which the party has eliminated or is trying to contain through criticism, forced labor, reeducation camps, and other means.

It should be noted that the scholarly quest for an indigenous "cultural" explanation of the Vietnamese Revolution did not begin with Jamieson: indeed, beneath a veneer of Taoist platitudes and social-science theorization, Jamieson's themes are largely derivative of those propounded decades ago by French *sinologue* Paul Mus and his American vulgarizers, John T. McAlister and Frances FitzGerald. For example, Jamieson's leitmotif, that many Vietnamese served the revolution wholeheartedly—and believed it legitimate to impose its discipline on others—because they found in it a total system of meaning that their still-potent Confucian training had conditioned them to seek, is hardly novel. This want of conceptual originality notwithstanding, Jamieson's mining of literary sources and his diligence in carrying Mus's themes to their logical conclusions in the post-"Liberation" era are major contributions. His analysis of the party's crackdown on literary protest in the North during the 1950s and its reemergence during the 1990s is particularly illuminating. Scholars will also appreciate Jamieson's readable translations of a corpus of Vietnamese literary works, many of which are unavailable elsewhere in English.

MARK W. MCLEOD
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ALBERT LAU. *The Malayan Union Controversy, 1942–1948*. (South-East Asian Historical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1991. Pp. xv, 308.

This volume by Albert Lau covers the development of post-World War II British constitutional policies toward Malaya and Singapore, which were initially formulated during the period of the Japanese occupation and then reformulated and implemented with much difficulty in the first few years after the resumption of British colonial administration. These were turbulent years in the early stages of Malayan and Singapore politics, during which local interests and ethnic communities began to mobilize for political action, including demands for rights to participate in the formulation of constitutional arrangements.

This study provides a meticulous account that reveals how British colonial administrators initially established their preliminary plans for a postwar

constitution during their absence from Malaya and then later were forced to respond to changing circumstances and newly organized local political forces in Malaya. After much rancor, the British constitutional vision for a future Malaya, epitomized by the Malayan Union constitution, was abandoned and a modified constitution, the Federation of Malaya Agreement, was adopted. The latter document culminated a process of negotiation and accommodation involving British colonial officials and the Malay community, ably led and mobilized by the Malay rulers and by the new leadership of the United Malays National Organization. Once agreement had been reached with the indigenous and largest community (the Malays), the colonial authorities then were able to make a few symbolic gestures toward the other communities, which had been effectively excluded from deliberations on key constitutional issues. Lau concludes with the inauguration of the Federation of Malaya, so he does not cover the continuing constitutional evolution that produced the enlarged Federation of Malaysia or the independence of Singapore.

The account is based on the original archival documents in London, Singapore, and Malaysia as well as the private papers of some of the key participants. From these sources, Lau is able to reveal in exceptional detail the deliberative process of British colonial policy making as it attempted to cope with rising nationalist demands and the difficult problems of postwar reconstruction. Because of the lack of records and limited access to "politically sensitive" domestic archival sources, the author could not make a parallel reconstruction of the calculations and strategies of all the key Malayan participants in the drama. Even so, this book makes a major contribution with its comprehensive account of the shifting priorities of British officials and complex political maneuvers of those who drafted the constitution for the Federation of Malaya and set the pattern for constitutional developments that were to shape the political futures of both Malaysia and Singapore.

Although confined to a short period of time, this book presents a multidimensional picture of a crucial and complex era in Malaysian history. Besides the thorough research that underpins the work, it is also very well written. It should be of particular interest to Southeast Asian specialists and colonial historians as well as the general reading public concerned with the political history of Malaysia and Singapore. The volume should be on the shelves of all research libraries that serve scholars working on Southeast Asian topics.

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K. R. HOWE. *Singer in a Songless Land: A Life of Edward Tregear, 1846–1931*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press; distributed by Oxford University Press, New York. 1991. Pp. 241. \$35.00.

Edward Tregear was important in New Zealand's history as a significant recorder of Maori language, culture, and history, as a poet, and for helping to create a centralized, regulated, bureaucratic, and paternalistic state.

Tregear was secretary of the Department of Labor from 1891 to 1900 and, with the Liberal politician William Pember Reeves, was responsible for the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act (1894). The purpose of the act was to prevent strikes by creating a system of compulsory conciliation and arbitration and improving working conditions and wages. Among many Americans who became fascinated by this was Henry Demarest Lloyd, who corresponded with Tregear from 1894 until Lloyd's death in 1903. Lloyd's book *A Country without Strikes* (1900) helped shape a reform debate "designed to bring about a 'New Zealandizing' of America" (p. 137).

Tregear's major contributions in Maori studies were two very contentious books, *The Aryan Maori* (1885) and *A Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (1891). Both reflected Tregear's belief that the Maori language was a form of Sanskrit, proving that the Maori had migrated from Central Asia.

A biography is difficult to write. The subject may be lost in the context, or there may be considerable gaps in knowledge concerning the individual's life or motives. Often one sees only the public figure and a person's actions or achievements rather than the private life and inner personality. K. R. Howe avoids these pitfalls and brings out some of the contradictory strands in Tregear's character. He shows how Tregear's poetry reveals his early loneliness and his inner aspirations, fears, and prejudices. One would have wished for more information concerning his early life among the Maori and some exploration of the dilemma he faced following his marriage to a divorcee, whose early experience may well have meant that their long marriage was celibate after the birth of their daughter. Howe leaves the reader in no doubt that Tregear loved his wife until the time of his death fifty-one years after their marriage.

Tregear regarded himself as a socialist, but his socialism was not Marxist. It was a paternalistic and humanitarian belief in the state's ethical responsibility to provide order and welfare for the population as a whole. Between 1911 and 1914, following his retirement, Tregear helped to create an independent Labor Party, but emotionally he could not cope with the new world of militant unionism and industrial conflict, and finally he withdrew from public life.

The paternalistic, regulated labor market, with state control of wages, conditions, and working and shopping hours, that Tregear and his political masters created at the end of the nineteenth century lasted almost a hundred years. The Employment Contracts Act of the current New Zealand government has almost totally deregulated the labor market. As New Zealand at the end of the nineteenth century had an international reputation for being the world's

most progressive social laboratory for enlightened labor laws, so in the late twentieth century considerable international attention is focused on the country as a laboratory of economic and social deregulation. Howe's book is long overdue, an excellent study of the man most responsible for creating the system now being dismantled.

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MALCOLM MCKINNON. *Independence and Foreign Policy: New Zealand and the World since 1935*. Auckland, N.Z.: Auckland University Press; distributed by Oxford University Press, New York. 1993. Pp. xiv, 329. \$29.95.

New Zealand, together with Australia, occupies a unique position in the western Pacific as a predominantly Anglo-Saxon community of British origin, endowed with British political and legal institutions, enjoying a stable form of democracy, a highly developed civic identity, and a strong sense of nationhood. Part of the British empire, New Zealand became self-governing in 1865 and a Dominion in 1907.

Since then, New Zealand's geographic isolation from natural allies and from events has strengthened its commitment to participation in world affairs. An enduring security concern has been its vulnerability due to its small population, which has made it practically impossible to raise sufficient forces and arms to protect its national interests; consequently, New Zealand has long relied on preventive diplomacy rather than military strength.

In the past, New Zealand was noted for its staunch and compliant membership in alliances, first with Britain and then with the United States. Australia once described New Zealanders as the "Prussians of the Pacific" for their enthusiastic and unquestioning participation in world wars I and II. Yet since the 1980s a revulsion against nuclear weapons has stimulated a nationalist peace movement in New Zealand, which is determined to keep that part of the Pacific nuclear free. For New Zealanders the prospect of a nuclear holocaust outweighs all other national security considerations.

Within this context, Malcolm McKinnon has written a substantial and comprehensive study of New Zealand's external relations since 1935, making an important contribution to the historiography of the subject. McKinnon departs from the usual approach of the evolution of identity as the cutting edge of his material. Instead, he argues, "an analysis of the idea of 'independence' proved to be a much more fertile way of approaching the subject of foreign policy, and it also allowed me to talk more generally about New Zealand's foreign relations over the last five and a half decades" (p. xi). Stated another way, McKinnon has a need to address ideological issues in foreign policy, identifying system and patterns and external behavior.

In this framework, the author covers his topic in twelve tightly written chapters, and he includes a comprehensive bibliography, a valuable table of election victories and office holders, and an adequate index. Chapters range over Wellington's response to Britain in world wars I and II, to Washington in the Cold War and Vietnam, and the new kind of independence that existed during and after the 1970s. The most compelling chapters cover the Vietnam War and the ANZUS (the U.S.-Australia-New Zealand Security Treaty signed at San Francisco in 1951) crisis generated by New Zealand's efforts to create a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific.

The forces committed to Vietnam by the Treaty of Manila (1954) were all volunteers, and the government did not introduce conscription. Also significant was that, for the first time in its history, New Zealand was involved in a war that was not unpatriotic to oppose. At the height of support for the anti-Vietnam movement, a Labor government was elected, which then withdrew forces from Vietnam.

The crisis in ANZUS came to a head in 1989 with the election of David Lange, whose Labor government not only continued to resist French testing in the South Pacific but also barred ships carrying nuclear arms and nuclear-powered vessels from New Zealand's waters. The Ronald Reagan administration refused to comply and severed New Zealand's participation in the ANZUS alliance, which was Wellington's basic military alliance and the cornerstone of its traditional foreign policy. Not surprisingly, the ANZUS controversy, more than any other factor, proved to be the catalyst of New Zealand's independence in the world.

The parts of McKinnon's study that cover the pre-1970 period are based on archival research; the parts of the book covering the period after 1970 are not.

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UNITED STATES

ROBERT L. GRISWOLD. *Fatherhood in America: A History*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xi, 356. \$24.00.

Robert L. Griswold has taken on a daunting task, the magnitude of which he recognizes in titling his work "a history" rather than "the history" of fatherhood in the United States. Focusing on the last 100 years, Griswold touches on a wide range of topics and draws from an impressive range of sources, both prior scholars' history and sociology of the family and primary sources such as personal documents, journalism, prescriptive works, and social-scientific studies. Two overriding themes unite the volume, countering its centrifugal tendencies. One is Griswold's identification of the "breadwinner-dad"—the father as provider for the family—as the dominant paternal model established in the nineteenth century and resonant

(although not uncontroverted) through the twentieth century. Another, related theme is the conflict between the demands and realities of fathers' roles: between the social goal that fathers as well as mothers should educate and nurture children, and fathers' inability or reluctance to do so, whether because of self-sacrifice in the preeminent provider role or because of self-absorption and unwillingness to do "women's work."

The book first sketches a nineteenth-century past in which the breadwinning definition of dad was firmly established, while regional, ethnic, and racial differences in accepting and fulfilling this definition persisted. Chapters on working-class and immigrant fatherhood draw constructively from personal sources, to poignant effect, slighting neither the joys nor the tragedies of fathers' responsibilities and revealing paternal pride in upward mobility for sons, although it came at the cost of father-child intimacy. Finding a caring, playful, flexible, and companionate "new fatherhood" proposed by child experts in the 1920s as an adjunct to modern domesticity for mothers, Griswold by-passes possible links between this model and the assimilation of immigrants, but he points out that the favored model had a strong middle-class bias (without empirical grounding), being explicitly contrasted to an authoritarian and emotionally removed style presumed to belong to the Old World and the working class. From the 1920s to the present, Griswold shows, many voices have repetitively called for more paternal involvement—whether for the children's benefit, for dad's benefit, or for the nation and democracy's benefit—while experts themselves arrogated more authority over children's lives. By the 1940s and 1950s the model of the nurturant, democratically inclined, and emotionally involved dad also had an international bearing, offered by child experts first as antifascist and then as anticommunist.

Throughout, Griswold highlights the way that social-scientific and journalistic "experts," state intervention, and women's labor force participation and feminist demands for sex equality have affected men's fulfillment of their family roles. Chapters on fatherhood during the Depression, World War II, and the postwar period read both new and well-known material at an original angle. Griswold makes intriguing use of the congressional debate over drafting fathers during World War II and evidence of returning veterans' difficulties in resuming paternal obligations. For the 1960s and 1970s he explores a feminist reprise of the "new fatherhood," this time demanding an actual change in the sexual division of labor. Since then, economic and gender-role change (due in no small part to feminism) have made the model of the breadwinner-dad archaic, he believes, with no overarching prescription or practice succeeding it. More sympathetic to feminist critiques than to the "father's rights" movement, Griswold gives attention to both, as well as to various other conflicting

trends that complicate the mosaic of late-twentieth-century fatherhood. His study has mapped a terrain for future scholars to continue to explore.

NANCY F. COTT
Yale University

DONALD S. LUTZ. *A Preface to American Political Theory*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1992. Pp. xii, 188. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$12.95.

American political theory receives less attention than it deserves, Donald S. Lutz argues, because political theorists tend to view American ideas as derivative and American thinkers as second-rate. Lutz argues that such judgments reflect the Eurocentric perspective of those who study political theory. If we are seeking Aristotle or Hegel in America, we are bound to be frustrated. If, however, we understand that American political theory is distinctive because in America ideas have been at the center of popular political debate rather than the exclusive concern of elites or philosophers, we will concentrate on assembling and interpreting the texts that comprise an important tradition of thought.

In America, Lutz argues, a fairly large and relatively permeable political class has shaped political institutions and behavior through constitutions and the commentary surrounding them. Because citizenship from the outset was uniquely widespread, writers of compacts, covenants, and constitutions in America have always sought to reach a broad public in terms that ordinary people understood and endorsed. For that reason students of American political theory should examine the meanings of public texts rather than concentrate on the "great books" that constitute the canon of European political theory.

After outlining his approach to American political theory in chapters 1 and 2, in chapter 3 Lutz demonstrates how it works by analyzing the Bill of Rights. He shows the importance of assembling texts ranging from Magna Carta to the state constitutions written between 1776 and 1787. He then explains why English precedents could not accomplish Americans' purposes and shows how American colonial constitutions blended the ideas of community and popular sovereignty long before John Locke and Algernon Sidney did.

In chapters 4 and 5 Lutz surveys political scientists' and historians' interpretations of eighteenth-century American political theory. He traces the controversies from Charles Beard and the Progressives through Robert A. Dahl and the pluralists to J. G. A. Pocock and the republicans. As he makes clear, different Americans drew on different European theorists at different times for different purposes. Such thinkers cannot be arranged neatly into camps designated republican or liberal, or even separated into Scottish or French versions of the Enlightenment, because

such categories are ours rather than theirs. Distinctions were important to eighteenth-century American political theorists, as Lutz indicates through a brief comparison of what John Adams, Sam Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison meant by representation, but the distinctions cannot be traced to different European traditions. Finally, Lutz insists that American experience, especially with colonial compacts that reflected the colonists' commitment to the biblical idea of the covenant, provided the most important source of all for American political theory. We must study European thinkers because Americans did refer to their work, as Lutz's appendix of European works cited by Americans makes abundantly clear. But detailed examination of American ideas shows not only what Americans derived from European thinkers but also the crucial ways in which they differed.

Because the book is aimed explicitly at students of American political theory, and implicitly at political theorists who dismiss the study of American ideas, the analysis is somewhat uneven. The first two chapters and the conclusion oscillate between the elementary and the argumentative, whereas the central chapters advance clear, sophisticated arguments that specialists on eighteenth-century American thought will find rewarding. Particularly for undergraduates and graduate students embarking on the study of American political theory—Lutz's target audience—this is likely to be a valuable book.

JAMES T. KLOPPENBERG
Brandeis University

ELLIOTT ROBERT BARKAN. *Asian and Pacific Islander Migration to the United States: A Model of New Global Patterns*. (Contributions in Ethnic Studies, number 30.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 1992. Pp. xiv, 259. \$49.95.

Elliott Robert Barkan has written an important book. Unfortunately, it is one that not many readers will have the stamina to read carefully from cover to cover. At the core of the book is a vital insight about the changed nature of U.S. immigration—indeed, world migration—in the modern era. Nearly all classic studies, and most popular thinking, picture immigration as a straight-line, one-way process: people leave the Old Country and strike out for America, where they build new lives.

Barkan points out that late-twentieth-century transportation and communication systems, along with the decline of discriminatory immigration laws in some countries, have made this older model obsolete. I can provide my own example. A woman I know was born in Tonga, was raised from age two to six in New Zealand, and then completed high school in Australia. She went back to Tonga twice, for a total of three years, then struck out for Hawaii to go to college. Then she married another immigrant and

moved on to California. Now she is back in Hawaii, and soon she will likely return to Tonga. In each place she has had a different legal status: native citizen, visa student, permanent resident, and so forth. She has relatives in all the places she has lived, and in other places as well. She might live in any or all of them for a portion of her life in the years to come.

There is a whirling velocity to modern migrations that is reflected in Barkan's work, and that is his chief contribution. In this respect, Barkan's study is the social-scientific analog to Bharati Mukerjee's *The Middleman and Other Stories* (1989). He has tables; she told stories. The tables, and Barkan's love of lists, are likely to discourage all but the most diligent readers. The book has twenty-four tables and five figures, which cover a total of eighty pages with eye-glazing numbers, letters, and arrows. Most of the rest of the book comprises theoretical discussion of a very abstract sort, accompanied by long lists of factors, propositions, and conditions that affect migration motivations, directions, and personnel.

At the heart of it all is Barkan's "Model of Double Stepwise International Migration." The model is complex, just as modern migration is complex: his schematic chart looks like the wiring diagram for a space shuttle control panel. The central insight is that people go a lot of places for a lot of reasons, and they do not always set out to go where they end up going. In fact, they frequently make several stops along the way, and often they loop back to places they lived before. They are members of family networks that spread out across their region of origin and around the globe. But all of this is not formless. There are factors at work shaping migration patterns, and we can identify and weigh those factors. The patterns are complex, but Barkan makes a resolute attempt at giving them order.

The book's title and subtitle are reversed. This study is really about the model, not about Asians and Pacific Islanders. The tables describe Asian and Pacific Islander migration in vast detail, but that is by way of example, to test the model. Barkan's prose is serviceable despite the lists and tables, and sometimes it is quite eloquent.

There is one curious omission. This is a world-migration systems study analogous in some ways to Immanuel Wallerstein's work on world-economic systems. One would think Barkan would interact with Wallerstein or others who spin theories about international webs of economic interconnectedness, but such people are nowhere mentioned. Particularly curious is Barkan's failure to relate his ideas to those of Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, whose *Labor Immigration under Capitalism* (1984) was a world-systems approach to Asian immigration to America.

Despite that omission, and despite the difficulty many readers will have with Barkan's complex model, this book ought to be in libraries and ought to be read

by people who think about immigration. Its central insight is very important.

PAUL SPICKARD
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DORON S. BEN-ATAR. *The Origins of Jeffersonian Commercial Policy and Diplomacy*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1993. Pp. ix, 261. \$65.00.

Doron S. Ben-Atar's thin volume focuses narrowly on Thomas Jefferson's attitudes and actions with respect to the role of the mercantile sector in international commerce from the 1770s through the second term of his presidency. Ben-Atar confirms what historians have always alleged, namely that Jefferson's outlook on foreign trade was often contradictory, hypocritical, and thoroughly unrealistic. Like Woodrow Wilson a century later, Jefferson preferred to deal in abstract principles rather than harsh realities.

Although the sage of Monticello invariably expressed disdain for the merchant class—especially northern merchants who invested in government securities—ironically much of his political career was spent trying to expand and protect commercial opportunities for American shippers in the North Atlantic. Jefferson spent five years in France in the 1780s representing the confederation government, and his efforts were largely aimed at opening new markets in France and the French Caribbean for American exports. The exchange of agricultural output for manufactured goods and various luxuries was what he had in mind, and he recognized that merchants and shippers were essential intermediaries in this process; they were a necessary evil, so to speak. Despite his lengthy tenure in Paris, Jefferson was never able to grasp the truth that France and other continental powers lacked the industrial capacity to supersede Great Britain as the new nation's major trading partner.

The author adds little in terms of new knowledge to the historical record. The main scholarly contribution lies in bringing together in one volume so much information on a single issue. The narrow focus means that the text is repetitive at points. Moreover, Ben-Atar fails to examine adequately the origins of Jefferson's beliefs about the economic advantages of free trade and the rights of neutrals on the high seas. One important contemporary, Adam Smith, is never mentioned. Indeed, references to virtually all economists and economic historians, past and present, are noticeably absent.

The final chapter sums up the author's argument succinctly. Ben-Atar concludes that Jefferson "vacillated between viewing commerce as a threat to republican virtue, and promoting commerce as a necessary vehicle for the maintenance of prosperity in the young nation" (p. 170). As secretary of state, vice president, and finally president, Jefferson expected

other nations to show respect for the rights of American shippers since interference in their free movement reflected negatively on American society and its republican system of government. He was consistently predisposed to the use of economic coercion to achieve national goals. Ben-Atar's systematic review of Jefferson's involvement with issues and controversies relating to international commerce helps to shed light on the rationale for the total embargo of 1808, a strategy that, according to the author, was pro-French and pointedly anti-British in motivation.

EDWIN J. PERKINS
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JAMES WILLIAM HAGY. *This Happy Land: The Jews of Colonial and Antebellum Charleston*. (Judaic Studies Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 450. \$49.95.

Before New York and Philadelphia's Jews became preeminent after the American Revolution, it was Charleston that hosted the nation's largest and best integrated Jewish community. James William Hagy's study of Charleston's Jewry seems to leave no possible source of data untouched. This book is a model of historical retrieval and reconstruction and easily replaces prior studies by Barnett Elzas (*The Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* [1905]) and Charles Reznikoff and Uriah Engelman (*The Jews of Charleston: A History of an American Jewish Community* [1950]).

Naturally, given the extensive research Hagy has conducted, one is anxious to learn what new material he has uncovered regarding the Jewish role in the slave system. That issue has become a source of contention ever since Leonard Jeffries of the City College of New York declared that Jews played a prominent role in the slave trade, the most nefarious aspect of the slavocracy. Unfortunately, the available data is too fragmentary to permit definitive statements as to what extent Jews dominated the trade. Hagy's observation about Charleston's Jewry confirms much of what Bertram Korn observed about the Jewish role in the slave system generally (*Jews and Slavery in the Old South, 1789–1865* [1961]). Magnolia Jews fully adopted southern ways, including racial attitudes. They participated in duels and those who could afford them owned slaves. They were usually urban slaveholders, rarely owning more than two or three slaves and only indirectly involved in the plantation system. A small number of Charleston's Jews were slave traders, auctioneers, and brokers, but the proportion of Jews to the total number involved in this business cannot be determined except to note that it was small, perhaps two or three full-time traders. Many more were involved as cotton brokers. Overall, the slave trade was a small part of their business activity. Sometimes they were both, indicating how acceptable the trade in human chattel was

and how foolish it is to apply a contemporary standard of morality to an era and community that knew it not.

The other area of special interest is the new light Hagy throws on the origins of the reform movement. It was a small group of Charleston Jews who founded Beth Elohim, America's first Reform congregation, in 1824. Aware that the group of well-placed dissidents was familiar with similar dissent in Europe, Hagy finds that some portion of the Reform movement reflected the high degree of integration and stability of Charleston's Jewry and the impact of the controversy over Maryland's Jew Bill in 1819.

Hagy may tell general readers more than they want to know, but the proliferation of data dealing with seemingly mundane aspects of Jewish life in Charleston is the lifeblood of the social historian. Hagy's study will make these historians especially happy, but it is a boon to all involved in the American Jewish historical enterprise.

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SEFTON D. TEMKIN. *Isaac Mayer Wise: Shaping American Judaism*. (The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 318.

Few scholars are as intimately familiar as Sefton D. Temkin with the writings and persona of Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise, arguably the most outstanding leader of American (Reform) Judaism in the nineteenth century. Having written previously and insightfully about Wise, Temkin here attempts a comprehensive biographic synthesis that is both engaging and informative, even if ultimately incomplete.

With unmatched and exacting detail, Temkin reconstructs Wise's youth and adolescence in Bohemia and immigration to America, and he traces Wise's early rabbinic stint in Albany, New York. He then explores Wise's multifarious career, especially between the years 1854 and 1875, delineating the rabbi's efforts on behalf of the establishment of an American Jewish religious union and synod, the promotion of his new American liturgy (*Minhag Amerika*), the establishment of Reform Jewish institutions such as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (1873) and Hebrew Union College (1875), and he describes the efflorescence of Wise's journalistic and literary productivity as well as involvement in civic affairs. Scholars acquainted with the material will find particularly insightful Temkin's deft evaluations of the inner workings of the Reform rabbinic conferences between 1869 and 1871, the personalities that guided them, and the internal Reform divisions that cut across theological and regional lines, leading to the robust personal polemics at which Wise excelled. With well-chosen citations, albeit too frequent and too

lengthy, the author ably underscores Wise's bombastic, vain, and prickly nature, which exuded a self-conception of a man of destiny ordained by God for great things and which found him never flinching from a battle of words and never conceding defeat or error.

Useful to scholars, the book is also pleasurable to read, as it is written with grace and elegance, replete with thoughtful understatement, and punctuated by suggestive rhetorical questions. Apart from some new data on Wise, and welcome analyses of Wise and the Reform conferences, perhaps the book's most enduring contribution lies in its psychological portrait of the man and its explorations of his inner broodings and sense of self. Its shortcomings, however, derive from its curious lack of balance and its narrative perspective. Although the heart of the book lies in its largest section, entitled "Cincinnati, 1854–1900," the last quarter of Wise's life, 1875–1900, is given short shrift. Little or nothing is said about Wise's reactions to major concerns of American Jewry at the time, such as the mass immigration of Eastern European Jewry, the recrudescence of anti-Semitism at home and abroad, American Protestant triumphalism and nativism, and the emergence of Jewish nationalism. Moreover, mining Wise's voluminous writings, Temkin writes this book from the "inside out," emphasizing for the most part Wise's reactions and attitudes to people, events, and situations, rather than depicting the dynamic interaction between them.

A worthwhile addition to the field, exhaustive in some of its research, illuminating in some of its analysis, this book nevertheless cannot be considered definitive; it ought to be read in conjunction with earlier biographies of Wise by Max May, David Philipson, and Max Heller.

BENNY KRAUT
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JACK WERTHEIMER. *A People Divided: Judaism in Contemporary America*. New York: Basic Books. 1993. Pp. xix, 267. \$25.00.

In this brief, searching survey, Jack Wertheimer examines an eternal, religious problem: not humanity's search for God but, rather, humanity's search for itself in communities that offer fellowship, warmth, affirmation, and some sort of truth, either transcendent or humanistic, or both. In this case, America's Jews are the subject of his research and the prognosis is not promising: "By emphasizing . . . fragmentation, this book sides with those who fear that polarization will weaken the Jewish community and erode the unity needed by the shrinking Jewish minority in the United States" (p. xviii). But there is a ray of hope. In many instances, generalized social issues are at the core of Jewish discontent and, if Jews are moving haltingly toward a showdown with them, so is everyone else.

Although Wertheimer is a historian and his work contains historical elements, his study is not a history book. It is, in fact, a cultural, demographic, sometimes statistical survey of the state of Jewish religion in America since the turbulent 1960s. Much of this information is available in a variety of sources, including the now famous Council of Jewish Federations survey of 1990, which, since its publication, has been quoted and discussed by virtually every major Jewish organization and paraphrased by an impressive number of Jewish opinion magazines. Wertheimer's role, then, is synthesizer of the debate, for he has placed all its contours and sharp edges in one readable volume.

For those American Jews who care—and there are significant number of secularists and ritual or ceremonial “minimalists” (chap. 3) who do not—there are four kinds of organized Jewish faith, each distinguished by varying degree of individuality, autonomy, tradition, or insularity and each addressing an array of concerns, some of which appear on a Christian agenda as well. Among these are issues of experimental variation, like *havurah*, humanism, and New Age; those of critical centrality, like intermarriage and patrilineal descent (the “who is a Jew” controversy); and the legitimacy and limits of feminism and gay/lesbian inclusions within mainstream Judaism.

Reform Judaism and Reconstruction demonstrate the greatest flexibility, but whether that is good or not is anyone's guess. According to Wertheimer, the important indicators of religious “democracy” in Reform Judaism involve decisions identifying Jews as those born of one Jewish parent, regardless of gender, and later pronouncements approving homosexual rabbis. Reconstruction, representing only about 1 percent of organized Jewry, reaches far beyond these questions that, in its theology, have already been settled into experiments on “ethical” (p. 168) *kashrut* and sanctuaries for the politically oppressed.

Conservatism and Orthodoxy display a greater regard for statute as a definer of Judaism, although the former adopts what Wertheimer calls a “Centrist” position while the latter, with superficial similarities to Christian literalists, leads an insurgency from the Right. The Centrist position denies patrilineal descent, is studying the issue of homosexuality, ordains women, and permits their participation in synagogue life, but some Conservatives see such change as too pluralistic: American but not Jewish in a legal sense. Young Orthodox professionals, opting for high educational attainment with concomitant financial rewards, have chosen “Torah true” Judaism (p. 134) but, in so doing, have entrusted the education of their youth to those willing to shoulder the burden, namely rabbis and teachers who disdain pluralism and maintain a distinctively East European outlook. Wertheimer's study is a good primer for the 1990s if readers crave questions with few answers.

STUART E. KNEE
University of Charleston

FRANCIS JENNINGS. *The Founders of America: How Indians Discovered the Land, Pioneered in It, and Created Great Civilizations; How They Were Plunged into a Dark Age by Invasion and Conquest; and How They Are Reviving*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1993. Pp. 457. \$27.50.

After a long and distinguished career, Francis Jennings has produced the kind of sweeping and idiosyncratic book that, for better or worse, many scholars tend to produce after long and distinguished careers. As the long subtitle of the study suggests, this is a perhaps ironic attempt to take the standard narrative of Western civilization, transfer it to the Western hemisphere, twist the plot line a bit, and populate it with Indians. Only Indians can provide, Jennings asserts, a “common history of the Americas” (p. 15). Jennings has always presented himself as an iconoclast, but the icons he takes on this time around are already somewhat the worse for wear. He disavows both noble and ignoble savages; he denies Europeans discovered a wilderness, they invaded a series of socially shaped places; and, finally, he disavows race, and promises to deal with culture and caste. These are the themes of his book. Savagism, wilderness, and racial explanations do not currently have that many academic defenders.

But the book is not really an academic history. It is a popular account that reads like a rapid historical bus tour with a knowledgeable, opinionated, and moralizing guide. Jennings has some startling opinions. He attributes Mississippian culture to colonization by Toltecs who were in turn overthrown by “barbarian” tribes from the Northwest” before the European invasion. But much of the tour is more predictable. There are the stops in Tenochtitlán, Cahokia, Huronia, Iroquoia, and the Dalles. There are representative tribes. There are the usual wars. For Jennings, the ability of Indians to control their fates began to vanish by the end of the seventeenth century, with major battles being lost in the eighteenth century. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries thus get far less attention than what went before.

But like any tour, the real centerpiece is the guide, and Jennings provides a wealth of homilies, judgments, and obiter dicta to make sure the audience grasps the correct lessons. Indeed, Indians get less of the guide's emotional energy than Europeans needing correction and condemnation. Dead historians and anthropologists and their ideas are resurrected to be castigated and put in their place.

For academic historians along for the ride the experience can be a little bewildering. For certain regions Jennings is fully aware of the newer literature and uses it admirably. In other sections of the country he relies on old sources and attacks or defends abandoned positions once held in academic wars now long past. Historians need to remind themselves that many of the positions Jennings attacks once really

were in need of assault, and how his own earlier attacks did create needed openings in the field.

RICHARD WHITE
University of Washington

WILLARD H. ROLLINGS. *The Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1992. Pp. x, 320. \$39.95.

"Hegemony" is a fad word just now. Willard H. Rollings's book is a standard decline-and-fall history of an Indian "tribe," written from Euro-American documents. Calling the power of the independent Osage "hegemony" does not alter the conventional tone of the book.

Rollings begins and ends with a summary of Osage history from 1673 to 1840. With summaries in each chapter as well, there is considerable redundancy. The first chapter is an ethnographic description of the Osage, then there are four chapters detailing the political and economic situation in the eighteenth century, followed by four chapters of Osage history. Dominating the southcentral prairies in the eighteenth century, the Osage mediated trade between the southwestern Plains Indians and the Europeans. Their capacity to control trade and their rich hunting and farming territory weakened in the early nineteenth century as thousands of eastern Indians came, willingly and then unwillingly, into the trans-Mississippi West. Cholera and smallpox severely attacked the Osage in the 1830s, leaving them in no condition to resist U.S. military insistence that they cede their land for the settlement of the removed eastern nations.

This is a political history, focusing on the political structure of the Osage nation, its "traditional" (that is, at the time of first European documentation) governance through clans cooperating in the enactment of rituals and a consultative council of learned men, and the "breakdown" of this structure as dissident Osage left the main territory to conquer Caddoan land to the south. What is lacking in Rollings's book, for me, is a grounding of Osage society in its probable Mississippian origins, that is, deepening the picture of "traditional" society by discussing the late-Mississippian kingdoms of the South and the probable location of the Dhegiha (including Osage) on their frontiers. Such perspective would emphasize the importance of trade, in slaves as well as hunt products, and indicate that market economies arose before contact and were not the effect of European initiatives. A contemporary ethnohistory should present Indian as well as Europeans' concept of "history," as well as clarify strategies; in other words, it should do more than chronicle fights and treaties or the comings and goings of leaders. Rollings writes from the perspective of a white looking at the Indians. He asserts (pp. 4-5) that in contrast to earlier writers, he does look at events from an Osage point of view, but he explains this as premising the Osage as rational, not merely

violent savages. He uses studies by anthropologists and ecologists. His intentions seem enlightened but nevertheless we do not hear Osage telling what they know as their history.

Perhaps I should not fault a historian for writing a carefully documented review of the movements of an Indian nation during the colonial period. Rollings's work is useful. But it adds nothing to theoretical discussions of "hegemony" and offers little in the way of human stories. In spite of many references to battles, it is a pedestrian book.

ALICE BECK KEHOE
Marquette University

RUTH McDONALD BOYER and NARCISSUS DUFFY GAYTON. *Apache Mothers and Daughters: Four Generations of a Family*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1992. Pp. xx, 393. \$24.95.

This book by Ruth McDonald Boyer and Narcissus Duffy Gayton is an important addition to the genre of collaborative autobiography, one form of writing on Native Americans in the twentieth century. An approach crafted by anthropologists such as Ruth Underhill (*Papago Woman* [1936]) and Nancy Oestreich Lurie (*Mountain Wolf Woman* [1961]), the genre has been explored by Gretchen M. Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands (*American Indian Women, Telling Their Lives* [1984]), H. David Brumble (*American Indian Autobiography* [1988]), and Raymond J. DeMallie (*The Sixth Grandfather* [1985]). At first glance this volume appears to follow the pattern of the genre. Gayton is a Chiricahua Apache and Boyer is an anthropologist. Gayton and other Chiricahuas contributed the oral history, where Boyer provided the written words. Here, however, the book parts with its predecessors.

Unlike other collaborative works, this volume stretches beyond the life of a single person. Its focus on the role of women in Chiricahua society from the 1870s, when Victorio was leader of the Warm Springs Apache, to the present hinges on the lives of four generations of Apache women. The youngest is Gayton, the coauthor. The eldest is Diltch-cleyhen, Victorio's daughter and a central figure through the years of warfare and captivity when the Chiricahua, including followers of Victorio, were taken to Fort Marion, Florida, where they began almost three decades of imprisonment before returning to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico. The woman who dominates these generations, however, is Beshád-e, Gayton's grandmother, who rears her granddaughter when Gayton's mother dies of tuberculosis. The spanning of these several generations of Apache women anchors this work to the broader thesis of Chiricahua women.

Several themes emerge from this work. One is the endurance of these women through the long days of suffering. Hostage to the decision of Geronimo to hold out until many warriors, women, and children

had been killed, the Chiricahuas paid for Geronimo's choice through their lengthy imprisonment and accompanying high mortality rate. "He betrayed all of us," one of them recalls (p. 183). Even when they joined the Mescaleros, they faced federal government ineptitude and Mescalero reaction. The new arrivals were dubbed the "Fort Sills." Through this time the women remained the mainstays of their families.

They also emerged as the keepers of the culture. Each learned from mother, grandmother, or aunt the origin stories, spiritual values, and world views of the people, the Tchi-hénè. And each related this heritage to the children. Pride in this cultural heritage, therefore, bound both generations and kin, reminding one of the intricate kin networks woven by Louise Erdrich in her Chippewa tale, *Love Medicine*.

Finally, as cultural bearers, these women serve as the educators of the Tchi-hénè. When the children leave home for boarding schools in Oklahoma and New Mexico, the women urge dual learning: Apache heritage and white formal schooling. Gayton heeded this advice, completing her nursing degree and eventually returning to Mescalero where she became a tribal council member and nurse who moved between Chiricahua and non-Chiricahua worlds for the Tchi-hénè elders who became patients.

This book weaves a compelling story. It should appeal widely to both general reader and scholar, and provide supplementary reading for courses on American history.

MARGARET CONNELL SZASZ
University of New Mexico

DAVID WILLIAMS. *The Georgia Gold Rush: Twenty-Niners, Cherokees, and Gold Fever*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 178. \$29.95.

Starting in western North Carolina at the dawn of the nineteenth century, gold was discovered in various areas of the Appalachian South, and in 1829 a gold rush swept through the hills and mountains of north Georgia. Thousands of rough-and-ready adventurers and entrepreneurs poured into this region of Georgia, especially the northwest where the Cherokees were attempting to maintain an independent existence. By this time Georgia was booming as its white and black folk pushed relentlessly westward, and the federal government had already responded to this pressure by removing the Creeks from the central and western areas of the state.

Isolated and vastly outnumbered, the Cherokees were doomed. Georgia prepared to give away their lands to white settlers in the last of a series of lotteries, while in Washington President Andrew Jackson's policy of sending all eastern Indians west of the Mississippi River was endorsed by Congress. The Supreme Court's *Worcester v. Georgia* decision (1833) favoring the Cherokees was ignored by President Jackson and the state as northwest Georgia rapidly

became a strange new version of white man's country. Ironically, by the time the Cherokees were actually force-marched west in 1838, the great gold rush that had done so much to seal their fate was beginning to play out.

For about a decade the rush created a unique new culture in much of north Georgia, and gold fever haunted the region for generations. The first twenty-niners rushed in to seek loose particles of gold on hillsides and in streams using increasingly sophisticated methods, and soon they also sought deep veins of gold with extensive shafts and tunnels that required much more capital and labor. Most workers were white newcomers, but some slaves were brought in too, especially during slack seasons in farming. All extraction methods were relatively inefficient, but, even so, much gold was found. In 1838 a new federal mint at Dahlonega began issuing gold coins, but production soon slumped, and the mint closed in 1861. By then many of the twenty-niners were long gone to the West, where they became some of the original forty-niners in the much more famous California gold rush. And north Georgia drifted back to the periphery of southern life.

David Williams has written extensively on the Georgia variety of gold fever. This book contains some new material, but it is mainly based on his and other scholars' previous publications. Clear maps and effective illustrations further enhance this short but solid monograph.

F. N. BONEY
University of Georgia

LYNN WILLOUGHBY. *Fair to Middlin': The Antebellum Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 198. \$26.95.

Lynn Willoughby's book focuses on the commercial network that developed in the valley of the major waterways of eastern Alabama and western Georgia: the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers, which join to form the Apalachicola River at the Florida state line.

Her tale begins in the 1830s, when cotton output in the valley began rising sharply and traders in the seaport of Apalachicola, Florida, began serving as marketing agents for inland planters and merchants. Willoughby displays an especially fine touch in exploring the intricacies of these relationships. Despite occasional tensions—wherein, for instance, business interests in the upcountry might accuse their coastal cousins of forming discriminatory "combinations" (p. 104)—she concludes that associates worked in relative harmony with each other.

By carefully examining extant business and personal papers of the cotton traders of Apalachicola, Willoughby reconstructs a rich description of the town's atmosphere, both in and out of the counting houses. Because the town was virtually surrounded by

water, microbial parasites (including those of the dreaded malarial and yellow fevers) repeatedly struck terror during the summer months. Given the seasonal nature of the cotton trade—with most marketing and shipping concentrated between December and April, coincident with high water in the river and salubrity on the land—the population of the city alternately rose and fell. Northerners formed a strikingly large proportion of the temporary sojourners. This pattern, Willoughby notes, contrasts sharply with the predominance of native-southern merchants in most other southern seaports. It had a marked effect on Apalachicola's commercial history.

By 1860, whereas "the northern end of the river valley was thriving," Apalachicola had begun to languish (pp. 88–89). In Willoughby's view, northerners played an important role in the city's stagnation. Given their financial ties to the North, they saw no need to establish a local bank. Even more damagingly, they failed to appreciate the threat that railroads posed to river-borne commerce and accordingly did nothing to assure Apalachicola a rail link to the interior. In contrast, the native-southern commercial leaders of Columbus, Georgia, at the head of navigation of the Chattahoochee, understood the importance of rail connections to the coast. Getting no satisfaction from Apalachicola, they turned elsewhere and in 1853 cast their lot with the network that terminated in Savannah. The huge cotton crops of the 1850s temporarily staved off Apalachicola's decline; but the absence of a rail terminal took a severe toll after the Civil War.

Willoughby adds additional details to the portrait of King Cotton's retainers that Harold D. Woodman masterfully sketched. Yet, given the book's brevity, readers may wish for more. Among other things, Willoughby might have explored in greater depth the reasons for the relative success of Columbus. Given her keen eye for the human side of the dismal science, such a discussion could only have helped further understand upcountry commercial development in the nineteenth century. Despite this reservation, scholars of southern business history will find more than ordinary value in Willoughby's book.

JOSEPH P. REIDY
Howard University

MARK WAHLGREN SUMMERS. *The Era of Good Stealings*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 390. \$49.95.

This is an important contribution to our understanding of post-Civil War politics and of American political culture more generally. Mark Wahlgren Summers, building on his earlier study *The Plundering Generation* (1987), which detailed the vast amount of political corruption present in the 1850s, argues that while similar turpitude existed in post-Civil War America, it was not as systemic as contemporaries

claimed, nor was its extent sharply different from the earlier period. Although much that went on was sordid and disgraceful, it was less extensive and more complicated in its nature than contemporaries charged and many historians have accepted since; it was, Summers says, "a peril more potential than real" (p. xi). More to the point, by concentrating on the corrupt acts themselves, Summers argues that historians have not fully appreciated the significance of the development and use of corruption as a political issue. It was a major and extremely effective weapon of ideological and partisan warfare about the power of government in a transformative age.

Summers carefully details familiar episodes, from Oakes Ames and Commodore Vanderbilt to James Blaine, the Grant administration, and the rotten election of 1876, episodes that have come down to us as particularly noxious examples of a political world gone very wrong. At the same time, he examines how each episode became part of a forceful and consequential assault on particular policies and the reach of government authority. Charges of corruption became effective weapons against disliked public initiatives, from Reconstruction activities in the South to meeting the needs of the emerging cities. As the issue grew in power, fed by a voracious press that was increasingly freeing itself from partisan shackles, the focus of reform efforts was redirected away from remedies rooted in emancipation and industrialization and toward much less socially critical emphasis on reducing government size and expenditures, taking much of that out of the hands of the electorate and restricting the number of eminently corruptible voters that could come to the polls. The reformers, he notes, "mistook differences in principle for a defect in ethics," and carried the polity with them (p. 269).

Summers argues his moral tale with great skill. Based on extensive research largely in the manuscript and newspaper sources of the period, he is careful not to downplay the reality of the corrupt activities themselves, nor to overstress the power of the issue to shape particular outcomes. But he is quite convincing in demonstrating the power of repeated cries of corruption in creating a particular mind-set about society, its purposes, and the reach and legitimacy of government power. The one caveat that I have about the presentation is Summers's failure to explore adequately just why the issue had such resonance in American culture, why the American people were so quick to believe the worst, to accept simplified notions of extreme corruption and inadequate solutions to it. Why was the reality underlying appearance so readily dismissed or misunderstood? Here Summers is less thorough and direct, although to be fair, that kind of analysis is not his main purpose. Still, more development of the cultural aspect of matters would have made a very good book even better.

JOEL H. SILBEY
Cornell University

GREGG CANTRELL. *Kenneth and John B. Rayner and the Limits of Southern Dissent*. (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 361. \$47.50.

This well-crafted dual biography examines the lives of Kenneth Rayner, a notable North Carolina Whig, and his mulatto son, John B. Rayner, a leading Texas Populist. Gregg Cantrell depicts both father and son as dissenters who tried but failed to liberate southern politics from the grip of North-South and black-white polarization.

Kenneth Rayner (1808–84) burst onto the national stage just as the Whig Party took shape. He gained prominence during his six years in Congress between 1839 and 1845, even winning John Quincy Adams's grudging admiration for his speaking abilities. Rayner opposed Texas annexation and warned that sectional agitation might lead to civil war.

Rayner never regained the political stature he enjoyed during the 1840s. Increasingly disaffected from the Whigs, he seized on the American Party as a promising vehicle to purify national politics and arrest North-South rancor. In 1856 he attempted to arrange a fusion between Americans and Republicans, prompted by a far-from-unreasonable calculation that the American candidate, former President Millard Fillmore, would likely emerge the winner if the House decided the presidential election. North Carolina Democrats predictably denounced Rayner as a traitor to the South.

Political prominence enabled Rayner, whose own background was among the plain folk, to marry into an elite family. His wife, Susan Polk, was a younger sister of the future Confederate general, Leonidas Polk. Rayner used the Polk family's wealth to acquire an Arkansas plantation that yielded spectacular cotton crops for its absentee landlord. By 1860 he owned at least 200 slaves. One of them was his illegitimate son.

John B. Rayner (1850–1918), who was raised in Kenneth Rayner's household, inherited his famous father's talent and ambition. After achieving local office during Reconstruction, he migrated to Texas, where he enjoyed his own moment in the political sun. A skilled organizer and spellbinding orator, he campaigned tirelessly across East Texas for the Populist ticket during the tumultuous campaigns of 1894 and 1896. Rayner and his allies reached out both to white Democrats and black Republicans. They were thwarted by the pseudo-Populist selection of William Jennings Bryan as the Democratic standard-bearer in 1896, as well as by Democratic fraud, intimidation, and violence.

Both Rayners became erratic mavericks in their declining years. Kenneth Rayner, in 1861 and 1862 an enthusiastic supporter of the southern war effort, secretly schemed in 1863 and 1864 to withdraw North Carolina from the Confederacy. When the war ended he first ingratiated himself with Andrew John-

son—going so far as to write a laudatory biography of Abraham Lincoln's successor—but by the 1870s he was an avowed Republican who shamelessly sought and received federal patronage jobs.

John Rayner, the erstwhile Populist, became an outspoken accommodationist. Although still privately critical of the way whites mistreated blacks, Rayner publicly endorsed the poll tax and even made flattering comments about the racist novelist Thomas Dixon. A supporter of the Prohibition Party during the 1880s, Rayner campaigned for the Texas Brewers Association between 1905 and 1912.

Cantrell contends that the two Rayners were ideologically consistent and ideologically similar. He suggests that both shared a Madisonian outlook, one that feared corrupting power, deprecated southern sectionalism, and opposed racially based tests of citizens' rights. Although Cantrell's search for ideological consistency and affinity is not entirely persuasive, he vividly demonstrates the obstacles confronting those who challenged the southern based Democratic Party.

Cantrell brings a judicious sensitivity to his complex task. He refuses to depict his subjects in a heroic mold. No comparable study of a white father and a black son has ever before appeared. Shame on the publisher for pricing the book so outrageously as to diminish its circulation and impact.

DANIEL W. CROFTS
Trenton State College

ROBERT WOOSTER. *Nelson A. Miles and the Twilight of the Frontier Army*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 391. \$35.00.

Robert Wooster has written what surely will be the definitive biography of Nelson A. Miles, an important and controversial figure in the army of the late nineteenth century. Born in 1839 in western Massachusetts, Miles worked as a store clerk before obtaining a lieutenant's commission in the Union volunteers at the start of the Civil War. Aggressive to an extreme, he fought in most of the major battles of the eastern theater, suffered several wounds, and finished the war as a twenty-six-year-old brevet major general. As commander of Fort Monroe, Virginia, in 1865–66, Miles supervised the imprisonment of Jefferson Davis, and his decision to keep the former Confederate leader in close confinement embroiled him in a bitter controversy with Davis and his sympathizers. Forced to accept a demotion to colonel in the postwar reduction of the army, Miles directed reconstruction in North Carolina, then embarked on a western military career that included some of the most dramatic events of the closing stages of the Indian wars: the subjugation of the Sioux in the aftermath of George Custer's defeat; the capture of Chief Joseph's band of Nez Percés after its anabasis of 1877; the surrender of Geronimo; and the suppression of the Ghost Dance uprising in 1890. Miles

earned a reputation as a tenacious, relentless campaigner, but in common with many regular commanders he also demonstrated a streak of sympathy for the Native Americans after they had ceased to be a threat. He frequently lobbied for a more humane and honest Indian policy, under unified army control of course. A nativist and social conservative, Miles commanded with considerable enthusiasm the regular troops deployed to Chicago during the Pullman strike of 1894.

If Miles was a competent professional in his service in the field, he was also a consummate bureaucratic politician who quarreled incessantly over rank and reputation with his comrades in arms, his military superiors, and a succession of administrations. After his marriage to the niece of General William T. Sherman, Miles hounded the Civil War hero for support in his perennial intrigues for promotion, driving Sherman to distraction. Miles moved gradually up the command ladder and reached the long-coveted rank of commanding general of the army in 1895, at a time of rapid change in the world's armies. He did not grasp fully, however, the necessity of modernizing the American military establishment.

His failure to provide administrative initiative and direction during the Spanish-American War prompted President William McKinley to bypass him in the mobilization effort, although Miles did perform with characteristic energy as field commander of the Puerto Rico expedition. After the war, he unsuccessfully fought the drive by President Theodore Roosevelt and Secretary of War Elihu Root to replace the office of commanding general with a general staff, modeled on the German Army and intended to increase coordination and planning in the army's command structure. Retired in 1903, Miles dabbled in election politics—as both a Democrat and a Republican—and in 1913 he consulted on an epic film on the Indian wars produced by Buffalo Bill Cody. (True to character, he clashed with Cody over the film and disowned the project when his advice was not followed precisely.)

Wooster bases his study on exhaustive research in the personal papers of Miles and his contemporaries, official army records, and Miles's extensive publications on professional and political questions. In Wooster's opinion, Miles was an extreme representative of a generation of officers who rose to high rank in the Civil War, only to find their careers stalled in the small Indian-fighting army of the late nineteenth century. Thus, they manifested their frustrations in quarreling over promotion and in competition for honors and special assignments. Miles's lack of formal education and his extraordinarily stubborn and belligerent nature rendered him especially ill-suited to hold the army's highest rank at a time of major military transition. Clearly written and judicious in its analysis, Wooster's biography sheds considerable light on Miles's career, as well as on the internal world of the "old army" and the values and perceptions of

the professional officer corps in the second half of the nineteenth century.

WILLIAM B. SKELTON
University of Wisconsin,
Stevens Point

MARILYNN WOOD HILL. *Their Sisters' Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830–1870*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 434. \$30.00.

Marilynn Wood Hill lays to rest many disputes characterizing the history of prostitution in the United States. She argues that prostitution was more a positive than a negative occupation, providing opportunities and rewards for a varied group of individuals who chose it for the economic opportunity and release from gender constraints and social convention that it offered.

Hill maintains that the mid-nineteenth century provided a "window of opportunity" during which prostitution grew and redefined its place in the geography, economy, and social fabric of the city. Hill agrees with Timothy J. Gilfoyle (*City of Eros* [1992]) that prostitution marked public life in the metropolis but argues that, more importantly, it was widely integrated into its local neighborhoods. Acknowledging the dangerous side of the occupation, she believes, with Paula Petrik (*No Step Backward* [1987]), that women controlled the terms of their exploitation during this entrepreneurial period, establishing significant autonomy as workers and managers, and they profited by it. She distinguishes between prostitution's male-owned secondary institutions (dance halls, saloons, and theaters) and the primary ones (boarding houses and brothels) run by women. She disagrees with Gilfoyle's view that pimps moved into the field early and that market forces changed working conditions, arguing that prostitutes remained task oriented with an emphasis on customer comfort and relations. Like Ruth Rosen (*Lost Sisterhood* [1982]) and Marion S. Goldman (*Gold Diggers and Silver Miners* [1981]), Hill emphasizes prostitution as a rational choice for women in a sex-stratified labor market characterized by limited occupational opportunity and terrible working conditions. Like Gilfoyle and Anne M. Butler (*Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery* [1985]), Hill views prostitutes as assertive citizens who developed working relationships with legal officers, living within the law and using it to advantage. Hill believes that the exploitation of prostitutes by law enforcement officers or municipal employees fell disproportionately on streetwalkers, who periodically symbolized social concern about disorderliness and promiscuity more than commercial sex. With Rosen, she finds prostitutes more supportive of one another than Butler's competitive picture, sharing living quarters and leisure time activities, exchanging gifts and favors, corresponding, visiting, protecting, and nurs-

ing one another. Prostitutes relied on kinship for job placement and protection in the refuges and jails to which they periodically repaired. Hill does not argue that prostitution empowered women, but rather that individuals reacted to specific circumstances so as to maximize their economic opportunities and social independence, while crafting a life and nurturing a supportive work culture.

Hill insists that sexual commerce be understood within the social and economic arrangements of society, particularly as these relate to woman's place and the construction of gender. She views marriage and prostitution as complementary and linked social forms. If Goldman has discussed the ways in which prostitution strengthened nineteenth-century marriage—providing social support for premarital chastity, assuming the sexual function of wives so as to limit childbirth, deterring wives' sexual or social nonconformity, and elevating the economic, emotional, childbearing, and housekeeping obligations of spouses above their sexual service—Hill suggests that the limitations of marriage reinforced prostitution, for prostitutes received more assistance from the state than abused wives. Prostitution could offer a better legal and economic situation, with more social freedom and greater possibility of protection than could marriage.

Hill's book is based on close analysis of numerous sources: reform organization and refuge papers, social-science investigations, police and court documents, tax and property records, census data, newspapers, and brothel directories. Most arresting is the two-year correspondence of Helen Jewett: eighty-eight letters to and from clients, friends, and co-workers. Like the Maimie Pinzer papers of a later period, these documents offer the authentic voice of a working woman. Although occasionally repetitive, Hill's book draws the baseline for the field and must be read.

LEE CHAMBERS-SCHILLER
University of Colorado,
Boulder

LINDA W. ROSENZWEIG. *The Anchor of My Life: Middle-Class American Mothers and Daughters, 1880–1920*. (The History of Emotions Series.) New York: New York University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 293. \$35.00.

Although mother-daughter relationships are frequently discussed and analyzed by contemporary feminists and theorists, historians have offered surprisingly little systematic analysis of this relationship. Relying on women's words in letters, diaries, fiction, prescriptive literature, and other sources, Linda W. Rosenzweig explores the nuanced inner landscape of middle-class American Victorian mothers and their "new women" daughters between the years 1880 and 1920.

Fiction and prescriptive literature exposed high levels of cultural anxiety about the threat that the

education, autonomy, and work of the new woman represented to nineteenth-century ideals of womanhood and traditional harmonious mother-daughter relationships. The cultural discourse warned of the hazards of hostility and conflict between the generations and placed primary responsibility on mothers to negotiate the relationships with their daughters in the dynamic social context of the turn of century.

Following an exploration of literary sources, Rosenzweig's analysis shifts to the actual relationships between mothers and daughters at the various stages of the life cycle as they appear in letters, diaries, journals, and autobiographies. Tension related to largely trivial matters like dress and personal habits was common between adolescent girls and their mothers, but overall interactions were confidential and intimate. Even as young women pursued nontraditional goals of college education and careers, harmonious relationships prevailed. In fact, Rosenzweig argues that middle-class mothers often played an empowering role, standing firmly behind their daughters as they embraced new experiences and opportunities.

In one chapter Rosenzweig ventures into comparative history by examining the relationship of English mothers and daughters. Here she finds evidence of American exceptionalism. English mothers and daughters experienced far more conflicted relationships than their American counterparts. Rather than mentoring and supporting their daughters, English women appeared instead to have done the opposite by discouraging and inhibiting their daughters' intellectual and professional aspirations. The highly rigid and ritualized English middle-class culture created, as one discontent daughter described it, a "great fortress of unreality and pretense" (p. 164).

Rosenzweig concludes by speculating on the much-touted "unprecedented female generation gap" of the post-1920 period. Despite a cultural legacy of matrophobia and mother-blaming that even extended itself into feminist analysis in the latter half of the twentieth century, mother-daughter relationships continue to be characterized by connection and affection. Relationships are less intense than in the nineteenth century, but women still provide strong support for their daughters' aspirations. Nonetheless, from the 1880s to the present the literary and prescriptive discourse stressed tension and hostility. Such reports of deep alienation are much exaggerated in Rosenzweig's view.

Rosenzweig's study is engagingly written and abounds in nuanced insights into the complexities of mother-daughter relationships. Solidly grounded in the historical documents and well-informed by contemporary research and theory, the book is a valuable addition to our knowledge of women's history and family history. Regrettably, Rosenzweig exclusively focuses on an American-born middle-class. We learn nothing of how mothers and daughters from other ethnic or class backgrounds articulated their relation-

ships differently. The brief perusal of English middle-class women suggests ethnicity could make a dramatic difference. The questions raised and the methods applied in this fine study nevertheless suggest a research agenda for the future.

JANE M. PEDERSON
University of Wisconsin,
Eau Claire

MARTHA BANTA. *Taylored Lives: Narrative Productions in the Age of Taylor, Veblen, and Ford*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 431. \$34.95.

Collage is the order of the day in contemporary American studies. Juxtapositions are in, argument out. In a disjointed age, how else should the mind work but in fragments? Lest anyone think the technique is simple, Martha Banta's book is an important corrective. This ambitious inquiry into writing in the machine age draws on an extraordinarily catholic reading of texts both in and far beyond the traditional canon. Pattern book sleeves are juxtaposed with Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* (1925), Spanish-American War reporting with Henry James's *The Wings of the Dove* (1902), the Sears Catalogue with Charlotte Perkins Gilman's writings, Frederick Winslow Taylor's management tales with William Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha saga.

The aim of Banta's quest is the remaking of narrative under the impact of mass production and scientific management. A pair of particularly rewarding opening chapters juxtaposes the "barbaric" and the "scientific" voice in turn-of-the-century war journalism and romance. Another pair of chapters worries through the absence of authentic women's voices, even when women wrote about women workers in the early twentieth century. A marvelous section unpacks the rhetoric by which builders' downsizing of the single-family house in the 1920s and 1930s was alchemized into a triumph for efficiency. A concluding chapter on "ways out" of the culture of the "one best way" sets narratives of straightforward resistance against Faulkner's narratives of ambiguity and complicity. Acute textual readings sparkle through Banta's book. But historians will find the whole much more difficult to locate than the parts.

An element of the difficulty lies in knowing precisely what Banta's subject is. In her acclaimed *Imagining American Women* (1987), Banta's disjunctive narrative voice never strayed far from the gravitational field of her extraordinary collection of photographic images. In this volume, however, the center is much less clear. System was not born with Taylor; the rhetoric of the one best way was older than the assembly line and had sources as deep in Benjamin Franklin and Jane Austen as it did in Henry Ford or Walter Hines Page's journal *The World's Work*. Banta plays with critical skill on the problem of centers. When Richard Harding Davis's San Juan Hill soldier,

struggling to the top of the crest, can only say, "Well, hell, here we are!", she knows its extraordinary ambiguity. But for more than one reader, knowing precisely where one is in theme or time in Banta's narrative will be as difficult to place.

If the method of juxtapositions marginalizes time and sequence, it works even more deleterious effects on argument. Texts shape the narrative flow; like a visitor to a museum gallery, one stops before each framed text for a "reading." The better the museum and the guide, the more unexpected the sequence of hangings and the more brilliant the explications. But an argument holding the tour together is far harder to find.

Postmodernist literary theory is not Banta's cause. She imagined her book as an antidote to the theory-making rage in contemporary literary studies: a dissent from the method of the one best way. Like Faulkner, she seeks to describe the culture of management not from some Archimedean critical point outside it, but from within, rummaging through its complexities, its multiformity, and its ambiguities. But to many historians her project, though undertaken with great intelligence, will appear to have resisted itself, to have fallen with too little reflection into the juxtapositional method that theory has made canonical in the newest American studies.

DANIEL T. RODGERS
Princeton University

VICTORIA C. HATTAM. *Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 266. \$35.00.

This ambitious, complex, and frustrating book addresses a perennial question: why did the American labor movement come to downplay political action? Political scientist Victoria C. Hattam offers an answer grounded in two themes. The first traces the nineteenth-century competition between two "visions" of working-class identity and interest armed with distinct "narratives" of industrialization. In one camp stood proponents of a "producer's alliance," who saw the population polarized between a productive majority (including "skilled artisans . . . , master craftsmen, small manufacturers, and farmers") and "the non-producing classes" (quintessentially "bankers, lawyers, merchants, and land speculators" [p. 93]). Subscribers to the producer vision resisted large-scale capitalist development, principally through enactment of diverse "antimonopoly" laws. The other camp embraced those who accepted "increased economic concentration as a fact of life." To protect their workplace interests, they opted "to break with their producer allies and to organize as a distinct wage-earning class" (p. 132). By the 1890s, the "wage-

earner" vision, expounded by leaders of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), had triumphed.

Hattam's second theme concerns the way in which "the distinctive institutional structure of the American state" (p. ix)—namely, the unusual power and independence of its judiciary—repeatedly nullified trade-unionist efforts to affect government policy. Judges ignored labor-influenced legislators with impunity and used common-law conspiracy doctrine to repress unions and their policies. Finally, says Hattam, frustrated AFL leaders responded by "largely . . . avoiding the state and negotiating and protesting directly with their employers" (p. 206). Here, the author believes, was the genesis and essence of AFL "business unionism" and "voluntarism." She offers the British experience for contrast.

Although much of Hattam's discussion of alternative labor outlooks is familiar, the point is worthy and stimulating and deserves reemphasis and elaboration. Also provocative (and more novel) is the suggestion that judicial vetoing of legislative gains encouraged anti-elderly strategies. Many of the book's difficulties spring from its author's persistent overstatement of her specific findings, the larger trends she explores, and the relative analytical value of both. Thus, Hattam vigorously counterposes the state-centered half of her thesis to attempts to root the character and policies of American labor in the nation's economic and social development. No, Hattam holds, it was not these things but rather "the role of the state in shaping working-class formation" that was ultimately "decisive" (pp. 11, 208). This categorical counterposition, however, rests on an investigation of the state's relationship to the larger society that is far too thin to sustain it. Manifestly, moreover, intransigent hostility—whether judicial, executive, or legislative in origin—may either discourage or galvanize labor action, economic or political; the specific outcome depends on other factors, such as the relative condition, composition, and cohesion of the antagonists. Furthermore, even if judicial obstructionism could explain a nonelectoral orientation, it could not alone account for the circumscribed agenda or the defensive (as opposed, hypothetically, to anarcho-syndicalist) stance that the AFL adopted toward a recalcitrant, court-dominated state.

Such considerations point back toward the workers and their organizations. Here, however, Hattam's faith in the explanatory (self-)sufficiency of visions and narratives apparently leaves her undisposed to peer very far below the plane of perception and rhetoric. It also lures her away from the historical record. She contends, for example, that for producer-minded antebellum labor, "the high priority given to antimonopoly legislation . . . went hand in hand with the acceptance of conspiracy [law] as a reciprocal restraint on their own collective action" (pp. 20, 105). This statement can be reconciled neither with the ways that the unions justified their existence nor with the massive protest triggered by the conspiracy con-

viction of journeymen tailors in New York in 1836. Even more startling is the suggestion that "the division between the producing and nonproducing classes was reflected quite directly in antebellum electoral politics, with the producers supporting the Jacksonian Democrats and the nonproducers supporting the Whigs." Hattam further supposes that "the very poorest citizens, such as day laborers and the unemployed, [who] generally were excluded from the producers ranks," also voted for Whigs (pp. 109, 212). But, as is well known, Whigs often won substantial support from skilled workers and commercial farmers, while the urban unskilled and impoverished tended to back Democrats.

This book's interesting thematic and empirical core would have been well served by less-global claims made in its behalf.

BRUCE LEVINE

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MARK PITTENGER. *American Socialists and Evolutionary Thought: 1870–1920*. (History of American Thought and Culture.) Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1993. Pp. x, 310. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

In their quest for a "scientific" social theory, American socialists from the 1870s onward turned for guidance not only to Charles Darwin but also to Herbert Spencer and a host of continental social evolutionists. As a polemical device, evolutionism shaped caricatures of "social Darwinists" who allegedly misused biological theory to defend a rapacious social order. More importantly, as Mark Pittenger argues in this first comprehensive account of socialist evolutionism, evolutionary theory provided a liberating, "social-organicist alternative" (p. 7) to individualism. But the evolutionary framework was also limiting in that it sustained the sexism, racism, nativism, and statism that subverted a potentially revolutionary egalitarianism.

The first generation of socialist intellectuals to embrace evolutionism were a disparate group of academics (Richard Ely, John Bates Clark), independent radicals (Laurence Gronlund, Edmond Kelly), utopians (Edward Bellamy), and outsiders (Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Abraham Cahan, Daniel DeLeon). Suspicious of Marx's atheism and repulsed by the grim determinism of neo-Darwinism, this generation typically combined Spencer's optimism with Christian theology. From the turn of the century, a second generation dominated socialist discourse, led by Algie M. Simons, Ernest Untermann, Arthur M. Lewis, and Robert Lamonte. More explicitly Marxist, they fused neo-Darwinism and mutation theory with socialism. After 1908, socialist evolutionism lost its dynamism, shifting from efforts to fashion a systematic theory of change to partisan wrangling. In response, a younger group of intellectuals (Max Eastman, Floyd Dell, Louis Fraina) launched a "common assault" on social-

ist evolutionism. Their undertaking, Pittenger contends (contra John P. Diggins and others), deserves better than such dismissive labels as "lyrical left."

For a book about socialism, however, this one is refreshingly devoid of heroes. Gronlund was "a Marx in sheep's clothing." By the 1890s the evolutionism of his generation "had long been outpaced and [was] finally undone" (p. 88). By 1912, despite electoral successes, the second generation was also intellectually bankrupt. A catalogue of socialist attitudes toward "outsiders" provides a dreary record of racism and sexism. One potential exception was William E. Walling, who challenged racism and ultimately the evolutionist paradigm. But Walling's mixture of pragmatism and socialism was a "confused solution" (p. 243) that led him to support Woodrow Wilson's war policy and to a career as publicist for the American Federation of Labor.

Although many elements of this account are familiar, Pittenger argues that evolutionist "discourse" provides an explanation of the failure of turn-of-the-century American socialism that goes deeper than conventional accounts of external pressures or tactical mistakes. But a curious ambiguity lies at the heart of his own analysis. On the one hand, he appears to believe that a radically equalitarian socialism, cleansed of racism, sexism, and nativism, might have succeeded, or at least remained a desirable possibility. But his relentless focus on "discourse" (defined as "sets of shared questions" and "linguistic structures" [p. 8]) places prewar socialists in a linguistic prison from which escape is difficult if not impossible. Did the devil, or the "discourse," make them do it? At times, he appears to believe so. Socialist arguments were "fundamentally shaped and limited" by the "terms of that [evolutionist] synthesis" (p. 8). The linguistic resources they appropriated seemed to them "necessary and unavoidable" (p. 150). But elsewhere he acknowledges that evolutionism was only one of several influences; even that socialists ignored "radical" voices within science (Robert Lowie, Jacques Loeb, Elsie Clews Parsons). And he does not demonstrate convincingly how shared questions dictated racist or sexist answers. If a Walling could almost transcend the limits of evolutionism, why not others?

Pittenger's study is nonetheless an interesting and challenging book. Extending more than a decade of Darwinist revisionism, it complements Carl Degler's *In Search of Human Nature* (1991), which appeared after Pittenger's manuscript was complete. Although critical of pre-World War I American socialist intellectuals, Pittenger pays them the ultimate compliment of taking their ideas seriously.

ROBERT C. BANNISTER
Swarthmore College

NEIL LARRY SHUMSKY. *The Evolution of Political Protest and the Workingmen's Party of California*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 269. \$45.00.

For the most part discounting previous interpretations of the saga of the Workingmen's Party of California (WPC), Neil Larry Shumsky seeks to provide a more sophisticated theoretical analysis of one of the most dramatic episodes of riot and political dissent in the Gilded Age. Relying heavily on the work of such European historians as Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudé, Shumsky argues that the change in the mode of protest from the July riots of 1877 to the founding of the WPC a few months later represented a shift from preindustrial "crowd" forms of political action to a modern form of institutionalized political protest.

Shumsky insists that the mob that ruled the streets during the July Days was the core of the support for the WPC. Many of them were Europeans, with the Irish making up a large component. Unaccustomed to the ballot, and embittered and disappointed by both the perception and reality of deteriorating economic conditions, workingmen resorted to riot. Discontent was fueled by the fact that many had arrived in California with high expectations only to find their hopes of upward mobility thwarted while men like Charles Crocker and Mark Hopkins flaunted their wealth on Nob Hill.

According to Shumsky, several factors led to the sudden conversion from rioting to balloting. Most importantly, the authorities were no longer prepared to tolerate premodern forms of protest. In addition, Shumsky attaches great importance to the role of WPC leader Denis Kearney. An Irish immigrant, Kearney was a talented demagogue whose rhetorical mix of republican ideas and threats of violence offered workingmen an explanation and solution to their problems. Kearney's threats of violence, however, were conditional. With the ratification of California's second constitution in 1879, argues Shumsky, Kearney and his followers believed their conditions had been met: new restrictions on the employment of Chinese workers; an obligation on the legislature to control railroads, utilities, and corporations; and severe criminal penalties for political corruption. This leads Shumsky to a very original explanation for the sudden demise of the WPC: quite simply it had fulfilled its mission.

The depth of Shumsky's qualitative and quantitative research is impressive, and this in itself makes the book valuable. The weakness of the book is the author's determination to make his empirical evidence fit his theoretical constructs when it will not always do so. It is not clear that the supporters of the WPC were the July rioters, and some contradictory evidence is presented. Whoever supported the WPC, it is facile to suggest that they were "pre-political" and that the WPC's constituency experienced an almost overnight conversion to institutional politics. Shumsky overlooks the fact that the WPC had ideological antecedents that went back to the early 1870s at least and has nothing to say about the significance of the party's presence in forty other California counties.

Although he painstakingly identifies eight other workingmen's/labor parties that emerged briefly after the July Days, Shumsky ignores the issues that later split the WPC on such crucial issues as the ratification of the constitution.

Notwithstanding these shortcomings, this is an important book. Shumsky's data on the economic transformation of San Francisco and California and its effect on the labor force is invaluable, as is his description of life in working-class neighborhoods south of Market Street. His analysis of the contradictory ideology of the WPC is at times brilliant (especially chap. 12) and his argument that the WPC was an important social and cultural institution in San Francisco in the late 1870s is interesting, even compelling.

DANIEL CORNFORD
San Jose State University

SALLY M. MILLER. *From Prairie to Prison: The Life of Social Activist Kate Richards O'Hare*. (Missouri Biography Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 261. \$29.95.

Most scholars remember Kate Richards O'Hare (1876–1948) as a powerful orator for the American socialist movement; only Eugene Debs and Mother Jones could draw as big a crowd. Some will also recall O'Hare's fame as a political prisoner sentenced to five years in jail in 1919 under the Espionage Act for public denunciation of U.S. participation in World War I. Sally M. Miller's carefully researched biography gives new detail on many facets of O'Hare's youth and old age while also describing her widely influential career as an educator, journalist, speaker, and agitator in the American socialist movement. Although O'Hare's private archives were destroyed by her estranged husband, Miller has followed O'Hare's paper trail through dozens of collections to produce a rich history of O'Hare's public life.

Miller stresses that historians have erroneously associated "Red Kate" with the leftist faction among American socialists. O'Hare was instead a consistent reformist. Unlike many socialists, she gladly worked with suffragists, American Federation of Labor groups, clubwomen, and other liberals or progressives to achieve immediate reforms to help the workers. O'Hare distrusted the Wobblies and favored the gradualist path to the electoral triumph of democratic socialism. But O'Hare was not usually seen as a reformist even among her contemporaries. Her ideological stance was misunderstood partly because she had a close personal relationship with Eugene Debs and partly because the eastern establishment of socialist leaders led by Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit scorned her not only as a mere woman but also as a country bumpkin.

Yet O'Hare compiled an impressive public record. Her midwestern and western rank-and-file support-

ers elected her in 1912 to the National Executive Committee and in 1914 as the first woman to represent the Socialist Party of America abroad. Her years of speaking and writing educated and inspired the tens of thousands who struggled for social justice and better working conditions. Meanwhile, O'Hare grappled with all the problems of being activist, wife, and mother. Miller also reveals how O'Hare's remarkable social and political vision was marred by more traditional notions of gender and race.

One great strength of this book is Miller's analysis of O'Hare's prison experience, set within a wider description of penal conditions in the country and of O'Hare's considerable effort in furthering national prison reform. The portrayal of O'Hare's last years is also notable for its discussion of her work with Upton Sinclair's End Poverty in California movement. But the greatest power of this study lies in its re-creation of that period from the 1880s to World War I when the socialist movement flourished in large areas of the Midwest and West. Although the amount of detail is sometimes wearing to the reader, the camp meetings, workers' colleges, and socialist newspaper offices come alive in this study, restoring that moment when democratic socialism with all its promise really mattered in this country.

DEE GARRISON
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JANE M. FRIEDMAN. *America's First Woman Lawyer: The Biography of Myra Bradwell*. Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus. 1993. Pp. 217. \$22.95.

In the past, scholars interested in the history of women in male-dominated professions focused primarily on women doctors. Jane M. Friedman's biography of Myra Bradwell contributes to a new and growing interest in the history of women in the legal profession. Friedman tells the story of this pioneer woman lawyer who overcame the obstacles of nineteenth-century sexual discrimination to forge a remarkable career. In 1869, Bradwell brought the case of women lawyers before the U.S. Supreme Court. Having been denied a license to practice law by the Illinois Supreme Court because she was a woman, Bradwell hoped to win for all women in the United States the right to practice law. Although she lost in the Supreme Court in 1873, the agitation her case provoked led to important reforms, and several states, including Illinois, passed legislation allowing women to practice law.

Rather than practicing law, Bradwell devoted her professional life to the newspaper she founded and ran, the *Chicago Legal News*. Under Bradwell's guidance, the paper tackled a broad range of legal issues and became one of the most important legal publications in the country. Moreover, as Friedman demonstrates, Bradwell used her paper as a vehicle to

promote her particular interest, the cause of women's legal rights, especially married women's property rights and suffrage. In this way, Bradwell played a central role in the women's movement of the day. Friedman has uncovered some interesting letters from Susan B. Anthony to Bradwell that help to place Bradwell at the center of the nineteenth-century women's rights movement and that reveal the strained relationship between these two influential women.

Unfortunately, Friedman does not get beyond a celebration of Bradwell's life and accomplishments. Yet it is important that the reader understand that Bradwell was part of a pioneer generation of women lawyers whose numbers had reached 200 by 1900. The history of this pioneer generation of women lawyers is far more complex than Friedman's celebratory approach suggests. In part, it is the story of their encounters with and struggles to overcome sexual barriers in the legal profession. It is also the story of sisterhood and community among a small but growing group of professional women. Some even attempted to formalize this community by organizing a correspondence club of women lawyers called the Equity Club. Some of the leading women lawyers of the day, such as Belva Lockwood, joined the Equity Club, while others, including Bradwell, did not.

Above all, the history of this pioneer generation of women lawyers is the story of their attempt to balance their traditional gender roles with their new professional identity as lawyers. This tension between their femininity and their professional identity was all-encompassing. It influenced their decisions about the type of legal practice they would pursue: whether they would restrict themselves to office practice or venture forth into the courtroom. It shaped decisions about their personal lives, forcing them to think hard about marriage and how they would balance their professional responsibilities with the obligations of wife and mother. It even intruded into the simplest of daily decisions, forcing a debate over the proper dress code for the lady who was also a lawyer.

Ultimately, this tension between femininity and professional identity touched the life of every nineteenth-century woman lawyer, including Bradwell. Although Friedman places Bradwell on a pedestal and lauds her contributions, readers will only appreciate Bradwell's accomplishments when they understand her life within the context of a broader, more complex, and more interpretive history of nineteenth-century women lawyers.

VIRGINIA G. DRACHMAN
Tufts University

CHARLES L. ZELDEN. *Justice Lies in the District: The U.S. District Court, Southern District of Texas, 1902-1960*. (The Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, number 46.) Col-

lege Station: Texas A&M University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 312. \$49.50.

With few exceptions, historians have paid scant attention to the lower federal courts. Although the district courts handle nearly 300,000 cases annually, our knowledge of federal justice in the United States has been derived largely from the hundred or so written opinions issued by the U.S. Supreme Court every year. Even scholars who study the lower courts tend to focus on public law issues, such as civil rights, that have dominated the Supreme Court's docket in the twentieth century. According to Charles L. Zelden, however, district court judges attended primarily to private law concerns for most of this century. In his masterful study of the Southern District of Texas, Zelden argues that the seven judges who sat on the court between 1902 and 1960 "consistently applied a private agenda in setting their priorities and making their judicial decisions. Their goal was the promotion of Southeast Texas' economic, social, and political development through private means" (p. 11).

In 1902, Congress created the Southern District of Texas in response to the growing demand for access to the federal courts from new Texas businesses. The district encompassed the state's Gulf Coast region, including the rapidly growing city of Houston. Almost immediately the court established its role as "fostering the growth and development of Southeast Texas" (p. 41). Even as the passage of federal criminal statutes and the emergence of a modern welfare state gave the federal judiciary a greater role in guiding public policy, the Southern District continued to focus on private business disputes, relying on guilty pleas and out-of-court settlements to handle its public law docket. Not until the 1960s, as claims involving civil and political rights grew too numerous to ignore, did a public agenda become the court's chief priority.

Zelden ably details the circumstances that enabled the court to pursue local economic development as its goal. First, every judge who served in the district shared a belief, shaped by their experience practicing corporate law, that business could act in the public interest without extensive government regulation. Second, the court operated in a political and legal culture dominated by a belief in the sanctity of private property. Finally, the judges maintained extensive control over their dockets and shrewdly exercised their discretionary powers, especially their authority to fashion equitable remedies and to define legal relations through declaratory judgments, to foster growth and stability.

Zelden is less convincing when explaining the decline of private business litigation after World War II. He concludes that the court "worked itself out of a job" (p. 175) by creating an economic environment so stable that businesses no longer needed its services. Yet this suggests too facilely a symbiotic relation between business and the court. Certainly external

influences played a significant role as well. How, for instance, did *Erie Railroad Co. v. Tompkins* (1938), which required federal courts to apply state commercial law, affect the Southern District's economic policy? Did the promulgation of uniform federal rules of civil procedure impinge on the court's discretionary power? Did state courts begin to provide a more hospitable forum to commercial interests? Or did changing business practices, such as a new emphasis on negotiation rather than litigation, contribute to the decline of the private docket?

Given the paucity of comparable treatments of other jurisdictions, however, these are minor quibbles. Zelden has quite simply produced the finest history of a lower federal court yet published. His meticulous research in court records, public documents, manuscript collections, and reported cases, as well as his skillful blending of legal history, institutional history, and judicial biography, should serve as a model for other scholars who wish to examine the history of federal justice in the United States.

ERIC W. RISE
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JAMES OLIVER HORTON. *Free People of Color: Inside the African American Community*. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution. 1993. Pp. ix, 238. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$15.95.

James Oliver Horton, who is best known for his book (in collaboration with Lois Horton) *Black Bostonians* (1979), has also been active in other endeavors during the past decade and a half. Among other things, he has published a number of shorter pieces addressing different aspects of the northern free black experience; and rather more than half of the nine essays in this study were previously published in the 1980s. Normally I am less than enthusiastic about volumes that include such large components of works already available; but the key word is "available." Horton's papers have appeared as book chapters or in anniversary publications, or in journals with more limited circulations. Thus, this book rescues these fugitive essays and increases their availability as well as presents them in context with the new writings. The context makes no great contribution, for the items are all free-standing pieces.

Horton begins this book with a useful historiographical essay. The nine following chapters are divided into three sections emphasizing (roughly) the free black sense of community, diversity, and relation with immigrants. The orientation of these papers is predominantly urban; two deal with Boston, one each with Buffalo and Washington; and one with Boston, Buffalo, and Cincinnati. As the book title suggests, these chapters mostly explore the antebellum black experience; the sole exception is the previously published (in collaboration with Lois Horton) examina-

tion of black literacy and occupational patterns in Reconstruction Washington.

Three of the four papers new to this collection are not (as Horton's work more generally is) tied to specific locations. There is a discussion of the black connection to the underground railway; an exploration of "Violence, Protest, and Identity: Black Manhood in Antebellum America"; and a chapter discussing W. E. B. Du Bois's "twoness." These are more abstract and, in some measure, ambivalent than most of Horton's work.

The first of these essays emphasizes black family connections stretching across sectional lines and (quite correctly, in my opinion) the persistent opposition of northern blacks to southern slavery. Horton does not really give much attention to the "underground railway," however, apparently agreeing with Larry Gara's conclusion that, as an organization, its existence is not demonstrable.

The second essay, also prepared in collaboration with Lois Horton, is a psycho-sociological explication of nineteenth-century views of masculinity coupled with observations on the antithetical perceptions of black violence (barbarous or manly) and followed by a short account of African-American calls for the use of violence to end slavery. The brief mention of the exclusion of women from these concerns at the end of this essay serves as a lead-in to the following chapter (previously published) on "Gender Conventions among Free Blacks."

The essay on "twoness" is perhaps the least satisfactory in this volume, but not because of any lack of effort or honesty (Horton, while exploring African survivals, acknowledges that by the nineteenth century no one was trying to preserve an African culture in the United States and that free blacks were earnestly rejecting any hint of an African connection). Rather, the difficulties doubtless flow from the slipperiness of the topic. A reference to Du Bois's statement is followed by very brief examinations of the different and never intertwining themes of African-American contributions to the Revolutionary War, black sense of community, emancipation, the persistence of African cultural elements, the response of the free Negroes to the American Colonization Society, the Negro Convention movement, and Reconstruction. The lack of cohesion probably contributes to some minor un-Horton-like flaws in presentation (the reference to "boll weevil blight" and its thematic association with "weevils in the wheat [p. 152]) and documentation (the absence of any sources for some factual assertions and the lack of page references for others). The documentary weakness shows up occasionally elsewhere, but it is most obvious in this chapter.

The last of the previously unpublished essays (chap. 8) is a comparison by Horton and Hartmut Keil of black and German populations (with some observations on the Irish) in Buffalo. It appears to rest primarily on the New York State census of 1855.

This is a potentially rich area for study, but the result is weakened by compressing it into fourteen pages, which hardly allows for detailed examination of the materials. A full explanation of the methodology would also be helpful.

This is a useful volume. It explores a variety of issues of importance in our continuing search to understand fully antebellum black life. If the essays are more frequently challenging and exploratory than definitive, that is the nature of the genre—and, in the long view, perhaps their greatest strength.

LEONARD P. CURRY
University of Louisville

WALTER F. PITTS. *Old Ship of Zion: The Afro-Baptist Ritual in the African Diaspora*. Foreword by VINCENT L. WIMBUSH. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 199. \$29.95.

In this study, anthropologist Walter F. Pitts explores the relationship between African religious rituals and African-American worship ceremonies. His focus is on what he labels Afro-Baptist ritual, and he uses examples from churches in central Texas.

According to Pitts, the structure of Afro-Baptist ritual reveals a unique African-American religious pattern. Services exist in two distinct parts, or frames. The first one, dominated by prayer and hymn singing, is orthodox. Prayer leaders deliver prayers in standard English rather than black vernacular. Hymns include European-American compositions lined out and performed a capella. Pitts compares the first frame to African initiation rites. During the second part of the service preachers slip into a rhythmic style and heavy use of black vernacular. The most significant feature of this frame is the trances that, although different in important ways from African spirit possession, are nevertheless similar to African experiences in that they bring worshipers into direct and active contact with the spirit world.

In addition to describing the binary frame structure of Afro-Baptist ritual, Pitts makes a number of observations about the worship service. Typically, the first frame follows conventions that provide consistency from one service to the next. Each sermon rigidly adheres to formulas of verbal repetition and pauses to generate a rhythm that is conducive to trances. Another point is that even though younger people use vernacular speech less frequently than older persons do, younger preachers without regular congregations and in more racially segregated communities employ it more often than young people generally. Implicit in the differences between older and younger generations of Baptist worshipers is the question of whether the traditional ritual structure can survive. Pitts offers an answer in a fascinating analysis of Afro-Baptist music. Generally speaking, he says, only music that is conducive to trances appears in the second frame, but as new generations

appear in church, the music that moves them to "get happy" is different from that which inspires older people. New music is added to the second frame and the older songs are moved up to the first frame, thus accommodating both younger and older people.

A final assessment of this book must be mixed. There is little original research here. Pitts does produce a useful synthesis of earlier studies, and he introduces some new ways of looking at African-American religious ritual. Historians will be troubled, however, by the unsophisticated level of historical analysis and by factual errors, such as his claim that the Black Codes prevented blacks from voting and owning property (p. 83) and that in colonial North America "planters were always present to ensure that tribal identities were uprooted" (p. 123). Specialists in the field of African-American religion will find worthwhile information in this work, but those readers looking for a more comprehensive treatment of Afro-Baptist ritual will be disappointed.

WILLIAM MONTGOMERY
Austin Community College

WILLIAM E. MONTGOMERY. *Under Their Own Vine and Fig Tree: The African-American Church in the South, 1865–1900*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 358. \$29.95.

Sometimes it happens that scholars in a field know that a certain study cannot long be forthcoming. William E. Montgomery has fulfilled this intimation with this first-rate book on the black church in the epochal period 1865–1900. An investigation of this scope with such discerning interpretation will not have to be done again, at least until many more primary sources come to light. His accomplishment is due to two conditions: vast quantities of data have been uncovered within the past quarter century; and Montgomery's command of that data and the interpretive studies that have been appearing in recent years.

A number of distinctions mark this book. The most important is its broad coverage. Here we have the first attempt to examine all the black church denominations. Hitherto we have had studies of various Baptists and three bodies of Methodists, in the main. Montgomery works with all of these and also two kinds of Presbyterians, the Episcopal church, Congregationalism, and the Roman Catholic church. Furthermore, he cannot resist affording us a (frustrating) glimpse beyond 1900, at the significant emergence of Holiness and Pentecostal forms of the Christianity of black Americans.

A second distinction of Montgomery's study is the author's remarkable capacity for elaboration. No topic is touched on and then dropped; none is belabored fruitlessly. The highest quality of hunting, gathering, and serving characterize this book. One never leaves Montgomery's table hungry or over-stuffed.

Finally, the author commendably steers clear of isolating the "religious factor." More significantly, the nature and condition of black people's lives mandate the integration of "factors." Not even casual presumption was an option for the freed men and women. The economic and social conditions that had contributed to enslavement persisted past emancipation. The black churches, therefore, were ineluctably positioned within black Americans' social situation. That helped define limitation. But it also provoked creativity among black Christians, toward worship forms and styles, and toward the organization of church life and the nature of its mission and service. The data do not permit treatment of black churches as simple products of external conditions; but the author grasps how creatively and indigenously the Christianity of this culture took shape. The external factors do appear, in Montgomery's chapters on missionaries (black and white) coming south from 1862; on "The Church and Reconstruction"; and "The Church and Black Nationalism," an especially fresh and incisive investigation.

Much of this study is built around the careers of major leaders, Baptist pastors and Methodist bishops in particular. That is because ordained, office-holding clergymen were so essential in black church life. But from the large aggregate, one leader, Bishop Henry McNeal Turner of the African Methodist Episcopal church, stands out—almost causing the reader to wish that Montgomery had made him the book's centerpiece—in his range of roles as bureaucrat and radical, as pastor and editor, as African nationalist and integrationist.

In only one major argument do I find serious fault with this book's theses; namely, Montgomery's attaching so much importance to economic and educational class distinctions within the black community. The data do not seem to warrant the claim that social class was either so decisive or so generative for this sector of American society.

Having summarized the religious life of the community from colonial times to emancipation in the first chapter, Montgomery devotes the rest of the book to explaining the place of Christian belief and practice of those people up to 1900. "No other institution in the black community encompassed the full range, diversity, and richness of African-American culture" (p. 255), he claims. Yet in facing the next phase of this people's history, the church "was not able to convert social separatism and cultural nationalism into an effective political movement" (p. 252). Thanks to Montgomery, we can see the large and detailed picture of the period 1865 to 1900. Someone must now bring the story forward forty years. Our knowledge of this earlier portion of American history has reached maturity. Let us discover the rest.

SAMUEL S. HILL
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JAMES F. FINDLAY, JR. *Church People in the Struggle: The National Council of Churches and the Black Freedom Movement, 1950–1970*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. viii, 255. \$35.00.

Unlike others who just talk about the church's role in the civil rights movement, James F. Findlay, Jr., has written a valuable book about a significant aspect of the larger topic. Based on extensive and meticulous archival research and on more than seventy interviews, this study focuses sympathetically but critically on the leading national ecumenical organization, but Findlay goes beyond an institutional–New York approach to include many lesser-known individuals and groups involved in its local efforts.

Findlay first follows the National Council's "rather tepid efforts in the 1950s, when "[h]esitancy and caution" made it "a near moral cipher" (pp. 4, 20). Between 1960 and 1963, Findlay believes, a "kairos," or a time of special opportunity, developed for the National Council in race relations. Spurred by new leaders and the civil rights movement, it began in 1963 to lead by establishing a new Commission on Religion and Race, which played, according to Findlay, a key part in mobilizing support for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, especially among midwestern Republicans.

Three chapters at the heart of Findlay's work involve Mississippi in the mid-1960s. Allying with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the National Council provided legal assistance and bail money for civil rights workers and tried to work with local white churches. During Freedom Summer, nearly 300 representatives of the Commission on Religion and Race "operated more quietly and inconspicuously . . . as facilitators and enablers" (p. 85). Late in 1964 the National Council began the Delta Ministry, which engaged in direct relief, reconciliation, and community development in Mississippi. "The world, not the church," according to Findlay, "set the agenda for action" (p. 121). In education and politics, the ministry worked with the Child Development Group of Mississippi and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party. By 1968 it emphasized the need to attract industry and to develop indigenous black businesses. The Vietnam War, white backlash, cuts in poverty programs, black militancy, and reductions in its own budget caused by 1970 a decline in the Delta Ministry, but Findlay also finds "an underlying weakness" in the ministry: "often there seemed to be nothing distinctively religious or Christian about it" (p. 156).

After 1965 the National Council's involvement in race relations shifted increasingly to northern urban areas where economic issues predominated. Criticism by some black clergy of the Council's reaction to urban disorders and the white reaction to James Forman's demand of \$500 million in reparations from white churches revealed among whites and

blacks grass-roots opposition to the National Council. By 1970 the "kairos" had passed. The end revealed for Findlay another flaw in the National Council's work: though ecumenical, it had been an elitist white effort without popular support.

Although he alludes to cuts in contributions to the National Council, Findlay fails to discuss the opposition to it among white Christian southerners who opposed the civil rights movement and the National Council's racial work. But that is a slight omission in an otherwise fine book that should spur further research on how religion affected the movement, especially the parts played in the movement by national church organizations, by religious leaders, by local congregations, and by religious individuals.

CHARLES W. EAGLES
University of Mississippi

ALBERT S. BROUSSARD. *Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900-1954*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. x, 323. \$35.00.

Albert S. Broussard organizes his book around the persistent attempts by San Francisco's black residents to achieve racial equality. He describes, systematically and in greater detail than previous accounts, the history of how black residents built social institutions and developed community resources. The book also details the economic and political history of black San Francisco, and it contains a thorough account of the efforts of black civil rights groups. In frustrating and mostly unsuccessful campaigns, these organizations sought to overcome the deleterious effects of what Broussard, using the language of David M. Katzman's earlier work on Detroit, calls San Francisco's "racial caste system." Broussard illustrates the complex and subtle ways in which white supremacy pervaded daily life even in a city that honored civility, where Catholics and Jews lived mostly beyond the reach of nativism and anti-Semitism, and where black residents did not experience ghetto conditions and encountered few instances of racist harassment.

The author contrasts San Francisco's tradition of white supremacy to a "liberal image" (p. 239) that he claims has masked the actual racist reality and provided the city with a reputation for enlightened race relations that it does not deserve. The existence of such a liberal and progressive "facade" (p. 240), although frequently invoked, is nowhere described or documented; it becomes a rhetorical device that allows the author to indict white residents (the white population is nearly homogeneous in this book) for hypocrisy as well as racism. New Deal liberalism, much maligned in a good deal of recent scholarship on the period of the 1930s to the 1950s, receives a good deal of criticism here as well. Broussard acknowledges attempts to create biracial coalitions, which were admittedly slow to form and had limited

success, but he deemphasizes, even minimizes, their significance.

Instead, Broussard stresses the causal role of African-American historical agents in the civil rights struggle as well as in community formation. For this reason, and because he analyzes the impact of the Great Depression, the New Deal, and World War II, his book is a timely complement to several recent case studies of urban black populations in Detroit, Milwaukee, Norfolk, and Evansville. The author is also able to test the thesis of Gerald D. Nash that World War II acted as a transformative experience in the American West. Broussard concludes that the war years constituted a "demographic watershed" by generating a 600 percent increase in black population (from 5,000 to over 43,000). In addition, wartime tensions over fair employment, housing, and education stimulated a process Broussard describes as "maturation" among African-American religious and political leaders that produced greater political activity.

Based on numerous oral history interviews as well as thorough multiarchival research, this book successfully addresses issues of African-American migration, community building, race and class formation, and gender difference as an element of social history. Although the book does not deliver what the subtitle promises, it does contain a wealth of detail about an important and neglected population in one of the leading cities of the twentieth-century American West. One hopes the author will continue his research beyond the somewhat arbitrary year of 1954 and bring the story up to the present.

WILLIAM ISSEL
San Francisco State University

MIRIAM COHEN. *Workshop to Office, Two Generations of Italian Women in New York City, 1900-1950*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 237. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.

Unlike Jewish studies, Italian-American studies did not generate many monographs centered exclusively on women in the 1970s and 1980s. Thus, Miriam Cohen's book will be welcome reading for beginning students and for scholars new to debates about the working lives of Italian immigrant women. Although focused on a single city, and on a relatively short period of time, this study is an accessibly written interpretation of immigrant women's changing work and education. Specialists, however, may be disappointed that the book does not advance scholarship beyond Cohen's debates with Virginia Yans-McLaughlin published as articles over ten years ago.

Cohen argues against seeing women's education or wage-earning outside the home as limited by Italian patriarchal attitudes. She traces women's changing behaviors to pragmatic responses by families faced with new female employment opportunities. Cohen

describes a southern Italian peasant family culture that expected all—male and female—to contribute to the economic well-being of the household. New York's economy, with its abundance of female jobs in industry, successfully attracted large numbers of Italian women immigrants who lived in households with poorly paid and seasonally unemployed men. For such women, New York (like southern Italy) offered few rewards for higher education: outside the garment industry, few jobs had opened to foreign females in 1900. And New York City schools, overburdened with immigrant students, willingly ignored Italian girls who stayed home to help mothers with home production or sought factory work at an early age.

Twentieth-century expansion of female office jobs, a successful campaign against industrial homework, and a Depression that revealed the insecurity of industrial employment combined by the 1930s to convince Italian parents of the advantages of daughters who remained in school and became clerical workers. Cohen particularly emphasizes the influence of state action on female work and school patterns. By ignoring truancy in the early years of the century, and by abolishing homework while expanding public schools during the 1930s, federal, state, and local governments significantly altered Italian girls' adolescence. Cohen thus expands on an argument familiar to readers of her earlier articles: neither women nor their families needed to "undergo mental transformations to adopt behavior we would term modern, or bourgeois" (p. 10).

On this point Cohen notes her differences with recent studies of urban, working-class women. Kathy Peiss and Elizabeth Ewen have viewed women's participation in mass culture as evidence of adoption of American individualist values. Unfortunately, Cohen here merely restates her objections to modernization theory, and this seems an insufficient response to scholars, such as Susan Glenn, who have made modernization central to their analysis of immigrant women's changing lives. Cohen might have challenged this newer research more forcefully with a fuller discussion of her reluctance to deduce women's mental states from their behavior. Her book remains more an exemplary product of debates from the 1970s about the power of immigrant patriarchy than a work that challenges newer paradigms of modernization in women's history.

DONNA GABACCIA
University of North Carolina,
Charlotte

ZARAGOSA VARGAS. *Proletarians of the North: A History of Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917–1933*. (Latinos in American Society and Culture, number 1.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 277. \$40.00.

Between the end of World War I and the early 1930s, nearly 60,000 Mexicans migrated to urban areas in the heartland of the United States. Overshadowed by the vast number of their brethren who were agricultural workers in the Southwest, Mexican immigrant laborers in midwestern industry have been largely overlooked by both labor and ethnic historians. In his study of Mexican factory workers in Detroit and other midwestern cities from World War I through the early years of the Great Depression, Zaragosa Vargas successfully fills this void. The focus of Vargas's work is on the Mexican industrial workers themselves as "active historical agents" who build communities, fashion mutual aid and fraternal organizations, adapt to urban life, and learn to relate to and function effectively within the regimen of the factory.

Lured from intermediate, seasonal jobs on the railroads and in the sugar-beet fields of the Midwest by the well-publicized \$5-a-day wage of Henry Ford, Mexican workers made their way to Detroit's automobile plants in search of economic gain. Whereas this general migratory pattern from agricultural to industrial jobs has been previously documented by Paul Taylor, Carey McWilliams, Raymond Mohl, Neil Betten, and others, Vargas's use of previously untapped Ford Motor Company records and interviews with surviving Mexican industrial workers in Detroit and elsewhere adds considerable texture to the story of the rise of Mexican communities in industrial America.

By 1928 approximately 15,000 Mexicans resided in Detroit. Some 4,000 worked for Ford, the leading employer of Mexicans in the Midwest. Given the relatively good wages and steady employment offered by his company, there arose "a universal desire among Mexicans to work for Henry Ford" (p. 94). Vargas reports that, unlike blacks, Mexicans did not face segregated working conditions at Ford. Moreover, the company used a single wage scale for all workers regardless of race or ethnicity. Nevertheless, the nuances of the business cycle in the 1920s and factory shutdowns due to retooling led to frequent layoffs for Mexican workers. In addition, Vargas's examination of incomplete corporate personal records reveals that more than half of the Mexicans who worked for Ford quit within six months. This instability Vargas attributes to the unwillingness of many workers to put up with relentless assembly line speed-ups and other forms of employer abuse.

The collapse of the automobile industry even before the onset of the Depression decimated the Mexican community in Detroit. Almost all Mexican workers lost their jobs at Ford. To ease pressure on burgeoning welfare rolls, Detroit, like other municipalities in both the Midwest and Southwest and in cooperation with the federal government and the local Mexican consul, "voluntarily" repatriated thousands of Mexicans to their homeland. Mexican workers were easily expendable; only about 1,000 Mexi-

cans remained in Detroit by the early 1930s. The Mexican community in that city did not recover until the labor demands of World War II once again enticed new migrants to the Midwest.

Vargas asserts that his study "offers a new interpretation of the history of Mexican labor in the United States" (p. 12). It is in his attempt to shoehorn the experience of Mexican industrial laborers into such ill-defined conceptual constructs as "proletarianization" and "mass consumerism" that Vargas falls short. He contends that Mexican workers in the Midwest underwent proletarianization, accepted poor working conditions, and altered their values "as a trade-off for an American standard of living with its emphasis on mass consumption" (p. 203). More to the point, Mexicans, like most other immigrants to industrial America, simply and rationally sought a better standard of living for themselves and their families. Despite the attraction of American consumer goods, Mexicans sent 25 percent of their earnings back to relatives in Mexico and clung to the hope that they would eventually amass the wherewithal to return to their homeland.

Although it does not fulfill the claim of a new interpretation of the history of Mexican labor in this country, Vargas's book does constitute a solid and valuable addition to the literature on Mexican immigrants in the United States prior to World War II.

MARK REISLER
University of Virginia

JEFFREY MIREL. *The Rise and Fall of an Urban School System: Detroit, 1907-81*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1993. Pp. xxviii, 456. \$42.50.

In the 1920s, the Detroit public schools were among "the finest in the world"; fifty years later, beset by vicious political and racial battles, chronic violence, and insolvency, these schools had become a scandal. How had this happened? Anyone who wants to know how the schools of American cities have become synonymous with failure might do well to begin by consulting Jeffrey Mirel's admirably balanced and comprehensive history of the Detroit schools.

Avoiding simple explanations, Mirel sketches a complex pattern. By the 1920s, Detroit schools had adopted many progressive organizational and curricular innovations. Elementary schools offered an enriched curriculum, based on the "platoon system." Detroit high schools provided vocational programs in addition to the traditional academic bill of fare.

The story of decline began during the Great Depression, when proponents of strict economy put the schools on a starvation diet. After World War II, the schools had to deal with the enrollment pressures of the baby boom in old, poorly maintained buildings. The Michigan legislature, dominated by rural interests, denied Detroit schools adequate state support. The city itself experienced rapid change as middle-

class residents moved to new neighborhoods within the city and to the suburbs; simultaneously, large numbers of African Americans moved into the older neighborhoods. Because of financial constraints, the board of education faced a choice of building schools in the new neighborhoods or rehabilitating the schools of the central city. Repeatedly the board favored the new white neighborhoods over the increasingly black central city.

Even before the "Life Adjustment" movement of the postwar period, Detroit high schools began to offer a watered down curriculum in a "general" track designed to appeal to the interests of adolescents to encourage them to stay in school. Although proponents saw this curriculum as fulfilling the traditional liberal goal of equal access, the general track did not offer its graduates real equality of opportunity. Too often white teachers and counselors relegated minority children to this track that led nowhere.

By the 1960s and 1970s the schools were obviously failing and an increasing number of middle-class residents deserted them. Detroit's manufacturing base declined and so did its tax base. The school board repeatedly had to ask for new taxes just to stay even, and staying even was not enough because of the desperate need for new buildings. At the same time, a newly powerful teachers union demanded that the board use new revenues to raise teachers' salaries, splitting the "liberal-labor-black coalition" that had supported school reform.

A real strength of Mirel's discussion is that he ties these issues directly to national political and social tendencies. For example, Detroit's African Americans' move from advocating desegregation to fighting for local control through decentralization reflects the black militancy of the late 1960s. The refusal of Detroit whites to vote funds for a largely black school system was another aspect of the racism that led them to support George Wallace's presidential campaign. Mirel argues persuasively that ultimately the Detroit schools were the victims of these larger forces, beyond the control of any local school board or superintendent.

ARTHUR ZILVERSMIT
Lake Forest College

ANDREW FEFFER. *The Chicago Pragmatists and American Progressivism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xi, 279. \$32.95.

Andrew Feffer focuses on what he calls the "discourse" of pragmatism. By "discourse" he means the intellectual and cultural roots of John Dewey's philosophical instrumentalism, its logical components and language, and its institutional and political context. This book is a first-rate monograph on an important and timely subject: John Dewey and the University of Chicago Department of Philosophy and Psychology in the two decades prior to World War I. Although

Feffer too frequently uses the now quite-stilted and overblown term "discourse," he studiously resists deconstructionist jargon, never once using that term or its trendy twin, "postmodernism."

Skeptical of recent efforts to resurrect pragmatism, Feffer identifies the archaic elements inherent in Deweyian instrumentalism: nineteenth-century Protestant notions of divine immanence, G. F. W. Hegel's teleological dialectic, and a pre-industrial artisan republicanism. This in itself is a major accomplishment, but Feffer does not stop here. He convincingly demonstrates that these ideas, modified and encoded with a new scientific language, defined the intellectual and political concerns of Chicago pragmatists, who included Dewey, George Herbert Mead, and James Hayden Tufts. Drawing on Dewey's instrumentalism, with its modified reflex-arc concept, Chicago pragmatists sought to reconstruct American life through educational reform and factory reorganization in a manner that maximized individual choice and control. Eschewing the ivory tower and openly sympathetic to the working poor, they eagerly confronted Chicago's seemingly unsolvable problems. In the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago, they devised a child-oriented "progressive education," they participated in Chicago's settlement house movement, they consistently sided with organized labor, and they tried to restructure Chicago's almost intractable public school system by introducing Dewey's ideas of progressive education into the curriculum.

Chicago pragmatists were remarkably successful. In important ways, due in part to their efforts, Chicago became less exploitative and more humane. They fell short, however, of their loftiest goal, the creation a truly democratic community. Feffer admires Dewey and his Chicago cohorts. Still, he judges them failures. Rejecting strategies of class conflict, weighted down by a dated Christianity and an obsolete artisan republicanism, and armed with a faulty psychology, Chicago pragmatists not only failed to achieve their utopian goals but they also left behind a defective philosophy. Few scholars, however, have argued otherwise, even without the benefit of Feffer's fine book. Unquestionably, Chicago pragmatists failed to resolve the dilemmas of modern urban, industrial life. But so has every other political program. Chicago pragmatists dreamed ambitiously, exerted great effort, and accomplished much, even if in their own terms they failed. Their historical value and interest, however, is not limited to their philosophy, nor even to their specific accomplishments. More important is their example of courageous and relentless struggle in behalf of an inclusive democratic culture that respects diversity and individual freedom while insisting that public debate be conducted in a rational and civil manner. While vague, unprogrammatic, and perhaps naive, even at times sentimental, Chicago pragmatists' vision of a free and democratic

republic remains a tantalizing prospect and a desirable goal.

WILLIAM B. SCOTT
Kenyon College

EDWARD A. STETTNER. *Shaping Modern Liberalism: Herbert Croly and Progressive Thought*. (American Political Thought.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. xi, 225. \$29.95.

Edward A. Stettner has written a concise, intelligent, and highly readable study of the thought of the American political philosopher and editor, Herbert Croly. As is appropriate for Kansas's promising new series on "American Political Thought," Stettner concentrates on Croly's ideas, but there is enough biographical material to satisfy readers and to provide context for the book's main purpose. Basing his findings on a thorough examination of the published and documentary sources, Stettner marches steadily through Croly's major writings, perceptively analyzing the main features, the new wrinkles, and subtle intellectual developments found in each of them. He is also careful to notice the ways in which factors such as Progressivism, World War I, and the Red Scare raised new questions for Croly and influenced his work.

Stettner stresses the non-Comtean influences on Croly's first book, *The Promise of American Life* (1909). He also gives greater credit to his subject's mother than is usually given and argues that Croly's biography of Mark Hanna was not so intellectually questionable as some others have believed. Since these positions are argued, at least in part, against my own contentions, it seems best to me merely to register his views here and let more disinterested readers weigh the claims. In any case, these matters (especially the second and third of them) are rather removed from the book's central argument.

This argument is that Croly was a very important figure in the creation of modern American liberalism. Although regretting that Croly never produced a synthetic summary of his mature thought, Stettner believes that he took liberalism's traditional emphases on individualism and on individual freedoms and grafted on them those features that came to characterize liberalism in the twentieth century: reliance on government, confidence in democracy, acceptance of the plural society, and the search for a "middle way" between laissez-faire capitalism and socialism. Stettner struggles to include Croly's religious ideas—found throughout his work, but particularly visible in the 1920s—in the liberal mix, but this attempt may not be as successful as the rest of the argument.

Of course Croly's crucial place in the transformation of liberal thought has been noted many times before. In addition to contemporaries, it is probably right to say that every serious scholar who has examined his work has made precisely this point about it.

In that sense, there is nothing very startling in Stettner's central argument. What is fresh and extremely valuable in this book, however, is the flesh that Stettner puts on the bones of the old generalization about Croly and liberalism. The author has a keen eye for nuance and takes special pains to probe Croly's use of terms such as "democracy," "individualism," "freedom," and "nationalism." The discussion of Croly's thought in the 1920s is especially helpful, and the brief final chapter may be the ablest short summary of Herbert Croly's thought available in print. In short, this book is a skillful and worthy addition to the literature on this important and influential American thinker.

DAVID W. LEVY
University of Oklahoma

TERRY SMITH. *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 512. \$50.00.

Terry Smith sees modernism as the triumph of corporate capitalism in the United States. To him, modernism is not just the adoption of Cubist-inspired formalism but also a historical process during which the assembly line becomes the dominant mode of manufacturing and big business adopts a clean, efficient-looking modern style with which to sell itself and its products to its new creation, the consumer society.

Smith is interested in analyzing both the creation and marketing of this modern imagery and the resistance to this corporate vision of American society. To him, this imagery is used to mask the degradation of workers by modern manufacturing and the destructive reshaping of families by the demands of commodity consumption. He sees a new iconology of modernism forming in the later 1920s based on three "couplets," the industrial plant and manufacturing worker, the agricultural site and the farm worker, and the vertical city and the crowd. According to Smith, the images are used in various ways. *Fortune* uses them positively; Social Realist artists use them negatively. Diego Rivera, in his Detroit murals, attempts to modify them by adding to industrial images an emphasis on the importance of labor, and the corporate state, which came into being between 1929 and 1934, displaces images of urban workers (and their desperation) by emphasizing rural images.

Tracing the history of this period in America's transformation into a military-industrial state, Smith begins with Henry Ford, Ford's architect Albert Kahn, the River Rouge plant, and Charles Sheeler's photographs and paintings of the plant. He then considers the imaging of modernity and criticism or resistance to it in the 1930s in advertising, photography, Rivera's murals, Frida Kahlo's paintings, and industrial design. He concludes with the World's Fair of 1939 and the war effort, in which business and the

federal government put to use the modern/documentary style of mass propaganda created in the Depression.

For Smith, the 1930s are important because in that decade vision was reorganized and a new way of seeing was established. In order to analyze the formation of that particular modern way of seeing, he uses case studies, as he says, as sites of both realities and representations. At the same time he looks at the use of the new subjects he calls couplets and at the history of the decade. His use of newer methodology sometimes leads to a prose style that has little of the simplicity and economy of the modernist imagery he studies, but offers many interesting insights.

Although not everyone will agree with Smith, his book is the first to look at the importance of the newer forces in the 1930s, such as industrial design, in the context of better-known images, such as Farm Security Administration photographs, depicting the widespread suffering caused by drought and the Great Depression. The book, which should have had a bibliography, provides an interesting method of analyzing the interactions of modernity, the new, and the old, or realism, in the 1930s.

MARLENE PARK
John Jay College
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City University of New York

ROBERT L. DORMAN. *Revolt of the Provinces: The Regionalist Movement in America, 1920-1945*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 366. \$45.00.

Against modernity's hegemonizing cosmopolitanism, industrialism, urbanism, and mass culture, Robert L. Dorman argues, the interwar regionalist "revolt of the provinces" opposed the cultural specificities of region "as the means toward a richer, freer, more human way of life" (p. xii). Finding their models mainly in pioneer agrarian-republican communities, Native American tribal cultures, and immigrant folk life, the regionalists attempted "to formulate regionalism as a full-fledged national ideology, and a radical [cultural] politics" (p. 25) that would reverse modernity itself and heal its cultural, psychic, and social wounds.

Dorman provides a fresh and engaging synthesis of the lives and work of the major figures in the movement: Mary Austin and others in New Mexico, Mari Sandoz in Nebraska, Grant Wood in Iowa City, J. Frank Dobie and Walter Prescott Webb in Austin, the Nashville Agrarians, Howard Odum and the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences and W. T. Couch's University of North Carolina Press in Chapel Hill, Stringfellow Barr in Charlottesville, Lewis Mumford and his emerging group of regional planners in New York, and many others such as Benjamin Botkin, Bernard DeVoto, Benton MacKaye, and Angie Debo.

Dorman's analysis of architect Bertram Grovenor Goodhue's Nebraska state capitol is particularly insightful.

The second section of Dorman's study considers the regionalists' shift away from sanguine readings of pioneer, Indian, and folk-immigrant experience and values, toward "delegitimizing the socio-economic system that had brought America to ruin" (p. 153) in all of its regions. Turning a less romantic eye on the actual historical rather than the mythical experience of those regions, Dorman argues, the regionalists began to write the "hidden history . . . of frontier and post-frontier America"; of genocide, environmental ruin, and cultural destruction, thus, "lay[ing] bare the vectors of power underlying the regnant corporate-megalopolitan order" (p. 153). That effort produced epochal books such as Arthur Raper's *Preface to Peasantry* (1936) and *Sharecroppers All* (1941), Paul Taylor's *An American Exodus* (1939), and Carey McWilliams's *Factories in the Fields* (1939).

Between the romantic and the radical regionalists Dorman locates those (he offers Webb as a central example) who searched for a middle way that they hoped might eventuate in a workable regionalist political doctrine and program. Dorman argues that the Mumford circle projected an unworkably utopian vision, that Odum, the Agrarians, and the Indian subregionalists looked for a rural renaissance, and that Raper, Taylor, and Williams placed their hope in "democratic cooperative endeavor" (p. 267). But as Mari Sandoz tried to warn, it was a doomed project. Some regionalists fell into disagreement among themselves, others drifted into New Deal agencies, and still others (like Agrarian Donald Davidson) embraced truly reactionary politics. Still, Dorman emphasizes, the regionalist legacy was substantial: some enduring literary and artistic monuments, some durable contributions to the larger political discourse, and some strains (notably carried by Wallace Stegner and Aldo Leopold) of the emerging environmental movement.

Some readers may question whether Dorman has in some measure essentialized and condescended to the regionalists; others may argue that the perspectives of some of its spokespersons (perhaps especially Mumford) were more complex than he allows. My own interests lead me to wonder why Appalachian regionalism—vital during the period—was omitted altogether. But most readers will agree that Dorman has provided a useful and insightful synthesizing study of the major versions, actors, streams, and manifestations of regionalism in the interwar period. For that he deserves very considerable credit.

DAVID E. WHISNANT
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

GEOFFREY COWAN. *The People v. Clarence Darrow: The Bribery Trial of America's Greatest Lawyer*. New York: Random House. 1993. Pp. xxix, 546. \$27.50.

Readers frequently give up on a book when their reactions to the first few chapters fail to match the characteristic hyperbole and "advance praise" provided by the publisher's dust-jacket blurbs. Fortunately, reviewers do not have that choice; we are professionally obligated to grapple with a book in its entirety, even if the conclusion we reach is the same as the general reader's.

In the case of Geoffrey Cowan's study, I suspect that the combination of readers' and reviewers' reactions may produce a "hung" jury. This is a work of tremendous ambition, written in hopes of recapturing the grand narrative style of historical biography, and aimed, I think, at a popular audience with an interest in plot, intrigue, and human drama. It is a work replete with a "whodunit," pot-boiling quality that has the makings of a future television docudrama and miniseries. This is all well and good because Cowan knows a good story when he sees one. He has a good feel for character development, a healthy respect for historical accuracy, and the stamina to transform an often convoluted plot into an understandable drama. The less-good news is that character development, historical accuracy, and plot development receive inconsistent attention.

The truly remarkable cast of characters includes reform Governor John Peter Altgeld, friend and mentor of the young Clarence Darrow, and the hero-martyr of an earlier "political" trial involving the Haymarket anarchists; American Federation of Labor President Samuel Gompers, who puts his reputation and the full financial and moral force of the labor movement in Darrow's hands; the nationally renowned private detective William Burns, who cared as much about public relations as sleuthing; muck-raker Lincoln Steffens, who often found it convenient to confuse life and art; radical journalist and Darrow's love interest Mary Field, whose contretemps with Mrs. Ruby Darrow adds an interesting subplot to an already complicated narrative; and Earl Rogers, Darrow's attorney, whose reputation for bending the law rivaled that of his famous client. In addition, there is an especially colorful collection of California archetypes that includes newspaper publishers and rivals E. W. Scripps and Harrison Gray Otis, editor Freemont Older, socialist politician Job Harriman, and an assortment of early twentieth-century urban politicians from San Francisco and Los Angeles who provide local color. At the center, of course, is the enigmatic, brooding, imperfect hero, and "attorney for the damned," Clarence Darrow.

There are at least four separate books in this sometimes overwritten work: the sweeping overview of late-nineteenth-century industrial and labor unrest, which most historians will find flat and familiar; the fascinating murder trial of Darrow's clients, the McNamara brothers—the ne'er-do-well younger brother Jim, and J. J., the impressive and distinguished rising star of the International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers—who were tried

for bombing the Los Angeles *Times* building (October 1, 1910); Darrow's own extraordinary trial for bribery of the McNamaras' jurors that imperiled his career and reputation; and some of the most colorful, insightful, and revealing local, labor, and business history masterfully integrated into the national political culture, which represents one of the signal achievements of this work.

The heart of these "books," and the strength of Cowan's narrative, can be found in his analysis of the two legal battles. The McNamaras' trial for the so-called "Crime of the Century" is capably re-created and faithfully narrated, although some readers may feel that the analysis is occasionally overwhelmed by the melodramatic tone of the prose. These strengths and weaknesses reappear in Darrow's trial and ultimate acquittal on charges of bribery, when the judge, jury, and author appear to have been mesmerized by Darrow's well-deserved reputation for spellbinding oratory.

To Cowan's credit, there is a tremendous amount of genuine affection and faithfulness in his narrative that captures the spirit of this age. Occasionally, his mastery of local color and storytelling ability threatens to transform real life drama into historical fiction. Yet six years of research and writing have produced an interesting chronicle. One can only imagine what the screenplay will look like when this book makes it to cable television.

EUGENE M. TOBIN
Hamilton College

ROBERT W. MCCHESENEY. *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928–1935*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 393. \$45.00.

Contemporary critics who charge that the American mass media are not fit for a democracy will find much to admire in Robert W. McChesney's analysis of the rise and consolidation of network-dominated, advertising-supported radio. McChesney traces in considerable detail the efforts of reformers, particularly between 1929 and 1934, to re-create American radio. His careful and commendable use of primary sources recounts the efforts of certain educators, labor organizers, and civil libertarians to roll back the gains of NBC and CBS and their control over the public airwaves. McChesney is most persuasive when he argues that there was little public debate in the United States before the rise of commercial radio networks in 1927. This is an important point because of his central claim that social conflict and not consensus characterized the consolidation of radio network enterprises.

To support this position, McChesney chronicles the activities of the National Committee on Education by Radio, which attempted to organize educators, and the *Ventura Free Press*, which attempted to organize

the nation's newspapers in opposition to commercially oriented, network radio. Educators seemed a logical lobby to press for broadcasting reform because their own frequency allocations and operating hours had been severely curtailed by General Order 40 of the Federal Radio Commission. Newspapers were also seen as a natural ally of reformers because of radio's potential threat to their own revenues. But, as McChesney points out, educators split on the efficacy of commercial broadcasting and many of the most powerful newspapers were themselves in the radio business.

Organized labor was also not particularly anxious to sustain its opposition to commercial broadcasting. Labor's radio voice in Chicago, WCFL, turned to advertising to pay its bills and accepted its own network affiliation with NBC. The Paulist Brothers of New York chafed at curtailment of WLWL's operating hours before accepting advertising and selling their station to a watch company.

This left opposition to commercial broadcasting in the hands of the Radio Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and a handful of Left-leaning intellectuals. McChesney notes that the ACLU's isolation from the balance of the reform community muted its effectiveness and he acknowledges that broadcasting reform "was never a preoccupation of the intelligentsia" (pp. 81, 86).

McChesney readily admits his sympathies lie with broadcasting reformers. This perhaps explains a concluding chapter that ruminates on the "oligopolistic basis of modern media industries." McChesney's conviction that a "broad-based mass movement" is necessary "to reform basic institutions of United States society" and his certainty that "contemporary capitalism is working effectively for only a minority of its citizens" encourages him to claim that "most" Americans aware of the great radio debate in the early 1930s were dissatisfied with commercial broadcasting (pp. 266, 269). But, as McChesney elsewhere admits, opposition to network advertising tended to be elitist in character. That reformers failed to re-create radio through the Communications Act of 1934 may owe less to the "political incompetence" of broadcasting reformers, as McChesney claims, than their failure to reflect and mold public opinion to their purposes.

McChesney observes that scholarship on the rise and consolidation of commercial broadcasting has tended to operate in a "historic vacuum." His study succeeds in introducing us to the principled opposition to commercial broadcasting that existed during America's 1930s, and in so doing, makes a worthwhile contribution to the ongoing discourse on how mass media can be made to best serve a democracy.

BRUCE J. EVENSEN
DePaul University

TINO BALIO. *Grand Design: Hollywood as a Modern Business Enterprise, 1930–1939*. (History of the Amer-

ican Cinema, number 5.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1993. Pp. ix, 483. \$65.00.

Charles Scribner's History of the American Cinema series, edited by Charles Harpole, has already earned several scholarly awards. Tino Balio's volume, the fifth of the series, deals with the motion-picture industry in the years of the Great Depression. Complemented by extensive notes and bibliography, Balio's detailed work joins the previous volumes in the series as a standard reference work for the history of films and filmmaking.

Evolving from the family owned enterprises of earlier eras, movie companies became a modern, major American industry, popularly known as the studio system. The driving force behind the industry was the need to supply cinematic material to movie theaters, which exhibited different two-movie features two to three times a week. No single studio could meet this demand. Collectively, the Hollywood studios—major, minor, and so-called poverty row—developed a symbiotic relationship in which all parts contributed to the production of a supply of movies for theater exhibition.

Integrating contributions by Richard Maltby on censorship and the production code, David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson on technology and classical film style, Brian Taves on B films, Charles Wolfe on documentaries, and Jan-Christopher Horak on avant-garde films, Balio analyzes and describes all aspects of the studio system of moviemaking, from production to exhibition. Contrary to public opinion, the industry was not immune to the Depression. In addition to a chapter describing production trends (prestige pictures, musicals, the woman's film, comedy, social problem films, and horror movies), Balio provides a historiographic review while describing the economic realities of unemployment, studio financial difficulties, and theater closings as well as the fiscal and regulatory relationship between Hollywood producers, Wall Street investors, and Washington regulators. In the end, the studio model of industrial production prevailed. There was no place for the independent small businessman in Hollywood.

Hollywood did compete. Studios differentiated their films primarily through the star system. Tapping into the mass markets reached by radio, Hollywood developed programs to promote its stars and to stimulate movie attendance. Endeavoring to measure future film trends, the industry analyzed public taste through *Variety's* list of top-grossing films, assessments by industry professionals via the Academy Awards competition, and the views of film critics through "ten best" lists.

Half the book's chapters are written by contributors Maltby, Bordwell and Thompson, Taves, Wolfe, and Horak. Each of these chapters offer significant contributions to the overall theme of the volume. For example, Maltby demonstrates that the industry struck a deal with the Catholic Legion of Decency that

recognized Hollywood's internal mechanism of self-censorship and thereby allowed Hollywood studios to avoid federal regulation. Bordwell and Thompson delineate the ways technology contributed to the efficiency of production; similarly, Taves demonstrates the centrality of B movies to the industry's need for low overhead. Even movies made outside of Hollywood, the documentary and the avant-garde film, as illustrated by Wolfe and Horak respectively, contributed to the movies produced by the studio system. This book is a major contribution to an understanding of Depression America, business history, and film studies. As such, the fifth volume of History of the American Cinema deserves a place in any library as a standard reference work.

JOHN SCHUCHMAN
Gallaudet University

KENNETH S. DAVIS. *FDR: Into the Storm, 1937–1940; A History*. New York: Random House. 1993. Pp. 691. \$35.00.

In this book, Kenneth S. Davis recounts the story of Franklin D. Roosevelt's second presidential term, 1937–40. The fourth volume in his projected five-volume biography of FDR, this is a magisterial work that will be read long after most of the Roosevelt evanescence has disappeared. Its strength lies not in the presentation of surprising new information—indeed, the study is based almost entirely on published sources—but in its interpretive sweep, its rich detail, its subtle and convincing portrait of the most important American president of the twentieth century.

Although Davis regards Roosevelt with respect and even affection, his picture of the thirty-second president is not a particularly flattering one. This is frequently a story of frustration and failure, stalemate and setback. Political gridlock, Davis makes clear, is not peculiar to the contemporary Washington scene.

Certainly Roosevelt's was not a heroic vision of leadership. American democracy, he wrote in 1940, was "government by public opinion" (p. 569). The president believed that far from directing the tides of history, he was roughly pushed this way and that by them. He judged that a major portion of his task was to gauge accurately the limits of the politically possible, and then to remain within those limits. Successful leaders are patient leaders, who wait for events to fashion a public opinion that would sustain the actions they wish to take.

As a consequence of these views, Davis finds, Roosevelt failed again and again to give his battered nation the leadership the times demanded. Torn between fiscal orthodoxy and Keynesian heresy, he was indecisive in responding to the recession of 1937. He saw no obligation to support a federal anti-lynching bill. He was oblivious to his responsibility to

protect the civil liberties of dissidents such as Norman Thomas, or to rein in Rep. Martin Dies and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. ("On occasion, his reluctance to meet opposing forces head-on became extreme to the point of cowardice," Davis writes [p. 392].)

Roosevelt's leadership in foreign affairs was no more inspiring. He chose not to confront the Catholic church for its support of Francisco Franco's fascism. In the autumn of 1937, at the time of his famous "quarantine speech," he lacked "the requisite resolve, nerve, energy, and clarity of mind" that might have pushed his nation in the direction of a collective security policy vigorous enough to have given pause to Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini, and the Japanese (p. 135). He could have saved the lives of "thousands" of European Jews simply by interpreting the immigration laws less restrictively than Herbert Hoover had done (p. 372); instead, he displayed a moral blindness staggering in its magnitude. He declined to use the "bully pulpit" of the presidency to educate his fellow citizens about the requirements of American security or the dangers posed by Hitler, even when polling suggested Americans were prepared to respond to his message.

And yet the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 brought out qualities of leadership and decisiveness directly opposite the vacillation and caution that figure so prominently in Davis's narrative. The president refused to permit Joseph Stalin's rapacious attack on Finland to obscure the fragility of the links binding Moscow and Berlin. He rightly recognized that for all its apparent military weaknesses, the Soviet Union could prove an essential ally against the Wehrmacht. He brushed aside the naysayers who predicted Britain's capitulation or defeat. He saw the need to assist the British and was prepared to contemplate unorthodox methods—the destroyers for bases swap, for instance—to effect his objectives.

Implicit in Davis's account is the notion that inspired leadership is at best episodic. A preoccupation with opinion polls, coupled with constant day-in, day-out microscopic scrutiny, may obscure even genuine greatness. True leadership, Davis seems to suggest, rises to the occasion. In today's circumstances, with an unceasingly relentless press and a less-forgiving public, FDR might have been written off as a failed president by the end of 1938, in which case the history of the twentieth century would have been far different, and perhaps even more tragic. In a very real sense, World War II resuscitated Roosevelt's presidency and rescued his historical reputation.

For all its rewards, this volume contains a dismaying number of irritating mistakes: badly jumbled endnotes (chaps. 2 and 6); garbled text (pp. 324, 618); words repeated in, or omitted from, the text (pp. 106, 366); incorrect dates (pp. 460, 611); a divorce that takes place two years before the marriage

(p. 303); and others. Such sloppiness fails to do justice to an otherwise masterful study.

ROBERT M. HATHAWAY
Foreign Affairs Committee
U.S. House of Representatives

NIGEL HAMILTON. *JFK: Reckless Youth*. New York: Random House. 1992. Pp. xxiv, 898. \$30.00.

Nigel Hamilton, a British historian and author of a three-volume biography of Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery, has written an interesting and provocative first volume of a projected three-volume unauthorized biography of John F. Kennedy. In this book, Hamilton examines Kennedy's family life, his medical history, his prep school years at Choate, his college experiences at Harvard, his war record as the commander of PT-109, his election to the House of Representatives in 1946, and, especially, his love life. In brief, this biography covers only the first 29 years of Jack Kennedy's life, from 1917 to 1946.

The purpose of Hamilton's study is to describe the person Kennedy was in reality, as opposed to the false, myth-driven portraits created when he was a presidential candidate and expanded on after his assassination. Hamilton's description of Kennedy is based on 2,000 interviews, hundreds of personal letters, and the sobering effect of time, that is, the further away one is from the trauma of November 22, 1963, the more accurately one can see Kennedy as he really was. The young Kennedy that emerges from Hamilton's analysis is witty, charming, messy, charismatic, sickly, intelligent, occasionally reckless, curious, skeptical, sexually obsessed, and emotionally detached. Some readers may object that Hamilton appears to be as sexually obsessed and raunchy as Kennedy was as an adolescent.

The author's challenge to the traditional literature is his proposition that Kennedy developed his leadership capabilities in spite of his family, not because of it. Indeed, Hamilton claims that Kennedy was the abused child of a dysfunctional family. Kennedy is portrayed in studied revolt against his mother's vacuity and his father's oppression. (It must be noted that in response to Hamilton's thesis, three of Jack's sisters and his brother Senator Ted Kennedy wrote a letter to *The New York Times* [December 3, 1992] stressing that "the book's allegations of abusive family relations are outrageous falsehoods. It is grotesque to compare our father to Stalin. It is preposterous to call any of us 'abused' children. Our parents gave us love, support, and encouragement throughout their lives.")

The author describes Rose Kennedy as a sexually repressed, neurotic woman, literally imprisoned in a convent as a young girl by her father, then trapped in a loveless marriage with a philandering husband. According to Hamilton, her "desire for neat, well-read, religiously observant, and clean-minded children was both comic and tragic, for it was clear to

Jack that her copybook values and domestic rules were but a desperate form of self-preservation; a basically intelligent woman driven to stupidity" (p. 50). Jack's sexual revenge against his mother's obsessions was a "lifetime of fruitless womanizing, of continual, purgative sexual conquest that would relieve his libido yet never bring him contentment" (p. 113). Thus, Jack was left "emotionally crippled," a young man who disliked people embracing him, who showered compulsively, and yet who constantly craved sexual intimacy.

The author pictures Jack Kennedy's father as a particularly loathsome character. Joseph Kennedy is described as a bully, a swindler, a draft-dodger, a smuggler, a rapist (of Gloria Swanson), an anti-Semite, and a cowardly appeaser of Adolf Hitler. As a father, Joseph Kennedy urged his children to win without any concern for moral principles.

A central theme of this book details how, in 1940 (when Joseph Kennedy was ambassador to Great Britain), Jack began to inch away from his father's isolationist views. Jack's ability to achieve some independence from his father emerged from several factors. As a sickly child, Jack had become a "book-worm" and was, therefore, knowledgeable about history and current events. Jack had also traveled extensively in both the United States and Europe, talking to a wide variety of people. When Jack was not chasing girls, he was trying to satisfy an endless curiosity about what was happening in the political world by asking questions. Unlike his father or older brother (who died in World War II), Jack had the ability to listen to and learn from other peoples' opinions. Jack was developing the ability to be a successful pragmatic politician.

One must remember, however, that in 1946, in Jack Kennedy's first congressional race, that ability was decisively enhanced by his father's money (over \$250,000) and ruthless background political manipulation. Jack may have achieved some autonomy from Joseph Kennedy, but he was still more dependent on his father than Hamilton acknowledges.

The reader does not have to accept Hamilton's Freudian interpretations—I certainly do not—to enjoy this book. The fun of this biography is in the details. In search of the "truth" about his subject, Hamilton has organized his details to construct a new myth to explain the development of John F. Kennedy.

JOHN W. SLOAN
University of Houston

GEORGE E. MARCUS. *Lives in Trust: The Fortunes of Dynastic Families in Late Twentieth-Century America*. Assisted by PETER DOBKIN HALL. (Institutional Structures of Feeling.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1992. Pp. ix, 380. Cloth \$45.95, paper \$16.95.

This book is both less and more than it seems. What appears at first glance to be a unified monograph is

really a set of essays that overlap each other and add up to less than a full history of their subject. But the study, grounded in anthropology, contains important information about a subject often neglected by historians of the twentieth-century United States. George E. Marcus, an anthropologist, offers an ethnographic account of rich American families that, along with a lengthy essay on the Rockefellers by the historian Peter Dobkin Hall, underscores the complex consequences of wealth in a democratic, capitalist society.

Marcus and Hall look at how wealthy families became and remained dynasties, enduring concentrations of economic and cultural power. Many of the usual suspects—Rockefellers, Gettys, and Hunts—are here; but so, intriguingly, are the Kempners and Moodys of Galveston, Texas. Still, Marcus and Hall try to "decenter" the story of upper-class families by shifting the focus away from the typical narrative of domestic triumph and tribulation. The imperative of perpetuating their fortunes, Marcus and Hall argue, led the patriarchs of the first and second generations to look for help outside the family itself. As a result, wealth typically became separated from family members through the creation of trusts and foundations managed by outsiders. The dynasty was not simply the family, but rather a whole apparatus of legal institutions and cultural images. In effect, the family took on a life apart from itself.

The different essays tease out some of the implications of this transformation. Marcus and Hall look at the operation of trusts and foundations, at their effect on philanthropy and public culture, as well as on the wealthy themselves. The authors dwell on the psychic impact of dynastic life: this is a volume in a series on "Institutional Structures of Feeling." So the book explores the *mentalité* of fiduciaries, the outsiders who run family institutions. Earning its title, the book describes how the members of wealthy families came to put their lives in trust, to become, in some way, captive to their institutionalized fortunes and family names.

Marcus and Hall advance some provocative ideas. The book alludes to the "feminization" of wealthy families as they focused on good works rather than commerce; it portrays the Getty Trust as part of "an elitist, mostly academic cultural revitalization movement" (p. 225) in the 1970s and 1980s. Most interestingly, it argues that the modern upper-class family, much like middle and working-class families, has been penetrated by experts, by fiduciaries, lawyers, accountants, money managers, and psychiatrists.

The authors nicely delineate the dynastic family's immediate material, legal, and personal ties. They seem less successful in linking the individual family to the American upper class as a whole. By and large, these essays do not emphasize the membership of the wealthy in a distinctive class. If anything, the book seems to underscore the similarity of upper and middle-class values. But the book as a whole documents that the rich are different after all. It is hard to

believe that the dynastic family, such a unique institutional and cultural arrangement, has not played a more important role in class formation than the book allows.

Whatever its shortcomings, this volume interestingly suggests how historians might study the modern American upper class. Marcus and Hall clarify some of the peculiar qualities of dynastic life in the twentieth-century United States. And they usefully remind us that wealth as well as poverty poses important intellectual problems for modern American historians.

MICHAEL MCGERR
Indiana University,
Bloomington

VIRGINIA CARMICHAEL. *Framing History: The Rosenberg Story and the Cold War*. (American Culture, number 6.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1993. Pp. xxv, 299. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$17.95.

Julius Rosenberg and Ethel Rosenberg died in Sing Sing's electric chair thirty years ago for the crime of stealing the "secret" of the atomic bomb and giving it to the Soviet Union. In this latest book on the case, Virginia Carmichael largely ignores courtroom and other whodunit minutia on the grounds that the actual Rosenberg story is unknowable and undecidable. Instead, she concentrates on the continuing passions and partisanship aroused by that particularly grotesque exercise in Cold War justice. Her method is to lay out the contemporary U.S. government position on the so-called "crime of the century" and then to discuss more recent leftist alternatives from the worlds of literature, drama, and the visual arts. For the former task, Carmichael relies largely on secondary works (ignoring even the FBI's voluminous files on the Rosenbergs). For the latter, she analyzes two novels (E. L. Doctorow's *The Book of Daniel* [1971] and Robert Coover's *The Public Burning* [1977]); a multimedia drama (Donald Freed's *Inquest* [1969]); a photographic collage (Martha Rosler's *Unknown Secrets* [1989]); and a painting (Peter Saul's *Ethel Rosenberg in Electric Chair* [1987]).

This book is a work of criticism rather than history, and as such traditional historians might object to its endless adjectives, rhetoric, and generalizations based on something other than archival research. "The official Rosenberg story," Carmichael argues, was a "textually elaborated . . . motivated construction," an "imaged fictionality" with a "subliminal and mythic function," even "a unidimensional (warp-laid) construction dependent on the binding material of background beliefs that were for the most part attributable to the motivated interpretations and constructions of conservative politicians, businessmen, and military figures, and their publicists, the mainstream U.S. media" (pp. xiii, xiv, xv, 99–100). This last conclusion would have been more impressive had the author bothered with the FBI files and other hard evidence.

For help on matters of conceptualization, Carmichael selects from a reading list that ranges from Sigmund Freud and Kenneth Burke to Karl Marx and Michel Foucault. This leads to a never-dull string of interpretations on matters little and big. These interpretations might appear a bit nutty at times; for example, Hearst reporter Bob Considine's firsthand description of Ethel Rosenberg, in the moment before the executioner's mask covered her face, is called "a vision of a witchlike phallic mother" (p. 106). But overall, historians of the Cold War in the United States will find Carmichael's generalizations worth mining. They will also find little to argue with in the basic point about how the Rosenberg case continues to represent an unresolved breach in the nation's moral fiber. One need not be a Rosenberg partisan to agree with that.

KENNETH O'REILLY
University of Alaska,
Anchorage

ARTHUR J. SABIN. *Red Scare in Court: New York versus the International Workers Order*. Foreword by HOWARD FAST. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1993. Pp. xviii, 369. \$29.95.

The International Workers Order (IWO) was a fraternal benefit insurance company founded in 1930. By 1948 it had almost 200,000 members. Arthur J. Sabin calls it "the largest, most successful left-wing organization in modern American history" (p. 351). The IWO's leadership was almost entirely communist, and in the early 1950s the organization became a casualty of anticommunist zealots who had been hounding it for more than a decade. Courts determined three times that the IWO was politically dangerous and should be dissolved. Sabin contends in this first full-scale history of the matter that the frenzy of the second Red Scare was responsible for the judicial actions. "The single factor at the heart of all these decisions was, inescapably, politics" (p. 330).

Sabin's research into the primary materials of the case is outstanding and includes key manuscript collections and oral interviews. The book is heavily detailed and meticulously documented. It focuses primarily on the court cases that closed down the IWO between 1951 and 1953. An afterword contains revealing contemporary commentary by attorneys who represented both sides in the case.

Most readers, I think, will come away from this careful study agreeing that the author has been convincing. As one of the defense attorneys said in retrospect, the IWO case "bespoke an outrageous attempt to undermine, if not abandon, the most elementary guaranties of our written Constitution" (p. 362).

Still, the monograph is seriously marred by the author's lack of objectivity. Sabin is a passionate leftist whose views of America and the Cold War are pre-

dictable and wearisome. Communists are crusading liberals; anticommunists are wicked villains. Moreover, the author clearly lacks a comprehensive knowledge of the second Red Scare. The few secondary works he cites are largely limited to works that echo his ideological bent.

Historians have paid little attention to the IWO matter. Sabin has shown persuasively that the facts and issues of the case go right to the heart of the anticommunist frenzy of the 1940s and 1950s. This study is an important addition to our understanding of the McCarthy era. Had it been somewhat broader in scope and more objective, its impact would have been greater.

THOMAS C. REEVES
*University of Wisconsin,
Parkside*

JOEL SCHWARTZ. *The New York Approach: Robert Moses, Urban Liberals, and Redevelopment of the Inner City.* (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1993. Pp. xxiii, 375. \$35.00.

Urban redevelopment was the most important public policy undertaken in New York City after World War II, transforming the inner city both physically and morally. With local subsidies backed by millions of dollars in federal funds, New Yorkers leveled huge sections of Manhattan and Brooklyn to make room for middle-income housing. By 1959, sixteen projects had displaced 100,000 low-income tenants, of whom 40 percent were black and Hispanic. The program bore the hopes of a generation of liberals who believed they could "save" New York. Instead, the city that had led the nation in racial decency led it in the art of "Negro removal." How such a situation occurred, and why no one did anything to stop it, is the subject of Joel Schwartz's incisive monograph.

Any discussion of urban redevelopment must begin with Robert Moses, whose reputation reached its nadir in Robert Caro's biography (*The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* [1974]). Besides focusing on his insensitivity to communities in the path of his highways and his tearing down of existing neighborhoods to construct banal housing projects, Caro also charged Moses with undermining public transportation, harboring strong racial prejudices, and possessing an insatiable appetite for power. He accompanied the story of Moses's tyrannical misuse of the National Housing Act with an account of liberalism's innocence and redemption.

Schwartz's monograph poses questions that Caro slighted. How could Moses's measures have been adopted in the first place, or tolerated for so long by a city that worshiped Fiorello La Guardia? How could a city celebrated for vibrant neighborhoods have allowed their ravaging? Where was the city's liberal establishment while all this was going on?

Utilizing case studies ranging from Stuyvesant Town in 1943 to Lincoln Square, Schwartz observes that Moses applied bulldozer redevelopment within a tradition dating from the Progressive era, when reformers first pitted municipal priorities against the residential needs of the poor and working class. He shows how a broad consensus, which included liberals, emerged to permit the uprooting of low-income groups so that New York could rebuild itself as a postwar world capital. With a faith that decent people would implement decent plans, liberals embraced redevelopment until they recognized belatedly that the bulldozer had created a city further divided along racial and income lines. They then turned against the "Master Builder" even as they refused to acknowledge the moral paradox of their complicity in a policy that had left social wounds in the body politic.

Schwartz's fascinating account of the uprooting of New York's inner-city poor raises questions of its own. Was the Moses-liberal alliance a purely local manifestation? If what occurred in New York resulted from a conjuncture of flawed federal policies, economic developments, demographic trends, and cultural patterns that were national in scope, would the city have evolved in much the same way, with or without Moses? Although Moses may not have been the sole creator of New York's economically and racially divided metropolis, he would have approved of the results. Schwartz's book offers lessons in what not to do if we hope to rescue our cities from their present plight.

PHILIP J. FUNIGIELLO
College of William and Mary

NADINE COHODAS. *Strom Thurmond and the Politics of Southern Change.* New York: Simon and Schuster. 1993. Pp. 574. \$27.50.

Among prominent post-World War II southern politicians, the career of Senator James Strom Thurmond is surely one of the more revealing. He was a Democrat during the time the South was Democratic. He was titular head of the Dixiecrats, the first of numerous states' rights revolts centered in the South. In 1964 he shifted to the Republican Party just as the region was moving toward a two-party system. A leader of the massive southern resistance to desegregation, Thurmond ultimately accepted defeat on the civil rights issue and moved to a position sufficiently moderate to ensure continued political respectability. As he frequently observed, in politics "timing was everything" (p. 137).

Nadine Cohodas's study is the first serious attempt to chronicle the South Carolina senator's career. In some respects, the book is quite good. A Washington-based journalist, Cohodas has combined firsthand observations with research in a variety of sources, including the Strom Thurmond Collection. As a straightforward account of the senator's political ca-

reer, the work has considerable merit. It also presents problems.

In the analysis presented by Cohodas, Thurmond emerges as a curiously one-dimensional person. He is a pragmatic and opportunistic politician dedicated to the principle of states' rights. According to Cohodas, Thurmond was free "of genuine racial animus" and embraced states' rights "primarily as a philosophy of political power whose racial effects were secondary" (p. 147). The problem is that states' rights is presumably something more than abstract political theory; it has traditionally been the slogan of those attempting to protect something related to state and local prerogative. If Thurmond had no profound commitment to white supremacy, then the reader is left wondering if a preference for states' rights is an adequate explanation for the senator's long, vigorous, and obstructive career.

More importantly, a major portion of the book is devoted not to Thurmond but to a survey of southern race relations. The work contains long digressions into various aspects of southern civil rights that have rather little to do with the senator from South Carolina. Indeed, if white supremacy was not central to Thurmond's ideology, then the extensive material on civil rights is truly extraneous.

To be sure, this book is a journalistic study slanted toward the general public. It is well written and apt to have appeal to nonacademic readers. Scholars may well find helpful the material on Thurmond, which is accurate and often perceptive, but better surveys of southern race relations are available and a fully adequate study of Thurmond remains to be written.

NUMAN V. BARTLEY
University of Georgia

CHARLES W. EAGLES. *Outside Agitator: Jon Daniels and the Civil Rights Movement in Alabama*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 335. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

On August 14, 1992, twenty-seven years after Jonathan Myrick Daniels's murder by a shotgun blast in the chest at Hayneville, Alabama, American Episcopalians began their annual celebration of his memory as a martyr of the church. Charles Eagles's book is a fitting biographical memorial to the young Episcopalian priest. Born and raised in Keene, New Hampshire, Daniels was the son of a medical doctor and his socially ambitious wife. Although he acted out rebellious adolescent attitudes toward his parents, young Daniels learned to channel those attitudes and became a rebel with a cause.

There was little sign of the cause, however, when Jon Daniels left his family's Congregational church to become an Episcopalian or when he became a cadet at Virginia Military Institute. There Daniels was a student of literature, sufficiently serious to win a Danforth Fellowship for graduate study in English at

Harvard. His interest in religion was rekindled during his first year, and his transfer to Cambridge's Episcopal Theological School (ETS) was encouraged by the English department's recommendation that he not continue in its graduate program. At ETS, Daniels even defended the position of Alabama's Episcopal Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter, who opposed the appearance of priests from outside his diocese to agitate on the issue of race relations in his state. Yet after the bloody confrontation of civil rights demonstrators with state police in March 1965 at Selma's Edmund Pettis Bridge, Daniels responded to Martin Luther King's summons to clergymen of all faiths to the city. He was moved to do so, he said, by the words of the Magnificat in a seminary chapel service: "He hath put down the mighty from their seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek."

The bulk of Eagles's narrative is a rich treatment of Daniels's engagement with white resistance in Alabama. He extended his participation in the Selma to Montgomery march by representing the Episcopal Society for Racial and Cultural Unity in Selma and Lowndes County. Living with an African-American family in Selma's George Washington Carver homes, Daniels supported civil rights organizing within the city and tried to establish lines of communication with white moderates, particularly at St. Paul's Episcopal church. From Selma, he moved into neighboring rural Lowndes County, which was deeply impoverished and perhaps even more hostile to the civil rights movement than Selma. Jailed in Hayneville for his role in demonstrations at Port Deposit, Daniels was released on his own recognizance pending trial on misdemeanor charges. While he and other demonstrators waited to be picked up by friends, Daniels opened the door of a country grocery and was shot as he entered it.

Eagles's study makes many contributions to the literature on the civil rights movement. First, of course, it is a worthy biography of its little-known martyr. Beyond that, however, it contributes significantly to our understanding of the movement in Selma and Lowndes County. Moreover, read in conjunction with James F. Findlay's *Church People in the Struggle* (1993), it helps explain the role of white clergy and lay people in the movement. Finally, Eagles draws a particularly effective portrait of Tom Coleman, the white courthouse retainer who killed Daniels and was acquitted by a local all-white jury.

RALPH E. LUKER
Antioch College

ELIZABETH LAPOVSKY KENNEDY and MADELINE D. DAVIS. *Boots of Leather, Slippers of Gold: The History of a Lesbian Community*. New York: Routledge. 1993. Pp. xvii, 434. \$29.95.

Lesbian-feminist activists of the 1970s often condemned butch-fem gender roles among lesbians, clas-

sifying them as imitations of undesirable heterosexual patterns. Elizabeth Lapovsky Kennedy and Madeline D. Davis's compelling and important work in the history of women and of sexuality, based on oral interviews with working-class women in the lesbian bar culture of Buffalo, New York, in the 1940s and 1950s, shows how careful social history can move such judgmental assessments onto the more fruitful ground of understanding and respect. Using lengthy, often poignant, quotations from their forty-five narrators throughout, the authors convey a vivid sense of lesbian lives and show the meaning of butch and fem to those who lived these roles. They connect these lives to the historical context as well, noting, for example, how lesbians became freer to dress butch outside their homes when World War II made pants acceptable public apparel for women. The result is a balanced examination of the distinct social and political dynamics of the period before the Stonewall Riots in 1969 that began the gay liberation movement.

The first chapter offers a detailed account of methodology and historiographic precedents. Two chapters provide a narrative of the growing importance of bars as centers of lesbian socializing from the late 1930s to the early 1960s. Other chapters analyze the themes of race and class, the butch-fem image, sexuality, serial monogamy, and long-term relationships. The final chapter treats theoretical issues about the formation and reproduction of lesbian identities and roles.

This work both augments and challenges Lillian Faderman's survey of twentieth-century lesbian life, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers* (1991). By examining a working-class community in depth over time, Kennedy and Davis dramatically shift the narrative from both the middle class and from dominant cultural prescriptions and regulations. Their study makes its greatest contribution in delineating modern lesbian subjectivities quite different from the well-documented nineteenth-century romantic friendships between (middle and upper-class) women. Challenging the nonsexual emphasis of Faderman and others, the authors argue that the mid-twentieth-century working-class lesbians they study felt different from other women due to specifically erotic attraction to other women. Their need for camaraderie and sexual relationships led them to create and expand a subculture in urban bars.

Butch-fem roles formed the center of the lesbian bar culture, serving both as a personal code of behavior and as the organizing principle for community and sexual life. The masculine dress and tough manner of butches alone or in butch-fem couples increased the social visibility of lesbians both to other potential lesbians and to the wider society. That visibility not only drew hostility but also nurtured identity and pride, making butch-fem roles the "primary prepolitical institution of resistance" to oppression (p. 190) and laying the groundwork for the explosion of gay liberation after 1969. Lesbians were

feminist sexual pioneers as well, argue Kennedy and Davis, because they encouraged female sexual subjectivity, desire, and autonomy. The authors' obvious respect for the historical agency of these women does not, however, preclude attention to negative aspects of the culture such as alcoholism, fighting, and self-hate.

Kennedy and Davis address distinctions of class and race. They find that ethnicity had little salience among white women but observe class differences between a more discreet upwardly mobile group and tougher working-class women. As white women, they obtained relatively few interviews with black lesbians: six of forty-five narrators were African American. (Two were Native American.) They learn that black lesbians, who had socialized at private house parties in the 1940s, integrated the bars in the 1950s, and interracial friendships and relationships developed, undergirded in part by the common oppression blacks and whites faced as lesbians. They were unable to document separate, unintegrated black lesbian networks.

Kennedy and Davis contribute significantly to the scholarly discussion of homosexual identity. They dispute Faderman's view that doctors and sexologists created the category of lesbian and falsely imposed pathological, sexualized images of butch-fem role divisions onto it. Their research on the Buffalo community demonstrates convincingly that the roles and the sexuality emerged from the subjective experience of lesbians and were not influenced by sexologists. In addition, they show the historical nature of sexual identity by charting the change over twenty-odd years in lesbians' self-definition. Whereas gender inversion—the inner sense of being "masculine"—was central to the self-concept of "lesbian" in the early period, same-sex erotic attraction became the dominant definition by the late 1950s. (In a brief comparative passage they suggest this switch may have occurred earlier for gay men.) The later criterion allowed a greater place for fems, whose appearance and often sense of self were more feminine.

Close attention to the narrators' categories creates the only real problem with this study, which the authors fully acknowledge: the conspicuous and aggressive butch lesbians, acknowledged leaders of the bar community, constitute the majority of the narrators and the heroes of the story. (Interestingly, fems, too, were leaders among black lesbians due to the importance of house parties in addition to public bar life.) Fems were less distinct from heterosexual women and more often moved back and forth between straight and lesbian life. The pressure within the community to establish clear role divisions may have stemmed from the hostile environment, but for scholars to emphasize such fixed identities is "not conducive to comprehending the position of fems" (p. 385). Despite this bias, this book is a major study of lesbian history that advances thinking about the social construction of sexuality and allows us to hear the

voices of women who created community and claimed public space in the face of harassment and social condemnation.

CHRISTINA SIMMONS
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DAVID M. RICCI. *The Transformation of American Politics: The New Washington and the Rise of Think Tanks*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 310. \$30.00.

David M. Ricci brings the perspective of a political scientist to his study of politics and think tanks in Washington, D.C. He provides a broader perspective on think tanks than historians—including me—have yet given in previous studies on the subject.

Ricci offers a provocative essay on the transformation of the American political system since 1960. Along the way, he discusses with easy familiarity political thought from Aristotle to Alasdair MacIntyre, ideological controversy from classical liberalism to neoconservatism, and political movements from Ralph Nader to the Religious Roundtable. Ricci makes incisive comments on American religious history, the evolution of the news media, public interest groups, and the breakdown of the party system and partisan politics in contemporary America. His sixty-five pages of detailed footnotes reveal broad erudition.

Ricci describes the rise of think tanks as a recent American phenomenon. In 1970 only a few existed in Washington. Ricci argues persuasively that after 1970 Washington became more receptive to think-tank advice because American culture was in disarray. Citing MacIntyre, Ricci maintains Western thinking about values had become confused. "Americans today," he argues, "find it difficult to agree on which stories [cultural and historical] they should tell and which characters they should emulate" (p. 12). Although the culture appeared in disarray, the nature of knowledge also changed in these years. Within the university, academics deferred to vocational priorities set by academic disciplines that often encouraged their members to work on projects that "provide little benefit to the larger community." Some social scientists found work outside academia in the private sector, and, while their work was useful, their main interest was to advance the interests of their clients.

In Washington, policy makers were overwhelmed by information coming out of public agencies, interest groups, and various other sources. As information began to flood the city, Washington sought out professional people who would summarize and interpret it. The problem, however, was more than the quantity of information. Washington lacked a coherent "public philosophy," a clear vision of what is best for society, which was necessary to deal with the complex flow of information. Think tanks were called on to fill this need.

At the same time, the electorate failed to provide

any vision for its leaders. A coherent public philosophy, necessary to the functioning of any polity, was subverted in the United States by the rejection of traditional values, the replacement of Calvinism by liberal Protestantism, the decline of mainstream churches, the rise of consumerism, the cultural contradictions between ascetic and acquisitive capitalism, and political pluralism. Ricci argues that by the 1980s American citizens faced competing and conflicting visions of community life. Political mandates became scarce. The rise of television news did little to impart meaningful knowledge to a confused electorate.

The consequence, Ricci maintains, was the emergence of a new Washington dominated by policy entrepreneurs and a "new class" of experts who "market" ideas. Ironically, he argues, conservatives helped create this new Washington in the 1980s by organizing an array of think tanks to espouse the benevolence of the marketplace in human affairs and condemn big government. Although conservatives ran against Washington, they contributed to the influence and growth of the beltway leviathan.

Underlying Ricci's study is a subtle intellectual argument that cuts across ideological lines. Although not a conservative, Ricci quotes Edmund Burke, who said that a good society emerges from a slow accretion of achievements inherited from the past, from accomplishments fashioned in the present, and from obligations we owe to the future. Ricci concludes by calling for a "new civic humanism" as the first step in restoring a public philosophy. Some critics will find this call utopian given the acrimony within academic, intellectual, and political life today. Nonetheless, a more interesting question remains whether society in fact needs to share values and a common public philosophy to survive. Ricci assumes this is the case in this splendid book.

DONALD T. CRITCHLOW
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MARGARET HOPE BACON. *One Woman's Passion for Peace and Freedom: The Life of Mildred Scott Olmsted*. (Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1993. Pp. xix, 394. \$34.95.

Although Mildred Scott Olmsted's name may not be as familiar as that of Emily Greene Balch and Dorothy Detzer, her colleagues in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Olmsted was, nevertheless, an important figure in the peace movement in the United States. Margaret Hope Bacon has written more than a biography of Olmsted; she has explored as well the ties between both the old and the new feminism and the cause of peace. Bacon chronicles the intertwining of the personal and the political in Olmsted's life, from her youthful years as a rebel against the confining role assigned to women, to her middle years as a tireless

worker on behalf of peace and justice with the WILPF, to her old age as an active opponent of the Vietnam War and proponent of the civil rights and women's movements.

Through Olmsted's story and her association with the WILPF, Bacon presents all the problems of the peace movement, such as arguments between pacifists and isolationists and debates over proper coalition partners. Bacon also describes the WILPF's internal struggles between those who wanted to turn it into a pacifist organization and those who wanted it to remain open to all women concerned about working for peace; between those who wanted to remove the word "women" from the WILPF name to those who wanted the organization to remain gender exclusive.

Bacon shows how Olmsted's public and private lives complemented each other. Olmsted's belief in individual freedom led to her unusual triangular marriage, which involved both her husband, Allen Olmsted, and a woman friend, Ruth Mellor. She insisted on adequate household help before giving birth to one child and adopting two others, a situation that allows Bacon to compare the old and the new women's movements. Olmsted's inability to show warmth and affection led to rocky relationships with both her husband and her children while at the same time enabling her to be away from home for the extended periods of time required by her participation in both the international and the American WILPF. Given her independence, it is not surprising that in her old age Olmsted became a role model for young feminists.

The WILPF was founded in 1915 by women hoping to end World War I by arbitration. Olmsted, who joined in 1920 and subsequently became a paid worker for the group, used her talents for organization and networking to build coalitions with other groups. She was not always easy to work with, however, preferring to centralize power in her own hands and often causing more conflict and acrimony between staff members than she settled. Olmsted and Dorothy Detzer, for example, were competitors for many years, only resolving their differences as old women.

Often in the forefront of the struggle for civil liberties, and just as often charged with radicalism, the WILPF through the years braved scorn to remain true to its ideals. Olmsted, often more radical than the organization, also endured censure for her advanced political positions as well as for continuing her career while her children were young. For example, she remained pacifist even through World War II. Because some members equivocated on an antiwar stance, the WILPF declined in its influence during the war. Olmsted was still active for the resurgence of the peace movement in the 1960s, but the advanced age of the most loyal WILPF members made it difficult to attract younger members.

Although one might have wished for a clearer analysis of Olmsted's motivation for turning pacifist,

and one might quibble about the use of a military metaphor to describe a pacifist ("She greeted the new women's movement with the enthusiasm of an old soldier welcoming the long-awaited arrival of young recruits" [p. 327]), and one might not see the necessity for including descriptions of every trip Olmsted took—and they were innumerable—on the whole the book is well written and, because Olmsted was a compulsive saver, based on more than adequate primary source documentation. This book is particularly well suited for courses in peace studies and women's studies.

PAULA F. PFEFFER

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ROBERT KLEIDMAN. *Organizing for Peace: Neutrality, the Test Ban, and the Freeze*. (Syracuse Studies on Peace and Conflict Resolution.) Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1993. Pp. xiv, 261. \$34.95.

In the past quarter-century, the growing attention given by historians to the study of peace movements has been matched by the accelerated interest that sociologists have shown in this same phenomenon. Social movement scholarship, particularly, has added the analysis of peace movements to its purview, doubtless because of these movements' impressive size and dynamism. In this book, sociologist Robert Kleidman nicely blends the methods and findings of the two disciplines into a first-rate work of historical sociology.

Kleidman looks at three campaigns that provided "the peacetime peaks of the modern American peace movement" (p. 2): the Emergency Peace Campaign of 1936–37; the nuclear test ban campaign of 1957–63; and the nuclear weapons freeze campaign of 1980–86. In each case, he points out, small peace groups reached out to a broad constituency through a concerted effort around narrowly focused, easily understood issues. The largest of these ventures, the nuclear freeze campaign, eventually drew on an estimated ten million participants in 6,000 organizations and garnered the support of a substantial majority of the American public.

As a sociologist, Kleidman focuses on understanding organizational dynamics; as a former freeze campaign leader, he focuses on building a more effective movement. Three sets of organizational tensions affected the history and impact of these campaigns, he contends: tensions between grass-roots mobilization and professionalism, between local activism and national work, and between coalitions of existing groups and an independent campaign organization. "Organizational and strategic tensions are inherent in campaigns," Kleidman concludes, but "by recognizing the nature of these tensions, anticipating the kinds of decisions to be made, and understanding the consequences of decisions made by earlier campaigns, activists in the future may be able to match the

successes of past efforts as they avoid some of the [past] problems" (pp. 203-04).

In a variety of ways, this is an impressive study. Drawing on leading historical and sociological scholarship, Kleidman skillfully brings the findings of both disciplines to bear on his central concerns. In addition, the book makes good use of the records of the major organizations in the three campaigns he examines. Written clearly and carefully, this study should appeal to both scholars and students. Although some of the book's claims might be disputed—for example, the assertion that the establishment of SANE represented a coalition effort—it makes a compelling case for the existence of common organizational tensions within the three peace campaigns.

Not quite as convincing is Kleidman's contention that, given the "conditions and limits" set by "political factors . . . the ways in which the campaigns organized themselves had a critical impact on their course and outcomes" (p. 183). Historians, at least, have been less impressed with the influence of internal dynamics than with the impact of world events—in this case, the drift toward World War II and the momentum of the Cold War—on the development and efficacy of these campaigns. But the different assumptions and interests of sociologists may lead to different conclusions.

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GEORGE Q. FLYNN. *The Draft, 1940-1973*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1993. Pp. xiv, 376. \$45.00.

George Q. Flynn's book is a distinguished addition to the University Press of Kansas's Modern War Studies series. Flynn presents a well-nuanced exploration of an institution that "existed in a state of perpetual tension with American culture" (p. 6) yet sustained broad-based support until it was swamped in the political turmoil of the Vietnam War.

An American system of selective service needs to balance the universal obligation of service with a management of human resources that promises the most productive use of abilities. The draft achieved this under the demanding conditions of World War II, registering close to 50 million men, inducting 10 million, while managing a system of deferments to sustain a war economy in the least disruptive fashion. The particular strength of this study lies in its detailed examination of the peacetime draft, when reduced military calls along with an expanding pool of draft-age men enabled the Selective Service System to become largely a military channeling agency. Flynn delineates the draft system's relationship with the educational, scientific, and medical communities in working out a structure of deferments in the 1950s and early 1960s. When the deepening involvement in

Vietnam raised draft calls, Selective Service's pattern of deferments provoked questions of equity, and the legitimacy of the draft itself increasingly came under attack as opposition to the war intensified. Flynn offers a clear analysis of the impact of class and race on draft determinations. His interpretation of the transition, during the Richard Nixon administration, from the draft to an all-volunteer force is the best account available. His concluding chapter assesses how voluntarism is faring in filling the ranks of the armed services.

Flynn's earlier works, on mobilization in World War II and a biography of draft director Lewis B. Hershey, have given him the command of the sources needed to write this illuminating institutional history of the draft's adaptations and confrontations with recent American political culture. It is an exceedingly balanced treatment, although Flynn's assertion that Lyndon Johnson's "problems with the draft undoubtedly played a large role" (p. 219) in his decision to withdraw from the presidential campaign of 1968 seems excessive.

The exhaustive research that informs this study, the Selective Service System records, Hershey's papers, manuscripts at six presidential libraries, the files of the various commissions examining the draft system, interviews, as well as a mastery of the secondary literature, is laid out in fifty-six pages of notes. Flynn includes, as well, an excellent bibliographical essay.

JOHN O'SULLIVAN
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D. CLAYTON JAMES. *Refighting the Last War: Command and Crisis in Korea, 1950-1953*. Assisted by ANNE SHARP WELLS. New York: Free Press. 1993. Pp. xiii, 282. \$24.95.

As America's so-called "forgotten war," the conflict in Korea has generated a great deal of attention in recent years. Such reconsideration is understandable given the war's centrality in the intensification of the Cold War and the myriad of issues requiring clarification in its wake: U.S. perception of the strategic importance of the Korean peninsula, reasons for the change in objectives after success at Inchon, and decisions on the prosecution of the war after Chinese intervention, to cite only a few. D. Clayton James, distinguished military historian and author of a magisterial three-volume biography of General Douglas MacArthur, has now joined the growing list of scholars studying U.S. involvement in Korea.

Unremarkable in conception, methodology, or execution, his work constitutes a two-part assessment of the military dimension of the conflict. In the first section of the book he provides thumbnail sketches (a chapter for each) of the highest-ranking American commanders, beginning with President Harry S. Truman and including generals Douglas MacArthur, Matthew Ridgway, Mark Clark, and Admiral Turner

Joy. Although all of these chapters include interesting—generally flattering and favorable—material on their subjects, the one on MacArthur is, not surprisingly, the most insightful. James portrays MacArthur as a “flawed genius,” an egomaniacal popinjay who too often disregarded the opinions of his superiors and manifested inconsistencies and contradictions all over the place, but who was neither neurotic nor personally responsible for many of the key decisions of the war; he did not unilaterally make the decision to cross the 38th parallel. Nor did he recommend the use of nuclear weapons.

The second part of the book deals with the six main command decisions: Truman's decision to intervene in June 1950, the landing at Inchon, the crossing of the 38th parallel, advancement of U.S. armies to the Yalu River, commitment to a negotiated settlement, and resignation to the ideas and constraints of limited war. In the chapter that stands out as the book's best, James notes that the Soviets joined in keeping the war limited by holding back on MIG fighters, limiting their supply of naval vessels to North Korea, and avoiding action in other areas of Asia or Europe.

James's major thesis is that at least in the early stages of the Korean War the United States refought World War II, that U.S. commanders relied on their World War II experience, and employed strategies, tactics, and to a great degree equipment from that war. Since policy makers cannot learn from the future and because the present so quickly becomes part of the past, it hardly seems exceptional that military and civilian leaders in the 1950–53 period would draw on the past or would “refight” the war of 1942–45. What seems unusual is that they had the flexibility, as James himself points out, to adopt approaches appropriate to changed circumstances, as they clearly did after the Chinese intervention.

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FUAD SHA'BAN. *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: The Roots of Orientalism in America*. Durham, N.C.: Acorn, with the cooperation of Duke University Islamic and Arabian Development Studies. 1991. Pp. xxi, 244. \$38.50.

In his magisterial *Oxford History of the American People* (1965), Samuel Eliot Morison argued that Puritan New England's culture had an impact far beyond America: “Little Ali, who attends a missionary school and goes on to Robert College in Istanbul, got his chance for an education because little John and Elihu in the colonial era attended Boston Latin or the Hopkins Grammar and went on to Harvard or Yale. And Ali's right to vote and be elected to the Turkish parliament owes much to the fact that Englishmen in New England and Virginia managed to make representative government work” (Morison, p. 74). These

comments reflect a long-standing American attitude toward the rest of the world, not just the Orient: idealistic, perhaps even patronizing, although well-intentioned.

Fuad Sha'ban's book has a different purpose. It attempts to set American attitudes toward the Orient in the context of American intellectual and cultural history. Its focus is therefore not Middle Eastern history, not what happened in “the East,” but rather what happened in the minds of Americans in the nineteenth century, a crucial period for the development of American culture. Sha'ban is familiar with the principal texts that helped to form American culture, and his approach is for the most part judicious, regardless of how specialists in American intellectual and cultural history may respond to what he has done. His principal thesis is that the commitments and assumptions of early American intellectuals helped to shape American attitudes toward the Orient, and that those commitments and assumptions derived from religious and literary tropes that tended to be repeated, even with important variations, throughout the nineteenth century in works by missionaries, by widely read travelers, and by authors of imaginative literature about the Orient.

Sha'ban shows how the evolution of American cultural attitudes correlated with America's growth as a commercial power with contacts in the Mediterranean and Islamic worlds. Inheriting the prejudices and attitudes of Europe regarding the Islamic world, Americans saw themselves as continuing the “pilgrim's progress,” as bearing responsibility for “others” less enlightened or fortunate; this was, after all, part of the notion of manifest destiny. It was, however, one thing to apply this notion to the American West, quite another to think about and to interpret the East. From the shores of Tripoli to the activities and prejudices of missionaries, these basic attitudes were of immense importance to America's encounter with the Islamic world (and may still be so for some persons). That these attitudes may now be changing in the “new world order” might challenge Sha'ban's thesis: in his conclusion, he suggests a rather simplistic linkage between inherited American attitudes and current U.S. policy toward the region (see esp. p. 198). If anything, this policy is overdetermined, even as it repeats elements from the past.

Sha'ban's work is well produced and printed, despite a number of run-together words and phrases and the misspelling of “deity” (as “Diety,” pp. 58 and elsewhere). Specialists in Islamic history will be irritated by the rendering of Muslim as “Muslem,” yet one more variant destined to confuse students. On the whole, however, readers in this secular age will be reintroduced to the religious tone, millenarian hopes, and self-conscious superiority that Americans once felt. It would be interesting to explore the evolving American image of the Orient during the course of

this century, which itself is coming to an end. Sha'ban would do well to follow up with another book.

KARL K. BARBIR
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CHARLES J. WEEKS, JR. *An American Naval Diplomat in Revolutionary Russia: The Life and Times of Vice Admiral Newton A. McCully*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 348. \$37.95.

Charles J. Weeks, Jr., set himself the challenging task of using the life and times of Admiral Newton A. McCully to integrate three "historiographical" themes: Russian-American relations during the crucial period between 1904 and 1921; the changing role of naval officers as diplomats; and the relationship between the military and civilians in American society. Weeks really only makes passing reference to the various "historiographies" involved, and his treatment of military-civilian relations is minimal. Nevertheless, he tells a very good story.

McCully served in Russia as assistant naval attaché and observer during the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, as naval attaché in St. Petersburg from 1914 to 1917, as commander of U.S. naval forces in northern Russia from 1918 to 1919, and finally as special agent for the State Department in south Russia in 1920. His mastery of Russian and his total time "in-country" help support the contention—made both by Weeks and by McCully's contemporaries—that he was the United States' most knowledgeable Russian expert at the time. McCully maintained an objectivity, except perhaps on relief issues, that allowed him to convey under even the most confusing of times remarkably insightful reports.

Unfortunately, few in Washington read McCully's reports. As Weeks notes, "The United States government lacked the administrative expertise to channel useful intelligence to appropriate action agencies" (p. 71) and, in any case, the State Department demonstrated a tendency to "disregard the advice of military and naval attachés" (p. 122). To make matters worse, in the case of revolutionary Russia the Woodrow Wilson administration "based policy decisions on its concept of what was happening . . . rather than actual events" (p. 169) and sent its diplomats instructions so vague and/or self-contradictory as to be useless as guides to actual behavior. Thus, diplomats such as McCully found themselves representing a government that did not tell them what to do and did not listen to what they had to say. The higher his rank, the more frustrating McCully sometimes found his country's (and its allies') actions (or lack thereof) with reference to revolutionary Russia. The same general breakdown in communications and "reality testing" applied to reports submitted by August Heid of the Russian Bureau and, during the 1920s, to most of the communications from peripheral ministries and consulates.

Despite these obstacles, McCully took his assignments seriously and, for that or for personal reasons, recorded most of his experiences and impressions. His perspectives add color to our understanding not only of U.S. foreign relations but also of events in Russia itself.

Strangely, however, the book does not give us much color on McCully himself. The admiral's love of dancing, his adoption of seven Russian children, and both of his marriages therefore come as surprises, not to say shocks, to the reader. In the same vein, although he is quick to point out shortcomings at the State Department, Weeks actually has little to say about the U.S. Navy, either as an institution with its own foibles or as the conduit theoretically responsible for lobbying on McCully's behalf. Given the high quality of what Weeks did include, the reader is left wanting to know more.

LINDA KILLEN
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YU-MING SHAW. *An American Missionary in China: John Leighton Stuart and Chinese-American Relations*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 158.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1993. Pp. xv, 381. \$30.00.

This book is the work of a scholar-diplomat whose own career in some ways mirrors that of John Leighton Stuart, making him the ideal biographer. Just as Stuart was lured from the university to the international stage, Yu-ming Shaw pursued an academic life in the United States and Taiwan only to be confronted with opportunities to serve his government as well as his students. Shaw sensitively analyzes this dilemma as well as the profound challenge to Stuart's principles, hopes, and illusions posed by the developing political situation in China in the 1940s. Throughout, Shaw makes us understand the human being who cared deeply about the Chinese people as well as the context of his commitment to a developing nation caught in the throes of revolution and beset by foreign aggression.

Stuart devoted his first, missionary career in China to education at the Nanking Theological Seminary (1908–19) and then as president of Yenching University (1919–46). Central to his purposes was to infuse intellectual enlightenment with a message of Christian salvation. His evangelical mission, however, often took second place to the immediate demands of secular politics. During the anti-Japanese war he kept Yenching in Japanese-occupied Beijing, cleverly manipulating the Japanese, while secretly assisting the Communist resistance and urging Washington to follow bolder policies to curb Tokyo's militarism.

The anti-Japanese war years were, Shaw tells us, crucial in shaping Stuart's approach to the Chinese civil war and U.S. government policy. Although pro-Chiang Kai-shek, Stuart developed a critique of Na-

tionalist ineffectiveness that stood in contrast to his desire for a strong Kuomintang regime. As ambassador he followed the contradictory policy of championing Chiang while privately petitioning the Generalissimo to reform. Career diplomats believed Stuart served the United States poorly because of his affection for the Kuomintang cause. But Stuart was in many ways a Wilsonian idealist who favored substitution of American for Kuomintang tutelage of the Chinese people to achieve true democracy and stability.

In the end, Stuart urged accommodation between the Chinese Communists and Washington rather than succumbing to a fruitless policy of alienation. Shaw makes clear that so far as Stuart was concerned there was a lost chance in China in 1949, resulting from Washington's narrowness of vision. Shaw, however, aligns himself with those who contend no opportunities were missed because there were none. The Truman administration did not have the freedom to sever relations with the Nationalists, being constrained by public opinion and its own distaste for the Chinese Communist Party. The Chinese Communists, Shaw insists, were interested only in economic contacts and would not have leaned less toward the Soviet Union politically. He does not acknowledge that moderation in one area might have necessitated some flexibility in others.

This stimulating and engaging assessment of an important actor in Sino-American relations was begun before Shaw, like Stuart, took up a government portfolio. In the interim, scholars such as John Garver and Odd Arne Westad have had more time and greater access than Shaw to new archival resources in China and the former Soviet Union. Reading their studies in conjunction with Shaw's more intimate portrait of the period and the person is essential to an understanding of a complex era.

NANCY BERNKOPF TUCKER
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RONALD L. MCGLOTHLEN. *Controlling the Waves: Dean Acheson and U.S. Foreign Policy in Asia*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1993. Pp. 320. \$27.95.

The concept underlying Ronald L. McGlothlen's study is sound. Revisit the Asian policies of Dean Acheson, generally regarded as the consummate Eurocentric American statesman of the twentieth century. Read all the secondary literature available on the Truman administration's Asian policy, comb the National Archives and the Truman Library for relevant new documents, interview the handful of administration survivors (such as Paul Nitze and Dean Rusk), and publish a short, comprehensive, readable history of Acheson's Asian policy. Unfortunately, the book's execution does not live up to its promise.

McGlothlen's explication of Acheson's Asian "paradigm" (a word the author uses with annoying, tic-like regularity) goes like this: Acheson's overriding

objective in Asia was the restoration of Japan's political stability and economic power, an unobjectionable conclusion. The author then argues that Acheson's policy worked almost too well vis-à-vis Japan, but in the process it created an awkward commitment to Taiwan, a twenty-year Cold War with the People's Republic of China, and led to American intervention in Korea and Vietnam. It is a bold and intriguing thesis; an unprovable meditation on American post-war hegemonic intent. With excerpts from various National Security Council and State Department memoranda, McGlothlen allows the reader to be privy to the inner workings of the Truman administration's always fluid and often contradictory Asian policies. Many of the documents pertaining to economic policy considerations are brought to light here for the first time, particularly those related to Korea and Taiwan, and for this the reader should be grateful. As a historical archaeologist, McGlothlen makes a real contribution, but when it comes to analyzing and interpreting these documents' historical significance, their applicability to actual economic, political, and military policy making, he is wanting.

His shortcomings are twofold. First, the study reads like a dissertation; the narrative is flat, the thesis overdrawn, and the book larded with the kinds of errors and oversights that undermine the reader's trust in the author's grasp of the larger picture. In wooden prose that strains the patience of the most devoted historical buff, the author pays homage to the "demands of scholarship" (presumably, at a minimum, factual accuracy), but by page two he has already committed two errors. McGlothlen claims Franklin Roosevelt "fired" then-Undersecretary of the Treasury Acheson in 1933 for objecting to FDR's decision to take the dollar off the gold standard; in fact, Acheson "resigned" in gentlemanly fashion. The reader is then informed that "it was not until 1940 that Roosevelt brought his wayward sheep back into the fold—this time as Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs." Acheson, who was never a wayward sheep, was asked back into the government in 1941 after he helped orchestrate the Destroyers-for-Bases deal while he was a lawyer in the private sector. The second shortcoming of McGlothlen's book is the author's narrowness of vision, which gives rise to the inference that he fails to understand the complex, subtle, and nuanced attitudes and relationships of policy makers during the Cold War. For example, Acheson's prejudice toward nonwhites is never seriously considered because McGlothlen does not find evidence of it in any of the documents he examines. Acheson may have spent a great deal of his time on Asian affairs, but he viewed the people of the region as subhuman. Without taking his racism into consideration, it is impossible to properly understand the Cold War in Asia.

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ISAAC ALTERAS. *Eisenhower and Israel: U.S.-Israeli Relations, 1953-1960*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 1993. Pp. xvi, 387. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$19.95.

Despite occasional U.S.-Israeli discord on certain issues, Isaac Alteras argues, the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration consistently defended Israel's independence. Eisenhower differed from Harry S. Truman only by rhetorically criticizing Israel, and he ended that practice after 1957 when threats of political radicalism in the Middle East forged a special relationship between Washington and Jerusalem.

Alteras is at his best in examining U.S.-Israeli relations. He insightfully analyzes both the private views of officials in each state toward their counterparts in the other, and the interaction between the two states on issues such as Jewish immigration, Israel's request for American arms and a security guarantee, and U.S. attempts to negotiate an Arab-Israeli peace agreement. His discussion of the Johnston Plan for allocating waters of the Jordan Valley is excellent, and his account of the U.S.-Israeli showdown in early 1957 over Israel's occupation of Sinai and Gaza surpasses those in other books on this issue. Alteras also does a fine job of assessing the formulation of Israeli policy toward the Cold War and the renewal of Egyptian-Israeli hostility. The strength of Alteras's analysis of such issues lies in his use of the diary of David Ben-Gurion and other Israeli records, in addition to some U.S. documentary sources. To his credit, the author also understands historiographical controversies among Israeli scholars on the Arab refugees crisis and the relationship between Ben-Gurion and Moshe Sharett.

Among the book's flaws, perhaps the most fundamental is the uneven nature of Alteras's research. He cites Israeli records from certain years but neglects comparable documents from others. His underuse of available American records results in numerous errors, such as attributing the Negev corridor plan to Robert Anderson. Alteras's account of the Suez crisis is based heavily on secondary works, including Herman Finer's outdated diatribe.

The nature of his research leads Alteras to make several arguments that some readers will find unconvincing. Those familiar with Eisenhower's policy of even-handedness between Israel and the Arab states will question the author's suggestion that Eisenhower would have tolerated the destruction of Israel but for the fact that Israeli officials successfully contested that dimension of the policy. Alteras's definition of American "impartiality" as "changes more of style, atmospherics, and rhetoric than of substance" (p. 80) is inconsistent with his own evidence of Eisenhower's refusal to endorse Israel's policy on Jerusalem, its doctrine of retaliation, and its demands for access to the Suez Canal. Alteras repeatedly strays from his theme into long discussions of U.S.-Egyptian relations that are comparatively weaker than the recent

outpouring of pertinent books and articles, which the author does not mention. Indicative of his approach is his conclusion that the United States and Israel enjoyed closer relations after 1957 because Israel proved its "usefulness in stemming the pro-Soviet Nasserite tide" (p. 310).

Finally, the book draws to a close prematurely. In contrast to his long and detailed discussion of events through April 1957, Alteras races through developments of 1957-60 in only nine pages. His examination of events such as the Middle East crisis of July 1958 and the Eisenhower-Ben-Gurion meeting of March 1960 will satisfy few readers. He fails even to mention U.S. concerns about Israel's atomic reactor at Dimona, whose existence was revealed in 1960.

These flaws aside, Alteras's book provides readers with an interesting examination of U.S.-Israeli relations in a binational perspective.

PETER L. HAHN
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DAVID GOLDFISCHER. *The Best Defense: Policy Alternatives for U.S. Nuclear Security from the 1950s to the 1990s*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 283. \$42.95.

This study of nuclear weapons strategy focuses on a path not taken, one David Goldfisher believes offered greater security than either massive retaliation or Mutually Assured Destruction (MAD). The purpose of Mutual Defense Emphasis (MDE) was to attain the greatest level of security possible through arms control agreements complemented by the deployment of purely defensive weapons systems. Had Washington adopted this strategy during the Cold War, Goldfisher believes that the nuclear balance would have been more stable, and the people of the United States and of the Soviet Union more secure than they were, living as they did under the constant threat of annihilation. To demonstrate his point Goldfisher discusses three periods in the history of the arms race: the age of the big bombers, the decade of the 1960s when the missile became the strategists' weapon of choice, and the 1980s.

In 1953, a panel of experts headed by J. Robert Oppenheimer recommended an "arms regulation" agreement with the Soviet Union along with an air defense system as offering the greatest possible degree of security against an atomic attack. Air force opposition, budgetary considerations, and questions relating to European defense combined to smother MDE. Massive retaliation was the preferred approach.

In the 1960s, advocates of MDE, especially Donald G. Brennan of the Hudson Institute, revived the idea, calling for severe limits on offensive weaponry and the deployment of a defensive anti-ballistic missile (ABM) system. But the majority of arms controllers

preferred to rely on a two-stage arms reduction process involving only offensive weaponry. An initial confidence-building agreement was to produce stability between the superpowers. Subsequent talks would result in real reductions.

SALT I all but eliminated the ABM and closed the book on MDE. But instead of further cuts the world was treated to an escalating arms race, new counterforce weapons, and Mutually Assured Destruction, which was less a strategy than a condition that left open the possibility of total devastation should the deterrent fail.

In the 1980s, the Ronald Reagan administration appeared to adopt a defensive approach. But Star Wars, or the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), was in fact intended to reestablish America's nuclear superiority. As a result, the public debate over SDI was a virtual repetition of the earlier clash over the ABM.

The end of the Cold War has produced dramatic change. Those who advocated a war-fighting strategy have been discredited by events; MAD has become anachronistic. Goldfischer believes the time is at hand for Russia and the United States to get serious about MDE. He argues that it would result in major nuclear arms reductions. Moreover, in a world in which nuclear proliferation appears inevitable, it would provide protection against accidental launches or attack by a small nuclear power.

Historians may quibble with aspects of Goldfischer's analysis. But they cannot deny that the moment has arrived for a new approach to the nuclear problem or that MDE has some definite attractions in this disorderly world of ours.

GERARD CLARFIELD
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CANADA

LOUIS LAVALLÉE. *La Prairie en Nouvelle-France 1647–1760: Étude d'histoire sociale*. (Studies on the History of Quebec/Études d'histoire du Québec.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. 301. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$29.95.

Located on the south shore of Montreal at the convergence of routes to the interior of Canada and to Albany, La Prairie was strongly influenced by its geography. Along with the neighboring Iroquois mission of Sault Ste. Louis, it was owned by the Jesuits but the parish was placed under the care of the Sulpicians. Only one manager oversaw the administration of the seigneurie, which had only a small domain, later sold, and two grist mills that operated seasonally and were often the cause of complaints. The parish of La Prairie was at first contiguous with the seigneurie, resulting in a strong identity of place. The rural community that emerged was primarily made up of farmers. Neither extremes of wealth nor of poverty were very common; in this society, where

opportunity as well as capital were located externally (in Montreal), mediocrity was the norm.

Following the model of French seigneurial monographs, Louis Lavallée treats each aspect of the community in turn: geography, population, the institutional framework (seigneurie and parish), community interdependence, links to the fur trade, and stratification. This leaves gaps in other areas, such as agricultural practices and education (although the Sisters of the Congregation are mentioned as being present in the seigneurie). The strength of this study lies in the excellent documentary base that allows Lavallée to combine individual examples with a meticulous serial analysis of certain types of documents. The author's conclusion that the juridical base of the seigneurie remained much the same throughout the period studied, for example, is based on 890 deeds of concession, whose distribution over time Lavallée also details. He has also analyzed thousands of notarial records. The weakness of this approach, however, is that chapters are too self-contained.

More discussion of the links between marriage strategies and inheritance practices, for example, would enhance our understanding of both. Matrimonial alliances, perhaps the most interesting and original section of the study, are discussed under community interdependence in chapter 5. Basing his analysis on 507 marriage contracts and a reconstruction of family genealogies, Lavallée demonstrates the considerable extent of geographic endogamy as well as the restricted size of the family groups that intermarried. A few examples of exceptional cases are detailed. These marriage strategies, Lavallée argues, facilitated the reconstitution of family property, which was divided each generation by egalitarian inheritance practices. These topics are studied in chapter 6, with wills, donations, and inventories after death being the main sources. Fragmentation of property was avoided in this period, but only through heroic efforts on the part of the heir to reacquire all the shares of the family property. The links between these efforts and the marriages discussed earlier, however, are not clear.

The study of social groups is another of Lavallée's interests. His examination of vestry records shows that a few elite families dominated in parish affairs, but the author provides no links between this discussion and that on economic stratification, which is based on inventories after death. It would be interesting to know if the fortune spent on the embellishment of the church after years of struggle to pay for a stone church and its additions was a reflection of the place occupied by the church in the social and spiritual life of the parishioners, as the author suggests, or if it demonstrated the average parishioner's lack of power in vestry affairs.

Clearly written and solidly grounded in the secondary literature of both New France and France, Lavallée's book is an outstanding example of what can be achieved through the serial analysis of documents.

Overall, this is an excellent study that adds depth to our knowledge of colonial rural society and deserves an audience beyond a narrow circle of New France experts.

FRANÇOISE NOËL
Nipissing University

JANICE POTTER-MACKINNON. *While the Women Only Wept: Loyalist Refugee Women*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1993. Pp. xvi, 199. \$34.95.

Janice Potter-MacKinnon contends that loyalist women, before their exile, were active participants in the American Revolution, although men "minimized and distorted" (p. xiii) their contributions even in the 1780s. Neither observation will surprise feminist scholars, who often find women subverting gender conventions and men ignoring or disparaging women's public accomplishments.

This book re-creates the wartime experience of loyalist women in northern New York who resettled as refugees in eastern Ontario. These women were mostly wives and daughters of frontier subsistence farmers, many of whom were not freeholders. They inhabited close-knit Scots, German, Dutch, and Mohawk communities, isolated from the modernizing mainstream of eighteenth-century life. When loyalist men fled, however, most women remained behind enemy lines, where necessity forced them to go "outside the confines of their previous experiences" (p. 30). Loyalist women ran farms, protected their homes, and provided supplies, protection, and information to the British Army. They also braved the wrath of local Whigs, who resented their activities.

The book's fascinating second half tells the story of women who made the difficult journey into exile during the 1780s. Potter-MacKinnon describes life in Quebec refugee camps, where women and children lived meagerly in crowded barracks, while most men served in the military. Exile communities reflected the social conservatism of their leaders. Loyalist commanders used military rank to preserve status distinctions, which British authorities perpetuated when they allotted land to refugees according to rank in their postwar frontier settlements.

The exclusion of women from military service also institutionalized gender differences, accentuating men's active patriotism while consigning women to passive dependence. In exile, women described themselves as weak and dependent, despite their wartime achievements, while men defined the loyalist identity in thoroughly masculine terms, idealizing soldiers and property owners who risked all to promote their honorable cause. Preferring the ideal of patriarchy to the reality of women's autonomy and activism, men excluded women from the pantheon of loyalist heroes. A culturally constructed group identity thus robbed women of their history.

Although Potter-MacKinnon correctly stresses the

hardships of the loyalist experience, she underestimates the suffering of patriot women and exaggerates the benefits the revolution brought them. Especially in southern New York and in the southern states, British and Tory troops brutalized patriot women, seized their property, and sometimes forced them into exile. When the war was over, patriot women gained no new political rights. Even the right to petition was, in the United States as in Canada, ordinarily afforded only to women without husbands: widows, single women, and the wives of exiles.

Perhaps more importantly, Whig men also reinvented their martial past, forging an identity that idealized the citizen-soldier while largely ignoring women's wartime contributions. In postwar America, paeans to the prowess of the common soldier easily overshadowed homage to republican womanhood, especially by the 1790s. The loyalist "fathers of Upper Canada" had as their equally gender-specific counterparts America's "founding fathers." Fourth of July toasts and speeches routinely juxtaposed masculine vigor and feminine passivity. Just as a Canadian poet idealized the men who fought "while the women only wept," a patriotic Virginian proclaimed that war "inspired one sex with terror" but "inflamed the courage of the other." Another celebrated the military "heroes of '76," alongside the "American Fair," whose "smiles will reward the brave."

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DOUGLAS MCCALLA. *Planting the Province: The Economic History of Upper Canada, 1784-1870*. (The Ontario Historical Studies Series.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, for the Government of Ontario. 1993. Pp. xviii, 446. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

A generation ago Fernand Ouellet's magisterial *Histoire économique et sociale du Québec, 1760-1850* (1966) established the standard for regional economic history that has rarely been reached in North American historiography. With the publication of this book, Upper Canada now has an economic history comparable to that of Lower Canada. Douglas McCalla, although less pugnacious and more economical with his words than Ouellet (but no less enthusiastic about numbers), also sets his sights on the demolition of orthodoxy.

The book begins and ends with synoptic sections, the first surveying the nascent colonial economy up to the aftermath of the War of 1812, the last a bird's-eye view of a rapidly developing provincial economy in the mid-nineteenth century. The midsection, "Extensive Growth, 1822-51," presents his main argument in separate topical chapters dealing with forest products, agriculture, manufacturing, transportation, finance, trade, government, and the business cycle. Many of these chapters have appeared earlier as

essays. Drawn together here, it is possible to take full measure of McCalla's overall achievement.

McCalla insists that Upper Canada was not an example of an export-led "staples economy." The focus on pine and wheat exports as engines of economic growth, McCalla argues, "yields an oversimplified and fundamentally inaccurate view of the process of economic development in Upper Canada" (p. 5). The forest products sector was both much broader and more complex in its structure than the pattern of exports, and much less important than has heretofore been thought in relation to the rest of the economy. Similarly, McCalla shows the breadth of agricultural activity and the minor role that the cultivation of wheat export played relative to mixed agricultural production for household consumption and local markets. McCalla literally puts wheat and timber back in their place.

Instead of a staples economy driven by one or two sectors, McCalla sees more balanced growth and development occurring across a broad front. Mundane local markets are more important than international trade; growth is more complex and less dramatic than single-factor causal explanations. He is sensible as well to the marked and persistent regional differentiation of the emerging economy.

McCalla's evident mission, to establish an unshakable empirical basis for his argument and a quantitative baseline for subsequent analysis, is evidenced by the fact that his 245 pages of lucid prose argument are followed by 100 pages of tables and a further 100 pages of dense notes. His core chapters typically begin with a few cautions about what cannot be known, the imperfections of the existing data, the difficulties of establishing comparability over time, and then, with a few well-defended assumptions in hand, he launches into an analysis that typically takes the form of explaining what might be interpreted about the data he has been able, despite everything, to piece together. The footnotes provide a fascinating indicator of the economic historian at work. The first notes identify and frequently refute the classical literature; a sprinkling of references gather up what little has been added since. Then, for the rest of the chapter, a thick forest of notes provide the reader with a critical bibliography of the primary sources he has consulted. He synthesizes the old literature, interleaves the scant sheets of the new economic history, and then builds his own interpretation on top of an empirical foundation largely of his own construction. It is a breathtaking achievement.

Readers will likely situate McCalla in the school of "market" historians along with Diane Lindstrom, Winifred Rothenberg, and others. There is no *angst* in these pages over capitalism, no deep ideological ruminations, regret over worlds lost, or any doubt that Upper Canadians were better off at midcentury than at the beginning. Nor does the analysis venture into discussions of social relations either within the household or outside of it. He confines his interpre-

tive quarrels with neo-Marxist and "transition" historians to the footnotes. On another front, "new" economic historians should not be deceived by the superficially conventional approach or readable style. Notwithstanding the lack of equations and cost curves, a subtle, more or less explicit model of economic development provides an organizing framework, and McCalla demonstrates an imaginative, if cautious, spirit of invention in the absence of evidence.

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KAREN DUBINSKY. *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880–1929*. (The Chicago Series on Sexuality, History, and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 228. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$14.95.

Karen Dubinsky has used the court cases of 400 Ontario women to analyze the intersection of gender, race, and class in their relationship to sexuality. What these cases had in common was their sexual nature: some involved rape, others nonconsensual sexual activity, and still others consensual sexual experiences that for many reasons became contested encounters. Unlike many historians who are fascinated by the expanding urban centers of the period from 1880 to 1929, Dubinsky focuses her attention on the rural counties of the province and the newly emerging towns of the northern reaches.

Dubinsky has carefully delineated a world with which nonhistorians are not very familiar. She exposes the variety of men accused of sexual violence, revealing no common denominator other than one too familiar to us today, that victims generally know their attackers. What takes Dubinsky's study beyond the traditional examination of deviance, however, is her willingness to explore how the community reacted to the various incidents and accusations and how the court became theater with the litigants (performers) acting out a morality play. She probes the cases and learns where the sexual encounters took place, how they were controlled by family, community, and the law, and how region influenced the perceptions of those encounters.

Given the complexity of her task, it is to be expected that some areas are weaker than others. I disagree most with her unquestioning acceptance of the passionless image of women. Although Victorians, and their successors to a much lesser extent, often seemed negative about female sexuality, they very seldom denied the strength of it; they instead wanted to keep it under control. Dubinsky cites Thomas Laqueur ("Orgasm, Generation and the Politics of Reproductive Biology," in Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, eds. *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* [1987]) in arguing that the socioeconomic

changes of the eighteenth century had banished the female orgasm "to the physiological periphery" (p. 127). But the periphery is not without access. Recognition of this would not change her interpretation substantively but it would nuance it more.

Dubinsky's work is the first extended study of its kind in Canada. For those familiar with the research of Linda Gordon (*Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* [1988]) on the United States, the conclusion that the family was often dangerous terrain for women will not come as a surprise. What is perplexing, given the amount of research emerging on the family and how it seldom lived up to its idealized view, is the strength of the belief that the family was a haven. Was it really a haven in the past? Is it today? Was society ever safe for certain groups of its citizens? What Dubinsky is able to do is to peel back assumptions, assumptions about the past and the past's assumptions about itself. What she plays with is the dyad of perception and reality (if one can even use the term).

The reader of such a book cannot help but make comparisons to today. At a time when sexual abuse of children is a hot topic, her discovery of similar child abuse in the past may not be surprising. What is of interest is that the children in her sample were very matter of fact about their experience. Seldom did they report the offense; rather, it was discovered by others and then acted on. Often children were willing to agree to sexual activity in return for money or treats. What is also fascinating and has a familiar ring is the absence of any discussion about men's control over their sexuality. In courts and in local communities little suggestion occurs that males can and should have control over themselves. One cannot help but ask what this says about masculinity. Given the sensitivity that Dubinsky has brought to this work, we can only look forward to her further exploration of this issue and the many others raised in this fine book.

WENDY MITCHINSON
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DONALD J. HORTON. *André Laurendeau: French-Canadian Nationalist, 1912-1968*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1992. Pp. viii, 261. \$35.00.

Donald J. Horton has done an excellent job portraying the major elements in the career of the well-known French-Canadian nationalist André Laurendeau. He has read the secondary literature on his subject and combed the major archival papers. He did not, however, have access to Laurendeau's extensive diaries beyond excerpts already published. Horton would probably respond by asserting that the written record is already replete with abundant commentaries of Laurendeau's contemporaries and there was no need to re-tread well-worn paths.

The book offers a chronological presentation of the high points of Laurendeau's career. At the age of

twenty he was one of the founders of a small nationalist movement, the Jeune-Canada, that among other themes trumpeted anti-Semitism. Many years later Laurendeau publicly regretted this episode. After a period in France in the later 1930s, during which he came under the influence of the Personalists of the magazine *Esprit*, Laurendeau returned to Quebec to edit a nationalist monthly, *l'Action nationale*. World War II found him in the forefront of French Canadians opposed to military conscription for overseas service. He even became the leader of the provincial section of a small anticonscriptionist political party.

Laurendeau spent the years 1947-63 as an editor with the small but influential Montreal nationalist newspaper *Le Devoir*. While Quebec was governed by the conservative nationalist Union Nationale Party, led by Maurice Duplessis, Laurendeau urged social reform and a more progressive brand of nationalism. During the period of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec after 1960, Laurendeau favored constitutional reform that would give Quebec greater autonomy within Canada; an opponent of separatism, he vigorously attacked the younger, more extreme nationalists who preferred that solution.

Laurendeau attained the high point of his career in 1963, when he was appointed, by the new Liberal government in Ottawa of Lester Pearson, cochairman of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. The commission's mandate was to make recommendations that would create a Canada in which French Canadians could feel themselves to be equal partners. In 1968, before the commission had finished its work, Laurendeau died suddenly.

Horton tells us that both federalists and separatists claimed Laurendeau as one of their own. But had he lived, how would Laurendeau, always a nationalist although nevertheless a believer in a federal system, have reacted to the impossibility of creating a new Canada in which Quebec would be more autonomous and bilingualism generally accepted? Fortunately, perhaps, fate decided that he would not have to wrestle with this dilemma.

Horton's book is well written, but his Laurendeau is scarcely an appealing individual. Forced to hide his agnosticism in conformist Quebec while working for a Catholic newspaper, he often felt hypocritical. In a Quebec where divorce was illegal, he had a mistress for eleven years. He seemed constantly invaded by doubts about his career and was often dreary and depressed. By the age of fifty, he was "drained by almost three decades of nationalist commitment" (p. 177). Years of fatigue had "formed webs around his eyes" (p. 178). We are almost relieved when the story comes to an end.

RICHARD JONES
Université Laval

RUTH A. FRAGER. *Sweatshop Strife: Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Jewish Labour Movement of Toronto 1900-*

1939. (The Social History of Canada, number 47.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1992. Pp. xi, 300. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$19.95.

In recent years a number of fine historical studies have examined the relationship between ethnicity, class, and gender in Canadian society. Some have concentrated on the experiences of women workers from one specific ethnic group; Varpu Lindstrom-Best's work on Finns and Franca Iacovetta's book on southern Italians exemplify this scholarship. Other historians of Canadian feminism such as Joan Sangster, Linda Kealey, and Wayne Roberts have adopted a more general framework of analysis, combining gender, occupational, and class factors. Ruth A. Frager's book does justice to both approaches.

The historical setting is Toronto's garment industry between 1900 and 1939. The major participants are East European Jewish garment workers, half of whom were women employed in the different areas of the needle trades and organized into a variety of trade unions. The diversified and fragmented nature of Toronto's garment industry is revealed by the extent of trade union pluralism, with five international and two Canadian trade unions competing for members. In part this book is about the attempt by these unions to recruit Jewish and non-Jewish garment workers, and to represent them effectively in an industry characterized by economic instability and intransigent management. It was not an easy task. All of these unions experienced problems with ethnic rivalries, anti-Semitism, and the difficulty of overcoming the temerity of women garment workers, the poorest paid and most vulnerable segment of the labor force. In addition, there was the disruptive activities of the pro-communist Industrial Union of Needle Trades' Workers, who time and again battled the powerful Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. Although Frager admires the pluck and determination of Communist Party organizers such as Joe Salsberg, Pearl Wedro, and Bessie Kramer, all of whom are quoted extensively, she concludes that "the main impact of party policy was to undermine the workers' struggle for better conditions by pitting worker against worker and union against union" (p. 215).

Frager provides important insights into the way that garment unions functioned in Toronto between 1900 and 1939, and the ideological issues that divided them. Her book is, however, more than an institutional or political study. Indeed, one of its many assets is the sensitive and illuminating analysis of Jewish working-class life in Toronto, and its explanation of why so many Jews gravitated toward the labor and socialist movements. According to Frager, one major reason was that many Jews in the European ghettos "had been radicalized not only in response to class consciousness, but also in response to the oppression they faced as Jews" (p. 212). Yet she points out that Canadian Jewish labor organizers recognized the

danger of concentrating on Jewish rights "precisely because it would weaken the working class by dividing Jewish workers and non-Jewish workers." This did not mean, however, that they were not prepared to combat anti-Semitism: "a fight that sometimes saw them allied with the Jewish garment manufacturers" (p. 214). Frager explores this paradoxical relationship in several chapters.

Another strength of the book is its excellent treatment of the importance of gender in Toronto's Jewish labor movement. Here Frager poses a number of questions. How was the role of women defined in the Eastern European shtetl? How did this role change in working-class Toronto? How did female Jewish activists reconcile their gender aspirations with their class and Jewish obligations? In three chapters Frager answers these and related questions. Jewish women workers were, in her opinion, not "passive, fragile, house-bound beings;" instead, they were an assertive lot with a "deep commitment to the struggles against class oppression and anti-semitism" (p. 149). Despite having to cope with the onerous "triple day of labour" (job, home, union), these organizers carried on in their efforts "not only to improve harsh sweatshop conditions but also to bring about a fundamental socialist transformation" (p. 216). Yet few achieved prominent positions either within the garment unions or in the Communist Party. And those who did—such as party luminaries Annie Buller and Becky Buhay—realized that women's rights were on the back burner and that no attempt would be made to discuss "the Communist movement in feminist terms" (p. 177). Although Frager at times seems frustrated that Toronto's Jewish women unionists allowed themselves to be "incorporated into the Jewish labour movement on the basis of an implicit acceptance of their own subordination" (p. 213), this does not diminish her respect for their courage and self-sacrifice. And she is prepared to understand their experiences within the *Zeitgeist* of the patriarchal 1930s, not the "liberated" 1990s.

Frager's arguments rest on exhaustive research of union records, government reports, newspapers, and almost fifty interviews. Some comparisons with Montreal's large and politically active Jewish community, which in 1943 elected Canada's only Communist member of parliament, would have enhanced her treatment of the subject. But this is a minor criticism. Frager's study is essential reading for anyone seriously interested in North American ethnic, labor, and women's history.

DONALD H. AVERY

University of Western Ontario

F. L. MORTON. *Pro-Choice vs. Pro-Life: Abortion and the Courts in Canada*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1992. Pp. 371. \$19.95.

In this book F. L. Morton sets out to document the curious and compelling tale of Canada's changing

abortion policies. An issue that has been a tremendously volatile political item since the late 1960s in Canada, the abortion story can be told in a number of different ways. This book offers a mainstream political science approach to the issue, framed quite narrowly around the activities and intentions of two leaders (of the male persuasion, ironically enough) and the decisions of the Canadian courts. Morton's main thesis, that the Charter of Rights (1982) has changed, and indeed Americanized, the practice of politics, rests on an extremely narrow definition of "politics." We can learn something about how the courts interpreted the abortion issue and how various lawyers made their pitch to various levels of courts. The book contributes little else to this topic, and indeed sustains a popular, but absolutely erroneous, Canadian myth: that the abortion debate, from the 1960s to the 1990s, is really the story of two individuals, Henry Morgentaler and Joe Borowski.

Conflicts over abortion reform in Canada have been complex, and certainly no one would deny the centrality of Morgentaler—the doctor whose decision to defy the abortion law earned him a prison term and a lifetime of legal battles—and, on the other side, Borowski, a curious social democrat/trade-unionist-turned-pro-life crusader. But the abortion issue has mobilized a large number of people in Canada: to demonstrate, to block (and even blow up) clinics, to contribute money and time. No one has yet tried to understand the mass movements around abortion, and Morton simply repeats dated analyses of the politics of all of this. Drawing from Alphonse de Valk's twenty-year-old (and highly partisan) study of the origin of the abortion controversy, for example, Morton claims that the women's movement "played a marginal role" in this battle. Yet a few chapters (and years) down the road, Morton explains the Abortion Caravan of 1970—a grass-roots feminist initiative that helped highlight the problems with the first round of legislative changes—giving it far less space than other less important political events, including the constitutional conflicts between Quebec and the federal government. There are many important men in this book: Morgentaler, Borowski, their lawyers, and federal and provincial politicians. Women are more difficult to find; Judy Rebick, for example, an extremely high-profile pro-choice spokesperson, who went on to become the president of Canada's largest woman's group, gets scant mention as an "activist" (and is introduced only because of her role in helping to thwart an attack on Morgentaler by an angry anti-abortionist).

I am not suggesting that the "cult of Morgentaler" should have been replaced by the "cult of Rebick." What a study of this issue should analyze, however, is the phenomenon of grass-roots activism, and, within this context, the relationship between movements, leadership, and spokespeople. We do not know, for example, how veteran anti-abortion activists feel about Borowski, whose court challenges and hunger

strikes have made him as much of a media figure as Morgentaler. We learn nothing of how anti-choice groups mobilize, or how, through this period, they broadened their vision to embrace broadly anti-feminist issues, a phenomenon represented by the group R.E.A.L. Women. Henry Morgentaler's reappearance on the scene in the mid-1980s is also narrowly explained with reference to his nemesis, Borowski, hogging the media spotlight, and to the Charter of Rights, offering the possibility of "judicial activism." (Later in the book, Morton subtly hints that finances—paying off a disgruntled ex-wife—may have also prompted Morgentaler's return.) Two decades of grass-roots pro-choice activism is eclipsed, and groups such as the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League and the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics become background for Morgentaler's press conferences and legal battles.

This is political analysis with all the depth of a daily newspaper report. In light of this, therefore, Morton's argument that the abortion issue can be "read" as an example of the way judicial changes can create new forms of politics is not nearly so convincing. A far more thorough analysis of the politics of abortion is necessary for this thesis to work.

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LATIN AMERICA

FERNANDO PICÓ. *Al filo del poder: Subalternos y dominantes en Puerto Rico, 1739–1910*. (Colección Caribeña.) Río Piedras: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. 1993. Pp. viii, 205.

Fernando Picó is one of Puerto Rico's foremost historians, whose most outstanding contribution has been to rescue from oblivion the story of the invasion of the mountain areas by commercial coffee growers beginning in the 1850s. This book is a collection of essays on that theme published in local journals and in others with limited circulation or offered as talks in scholarly forums, mainly between 1984 and 1990. There are two pieces that have not appeared elsewhere in any form.

As Picó himself states in the introduction, his early archival explorations—those that led to the demythification of "*la montaña*" (the highlands)—began at a time when sugar, planters, merchants, and slaves absorbed the intellectual energies of most island historians. As is evident from many of the essays included in this volume, the author became captivated in this early period by the changes brought about by the commodification of land in the coffee-growing areas and the institutionalization of a semi-coerced labor system, both of which forced small farmers and peasant-squatters into wage-worker status. In this volume, Picó also documents his efforts at reconceptualizing the economic and political relations

that governed life on the island; indeed, he has been instrumental in calling attention to the complementarity that existed between coast and mountain, city and surrounding areas. He also ventures into comparative history, including an essay on the church in the Caribbean in this collection.

Faithful to this intellectual course, the two new essays are good examples of Picó's writing. The article on Cidra ("Cidra en un paréntesis: Entre la salida de los españoles y la entrada de los americanos, septiembre, 1898") revolves around a small incident in which the shops of Spanish merchants and the owners themselves were accosted just as political power changed to North American hands in 1898. Picó is careful to point out that merchandise was not stolen in this largely spontaneous, early morning encounter, although debtors' lists were burned by an organized group later in the evening. He then states that although most debtors were small coffee and tobacco planters, those who destroyed the accounts were urban-based. He hypothesizes that their actions responded to the resentment caused by the highly visible Spanish peninsular presence in commerce. Picó's essay is provocative in dealing with this paradox. He alludes to perception (domination by *peninsulares*) as well as to reality ("transition to agrarian capitalism" posing a threat to "traditional kinship and solidarity ties"), thus venturing into the realm of *mentalités*.

Another characteristic of Picó's pathbreaking work is evident in the second original essay included in this volume, entitled "Lucha en el cafetal: Resistencia a la subordinación económica y social en la zona cafetalera puertorriqueña en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX." Here he demonstrates the familiarity with archival sources that has gained him the recognition and admiration of all scholars. In transcribing cases brought before the Junta de Vagos y Amancebados (Vagrancy and Morality Board) by landowners in need of laborers, he offers a detailed analysis of Utuado's social structure. His rich description includes landholders who lost their land and became wage workers (*jornaleros*), peasant-squatters (*agregados*), small farmers, coffee planters, and merchants. As has become his trademark, he emphasizes the conflictive relations among these groups (which culminated in attacks on property in the first months after the U.S. invasion) rather than the idyllic notions that most Puerto Ricans hold of the coffee areas.

Picó's research has consistently bordered on a new type of analysis not yet formally embraced by Puerto Rican historiography. This volume, then, is an important contribution to the literature on discourses of domination and resistance, of order and disorder. Although it is not clear that the author himself would agree with this assessment, it appears that his interests have been moving in that direction for some time now. At least in my opinion, the effort is to be celebrated.

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ROBERT J. STEWART. *Religion and Society in Post-Emancipation Jamaica*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1992. Pp. xxi, 254. Cloth \$42.50, paper \$19.95.

Robert J. Stewart's book makes a foray into the religious history of post-emancipation Jamaica. The material is presented in five essay-type chapters that overlap chronologically and at times duplicate content on topics relating to the response of church and mission to questions of race and class.

This discursive approach is difficult to handle convincingly without an in-depth command of the period and cogently presented themes. Its use here gives the reader a worrying sense that, as Stewart cites evidence that crosses the decades, he loses sight of his main objective and his course becomes uncertain. This is more particularly the case since it is clear from the opening survey of "Church and Mission in Jamaica," which reaches back to the foundation of the missions and forward to 1850, that the author is committed to the proposition that the Baptist missionaries were distinguished from their colleagues by their more egalitarian relationship with their black converts.

Baptist missionaries certainly took the lead in the first decade of emancipation as champions of the common people promoting peasant proprietorship and the registry of freehold votes and mediating wage claims. They were, however, supported in these activities by missionaries of other denominations and all missions promoted education. The Baptists' impetus, moreover, was not sustained and, as Stewart's own evidence makes clear, even in this decade some Baptists were more egalitarian than others. A significant proportion of the Spanish Town Baptists, for example, repudiated their long-established pastor as anti-black and went with his young English assistant to form their own congregation. Problems of race and class in fact affected all denominations.

To support his thesis, however, Stewart makes unsubstantiated, rather absurd claims (for example, that the well-known Methodist ticket and leader, class and leader systems "appeared" to be a Baptist innovation: that Baptist class leaders manifested more independence than those in other missions [pp. 8, 123, 129]). When footnotes are provided they can prove false. A quotation describing the quarrelsome nature of some leaders' meetings with their missionary attributed to the Baptist missionary John Clarke and published in 1869 (p. 124) is a sentence culled from my book, *Slaves and Missionaries* (1982, p. 91), which reflects a comment by a Wesleyan Methodist missionary writing in 1824. Stewart's filing system does not inspire confidence.

Arguably, the main direction of religious developments in Jamaica was determined not so much by what each denomination put into it but rather by what converts took out of it. The period 1831–65 is bracketed by the large-scale slave rebellion led by Sam Sharpe, leader in the Montego Bay Baptist church and among the Native Baptists, and the small-scale

wage-worker and peasant rebellion at Morant Bay led by the Native Baptist pastor Paul Bogle. In 1831 the slaves demonstrated the immense influence wielded by indigenous, syncretic religious cults, which combined traditional religious beliefs and Christianity and their capacity to sweep aside missionary advice. After emancipation the sects labeled Native Baptist and Native Methodist continued to develop. In chapter 5 Stewart outlines some elements that fostered their growth, records their more large-scale and dramatic revivalist manifestations, and outlines the important associated system of popular courts dispensing people's justice. The rebellion of 1865 led by Paul Bogle from his church at Stony Gut celebrated the fact that by this date Jamaica's workers and peasants had organized churches with their own leaders to promulgate their own interpretation of the universe. Their emancipation from white-dominated church and mission had reached a new stage. Bogle's church also incidentally confirms the essentially non-denominational response of converts to the mission churches. It was established in a parish dominated, as Stewart points out, by Wesleyan missions and the Anglican church.

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PAUL J. DOSAL. *Doing Business with the Dictators: A Political History of United Fruit in Guatemala 1899–1944*. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 1993. Pp. xi, 256. \$45.00.

No other force, domestic or foreign, ever did as much as the United Fruit Company (UFCO) to establish the Central American countries' unenviable reputation as "banana republics." Yet scholars have given rather uneven attention to UFCO's involvement in isthmian politics. UFCO's complicity in the CIA-organized coup that toppled President Jacobo Arbenz and ended Guatemala's hopeful reformist and democratic interlude of 1944–54 is now well known. Paul J. Dosal's book fills a significant gap by examining UFCO's extensive involvement in Guatemalan (and Honduran) politics in the period between its formation at the turn of the century and the overthrow of dictator Jorge Ubico in 1944. This dispassionate yet critical account is a welcome addition to a literature often colored by either the understandable anti-imperialism of Latin American nationalists and their sympathizers or the disingenuous hagiography of the company's own mouthpieces.

The book's central thesis is that UFCO owed its phenomenal success to a cozy relationship with corrupt and repressive dictatorships that granted it outrageously generous tax abatements and land, railway, and port concessions; crushed attempts at labor organization; and acted in the company's interests even when these were manifestly at odds with those of the

Guatemalan nation. This is hardly a novel argument, but Dosal makes the case without engaging in polemics and with exceptional thoroughness. He details, for example, how early twentieth-century dictator Manuel Estrada Cabrera granted U.S. railroad and banana baron Minor Keith near-total control of the pivotal sectors of the Guatemalan economy—bananas, railroads, and ports—in return for a relatively modest number of secretly held shares in Keith's companies. Estrada Cabrera became a virtual proxy of United Fruit during its fourteen-year conflict with Cuyamel Fruit over the rich banana lands of the Motagua Valley in the disputed Guatemalan-Honduran border region.

Dosal's exhaustive treatment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century dictatorships is also an important addition to existing studies of Latin American liberalism. It graphically illustrates the shift from a nationalist liberalism, which maintained the importance of keeping strategic railroads and ports in Guatemalan hands, to a corrupt one that welcomed and facilitated foreign control of the economy. UFCO achieved this control in part by practices that constituted glaring breaches of liberal free-market doctrine. The rail companies that UFCO controlled gave it preferential freight rates and wiped out the company's competitors, very much as the famous robber barons had done in the United States only a short time before.

Dosal does not, however, indulge in the facile identification of UFCO with the U.S. government that characterizes some more ideological accounts. He delineates conflicts between UFCO and the U.S. government over the company's links to pro-fascist Guatemalan businessmen and over antitrust issues (indeed, his analysis is based partly on documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act from the Justice Department's antitrust division). Ironically, considering later events, the State Department in the 1930s and 1940s backed construction of a highway between Puerto Barrios and Guatemala City that would have competed with the UFCO-dominated railroad. When Guatemalan revolutionaries adopted this project in the 1950s, Allen Dulles and John Foster Dulles, former UFCO lawyers who ran the CIA and the State Department respectively, considered the highway evidence of Guatemalans' anti-U.S. and anticapitalist attitudes.

This fine book will be of great interest to Latin Americanists. It also deserves the attention of scholars concerned with the expansion abroad of U.S. corporate, political, and military influence during the early decades of this century.

MARC EDELMAN
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JOYCE MARCUS. *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations*.

Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1992. Pp. xxii, 495. \$49.95.

GORDON BROTHERSTON. *Book of the Fourth World: Reading the Native Americas through Their Literature*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1992. Pp. xiv, 478. \$39.95.

Although these two works appear superficially to deal with the same broad theme—pre-Columbian Native American literatures and their content—it would in fact be difficult to find two more divergent treatments of a supposedly common topic. Joyce Marcus provides an informative and up-to-date survey of four such literatures from Mesoamerica together with a thoughtful analysis of their content and intent. Gordon Brotherston gives us a rambling exercise in politically correct rhetoric that combines a highly selective sampling of literatures, traditions, artworks, and artifacts from throughout the Americas with a bogus and forced structuralist perspective purporting to support the existence of a common, underlying pan-American world view and cosmology; an effort in which he does not succeed.

Both authors are concerned with the roles played by ancient literatures within their respective cultural systems, but while Marcus analyzes and appraises these for each of the four groups that she examines, Brotherston defines function and imposes significance in each of the myriad cases he selects. Whereas Marcus cautions against reading too much "history" into the ancient texts or even their uncritical face-value acceptance, Brotherston boldly interprets his sources as he deems appropriate and unhesitatingly reinterprets overt meanings wherever necessary to his arguments.

Marcus has written what is at one and the same time both an encyclopedic survey of ancient Nahuatl, Mixtec, Zapotec, and Mayan writing and a thoughtful examination of the actual content, intent, and import of those literatures. She reviews the structure, content, archaeological contexts, and known history of each writing system and examines how each presents a similar basic set of eight themes: calendrics, the naming of places, the naming of nobles, royal accession, royal marriages, deified royal ancestors, warfare, and the writing of "history." She provides a valuable compendium of information on these topics and the writing systems used to record them that will prove a welcome reference for Mesoamericanist scholars of all areal and topical specializations. The heart of this work, however, and its greatest contribution, lies in Marcus's analysis of the functional role played by the four writing systems within their respective cultures. First presenting an insightful discussion of the nature and social uses of myth, history, and propaganda in chapter 1, and a good examination of the nature of writing systems and the sociopolitical contexts of their emergence on a world-wide basis in chapter 2, Marcus goes on to develop the argument that in ancient Mesoamerica writing served

as a tool used by elites in their competitions to gain and maintain prestige, positions of leadership, advantageous marriages, tribute, and territory. Thus, Marcus argues that ancient Mesoamerican texts and inscriptions should be understood to represent consciously created and manipulated fabrications of propaganda, myth, and fact rather than reliable "histories" as increasingly attributed by a growing number of scholars in recent years. Despite the deliberate inclusion of actual persons, places, and events, these texts record intentionally manufactured mythico-historical propaganda intended to sanction and reenforce contemporary sociopolitical realities.

Marcus's arguments are convincing albeit at times somewhat extreme, and her theoretical framework is carefully and compellingly developed. The text is well illustrated and, as already noted, should serve as a useful reference on Mesoamerican writing systems as well as an important critical analysis of their real cultural role and historical significance. The book is especially timely as a caveat in light of a number of newly emerging non-archaeological "histories" based on largely uncritical readings of classic Lowland Maya texts. Mayanist epigraphers in recent years have become so enamored of their newly found ability to read the ancient texts—and seemingly so intoxicated with exhilaration at the achievement—that they have all but entirely foresworn critical textual analysis in interpreting and presenting these texts and so have produced a body of modern literature whose nature as history, fiction, myth, political propaganda, or some blend of these is very much open to legitimate question (see, for example, Linda Schele and David Freidel, *A Forest of Kings* [1990]; Michael Coe, *Breaking the Maya Code* [1992]). It is deserving of note that the purveyors of these new "histories" also commonly eschew the value of more traditional archaeology-based historical reconstructions. Marcus's book represents a much-needed palliative to these excesses, and is an important first step toward correcting them and approaching ancient Maya—and other pre-Columbian Mesoamerican texts—with the same levels of critical analysis usually employed in the study of historical documents and archives pertaining to other times and cultures.

Regrettably, it is also with respect to the classic Mayan hieroglyphic writing system that Marcus's work exhibits some extremely severe flaws itself. Although she does describe and mention the advances made in recognizing the essentially syllabic character of this script over the last twenty years, and she acknowledges that readings of it today are based predominantly on a syllabic approach, she herself persists in employing an early 1970s-vintage logographic procedure with considerably less than felicitous results. Her out-of-date approach to "translation" results in numerous misreadings and misrepresentations. For example, the so-called marriage record of Naranjo's Lord Scroll Squirrel (Fig. 8.22, p. 251) is in fact a redundant parentage state-

ment referring to that ruler's maternal Dos Pilas (not Tikal) ancestry. Nowhere among the known Naranjo inscriptions is a wife or marriage relationship for Scroll Squirrel referred to. Such factual errors undermine the historical basis of Marcus's argument, although they do not necessarily diminish its theoretical validity. The real importance of her work lies in the caveats and cautions she raises concerning the cultural roles and the most likely significance of the four writing systems examined, not in the historical and literary particulars of their translation. Nonetheless, the non-specialist reader should be aware of this problem, and doubtless it will serve as a legitimate basis for severe criticism and rebuttal from the epigraphers and epigraphic historians whom Marcus herself seeks to critique and discredit. Given this all-but-certain eventuality, I believe it especially important to emphasize that Marcus's flawed approach to translation and the erroneous readings resulting from it in no way and to no degree lessen the importance of her theoretical message.

Even though flawed in some of its particulars, Marcus's book constitutes an important addition to the basic corpus of literature on Native American writing systems. In its own terminology, it is propaganda, but propaganda of a critical, thought-provoking, and highly constructive character, especially with respect to the severely overreached "historiography" of classic Lowland Mayan inscriptions and texts. Readers may not entirely agree with all of Marcus's arguments, but she raises necessary and important points and does so in a meticulously documented and carefully reasoned manner.

Brotherston's rambling tract in contrast represents a mind-bending cross between a New World *Golden Bough* and a politically correct rejoinder to Barry Fell's infamous *America B.C.* (1976). It is difficult to find anything positive to say concerning this book given the hodgepodge of selective "data" uncritically and subjectively thrown together as its substance on the one hand, and the work's overt political agenda and watered down structuralism on the other. This, too, is propaganda, but of a kind dangerous to readers inexperienced or unknowing enough not to recognize it as such and at the same time both tiresome and aggravating to those able to do so. Beginning with the premise that a universally shared common origin myth, basic cosmology, and world view bind together the living and ancient peoples of the Americas (the Fourth World) into a single glorious and noble nation, Brotherston proceeds on a convoluted journey in cumbersomely stilted prose to present and "translate" a bewildering welter of evidence supporting this view. In the end, a work such as this can have appeal or value only for those already persuaded by its argument. In reality, it is more condescending to those peoples whom it considers than it is celebratory of their achievements; after all, it has required the uninitiated outsider, Brotherston, to recognize and present their world view and its

meaning. Unlike Marcus's careful analysis of ancient Mesoamerican writing, Brotherston's volume is one book better left on the shelf.

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HELEN PERLSTEIN POLLARD. *Tariacuri's Legacy: The Prehispanic Tarascan State*. Foreword by SHIRLEY GORENSTEIN. (The Civilization of the American Indian Series, number 209.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1993. Pp. xx, 266. \$37.50.

The influence of Aztec propaganda and prejudices about their enemies has been remarkably enduring. To this day, the Tarascan culture of western Mexico is treated dismissively when compared, in terms of cultural complexity and historical interest, to that of the Aztecs themselves. The Aztecs saw the Tarascans as only marginally civilized, but we must remember that the mighty, empire-building Aztecs spoke as sore losers: the Tarascans were adamantly unconquerable, and thus their culture was closed to the Aztecs and poorly understood by them—apt material for disparagement. It will also help the Tarascans' reputation that their culture can now be much more readily understood and appreciated, thanks to recent fieldwork by archaeologists such as Helen Perlstein Pollard and her colleagues, and to Pollard's book, which presents and interprets a rich body of information about the history and functioning of Tarascan culture.

Tariacuri's "legacy," literally, was the Tarascan political confederation centered around Lake Pátzcuaro, a tribute empire that maintained its autonomy from the early fourteenth century until conquest by the Spaniards in the early sixteenth century (shortly after the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs). Using settlement patterns and material culture remains revealed by archaeological surveys and excavations, as well as documentation about the culture and its history as provided by the few ethnohistoric sources, Pollard offers a fine synthesis of Tarascan life, reconstructing a complex and vividly functioning culture well-adapted to its physical setting of mountains and lakes, and recounting a history of political consolidation and expansion given impetus by ongoing processes of social stratification and economic specialization and interdependence. Tzintzuntzan, the Tarascan capital, had residential zones differentiated by affluence (perhaps even an enclave of foreigners living in the city), and there exists evidence of manufacturing and mercantile activities. These findings result from Pollard's archaeological work at the capital. She has also done research at many outlying sites. The results of her analysis of patterns of architecture and artifacts are described and interpreted in the narrative portion of the book, but archaeologists will also value the book's appendixes, which provide detailed descriptions and frequencies of sites and artifacts.

This book is required reading for those interested in the postclassic (or "Aztec") period of pre-Hispanic Mesoamerica; it presents a wealth of information about Tarascan culture—from its economic basis to its ideology—and about the antecedents and rivals of the Tarascans. The book will also interest scholars researching topics such as cultural evolution, gender stratification, long-distance trade, and the emergence of ethnicity; these are well explored. The Tarascans provide us with a good example of a cultural tradition sharing many—but not all—traits of the larger cultural area (Mesoamerica), and demonstrating strategies of sociopolitical integration that parallel those of other, contemporaneous groups. Like the Aztecs, the Tarascans engaged in long-distance trade, waged warfare and fortified borderlands, and collected tribute from peasants organized into wards. The Tarascans, however, also used metal to an extent unprecedented elsewhere in Mesoamerica, a result of contacts among cultures of the northwest coast of South America and those of western Mexico. Tarascan skill in metallurgy and wealth in mineral ores excited the greed of the Aztecs, but Tarascan prowess on the battlefield maintained their isolation from the Aztec empire. This book presents a fine comprehensive view of the Tarascans, and, perhaps for the first time, their achievements and history will come to be generally known.

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LOUISE M. BURKHART. *The Slippery Earth: Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1989. Pp. xii, 242. \$40.00.

In this book, Louise M. Burkhart compares various aspects of Nahua and Christian theological and cultural attitudes and beliefs with the aim of examining "the attempt to introduce into Nahua ideology Christian moral precepts, particularly the Christian concept of sin" (p. 10). Explicitly rejecting analysis of behavior or material circumstances as a possible way of discovering moral precepts, and turning instead to a small corpus of hortatory, confessional literature written in Nahuatl, Burkhart concentrates on what she considers to be the ideologies behind Christianity, as then conceived, and Nahua religion.

The author asserts that there are large amorphous coherencies such as a "pan-Mesoamerican ideological structure characteristic of the entire region" (p. 7), "pan-Mesoamerican thought" (p. 12), "the Nahua psyche" (p. 32), and "Christian thought" (p. 32). She further assumes and asserts much about teaching practices (pp. 25–27) and about the widely different impacts of these practices. To say that "Indigenous understanding and acceptance of Christianity varied widely" (p. 23), that "Exposure to Christianity varied widely" (p. 24), and that some Nahuas "did not adopt

more than the rudiments of the new religion" (p. 24) is simply assertion, for these are unverifiable truisms.

After a general panorama, Burkhart explores aspects of the Christian-Nahua "dialogical frontier." She finds that various communicative and conceptual differences and misunderstandings were such that conversion was partial and that religion remained essentially Nahua. Some concepts, such as those of centrality and periphery, purity and pollution, and health and sickness, were presented such that they refitted easily into Nahua frames of reference, but as far as abstinence and excess were concerned the Nahuas' "traditional value system" was able to assert itself so strongly that "the friars' efforts had little success" (p. 169). She concludes that "Despite the incorporation of many Christian elements, the belief system of the majority of Nahuas remained essentially untouched" (p. 192).

This book is sprinkled with intriguing insights and demonstrates a close reading of apposite Spanish sixteenth-century confessional literature, but its assumptions and conclusions should cause skeptical debate. Confining itself to the central valley of Mexico, and covering a period of about forty years (from the mid to late 1530s to the plague years of the 1570s), the study deals with the first sustained missionary activity. These were also years of severe population decline and forced migration and resettlement of peoples. The era was, therefore, turbulent and transitional, especially compared to the relative calm and established Indian parish system of the seventeenth century. To consider this period to be the one when enduring patterns were established seems static and ahistorical, the faults for which the author herself condemns some anthropologists. To claim that these four decades were paradigmatic, and that little Christianizing was done afterward, such that "what the Indians adopted of Christianity was mainly what they learned in the first half century of Spanish rule" (p. 19), shows little awareness of long processes and the erosive force of sustained political domination. Conversion to a new religion is not only a road-to-Damascus experience but also, especially when imposed on large groups of people, a cumulative process involving repetition of practices and rituals, as Blaise Pascal and many other writers of confessional literature were well aware.

Surely no conversion is ever complete, especially when introduced by imperial monotheisms. The Christian conquest of Europe, for example, gave rise to a series of folk Catholicisms, to a continuing tension between a changing orthodoxy and the heterodox daily rituals and beliefs of people at all social levels, just as a similar process did in Central Mexico.

Confessional literature may tell us much about the beliefs of those who write it, but that such literature did not convince many should be no surprise. In fact the study of beliefs and changes in beliefs can better be accomplished by examining the patterns of daily

behaviors and lived lives, preferably over extended periods of time.

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JACKIE R. BOOKER. *Veracruz Merchants, 1770–1829: A Mercantile Elite in Late Bourbon and Early Independent Mexico*. (Dellplain Latin American Studies, number 29.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1993. Pp. xxi, 191. \$45.00.

Historians of colonial Latin America have found their own treasure, not in the precious metal mines of New Spain and Peru, but in the notarial and institutional archives left by the royal administration. Jackie R. Booker's scholarly pick and shovel have dug in the Archivo de Notarias del Distrito Federal and the records of the Consulado located in the Archivo General de la Nación (the Consulados were merchant associations that established and administered the rules and regulations for commerce), both in Mexico City, in order to examine the "origins, development, and disintegration of the Veracruz mercantile community in the late Bourbon and early independence periods" (p. xix).

Veracruz merchants, who with a handful of upper-level clergy and high-ranking military and civilian bureaucrats comprised the elite of the important port city, fought an unceasing and, in the end, unwinnable series of struggles against rivals in Mexico City, other regional commercial centers, and the colonial government. It was not until after 1765 that Veracruz traders shook off the yoke of the commercial monopoly of Mexico City merchants. After less than four decades of relatively unfettered economic opportunity, they fell victim to the enormous fiscal demands of a bankrupt, disintegrating Spanish government, which precipitously increased taxes and forced loans and which dried up scarce credit resources through enactment of the Law of Consolidation in 1805. The veracruzanos were dealt crushing blows by the disruptions of the independence wars from 1810 to 1820 and finished off by the Mexican government's expulsion of Spaniards in the late 1820s.

The business practices of the Veracruz merchants followed the general pattern of elites elsewhere in New Spain, as described by historians such as David Brading and John Kicza. Two characteristics stand out: their diversification in order to ameliorate the risks of international trade and their heavy reliance on family ties in order to insure trustworthy partners and to obtain access to capital. The international traders were careful to avoid relying on single commodities, for the volatile nature of this commerce could easily lead to ruin. The lack of promising investment opportunities led many Veracruz merchants to lease agricultural property or purchase urban housing for rental income. Extended family relations "were paramount in perpetuating both fa-

miliar ties and important credit connections" (p. 91). This did not mean, however, that most sons followed their fathers into commerce; the business was too volatile.

Although the author has traced a fair number of successful traders, most in Veracruz did not "advance far in their careers" (p. 103). Lack of family connections, lack of capital, or traumatic losses in business limited the possibilities for sustained profitability.

Between 1805 and 1820 the fragile structure of colonial commerce cracked under the strain of the demands of the metropolis for increased resources to pay for its disastrous wars and the royal government's inability to provide a secure environment for business. Booker has uncovered at least indirect evidence that Veracruz merchants were involved in the coup that overthrew Viceroy Jose de Iturrigaray in 1808.

Booker provides us with a clear, solid study of a provincial elite in late-colonial New Spain. He presents particularly good insights into relations between provincial and Mexico City elites, the conflicts between provincial elites and the colonial government, and the importance of family ties in business enterprises.

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WARD S. ALBRO. *Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 1992. Pp. xv, 219. \$24.95.

A new volume on Ricardo Flores Magón could marshal the recent findings of Mexican regional history to reevaluate the geographical scope of Magonismo before the revolution in states as diverse as Sonora, Oaxaca, or San Luis Potosí. It might analyze new types of materials such as court records, as does Colin MacLachlan's fascinating study of the Flores Magón trials in the United States (*Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution* [1991]). Hopefully, it would polemicize with Alan Knight's neo-populist efforts to minimize the role of the precursors in favor of the campesino actors of the Mexican Revolution (*The Mexican Revolution* [1986]). But Ward S. Albro's study does none of the above; it is one more in a long line of hagiographies of the man who was deemed "the true precursor of the Mexican Revolution."

The author poses his central question in the introduction. Who was Ricardo Flores Magón? He answers by narrating the story of the Flores Magón brothers from their modest origins in the highlands of Oaxaca, their experiences in Mexico City, and then their exile in the United States. Here he makes a significant point: the definition of Ricardo Flores Magón as "the precursor" defines his life and actions by what followed, and he completely rejected the revolution that ensued. Given all the ink expended in seventy years of mythification by government propaganda, can

Flores Magón truly be reevaluated in his own context? Albro's narration begins the task by giving the reader a feel for the fervor and intransigence of Mexico's most famous anarchist.

The discussion of Mexican society and the sectors that responded to Magonismo is weak. Beyond vague references to "workers' centers" (p. 50), Albro is hard put to unravel the threads of Magonista support within Mexico. The story of who Flores Magón was is too often told in a vacuum.

According to Albro, although ill planned and ill managed by the Magonista Mexican Liberal Party (PLM), the unsuccessful rebellions of 1906 formed "a great milestone on the road to revolution" (p. 58). Most would agree with this assertion, but Albro fails to substantiate it, limiting himself to the summary of the most well-known revolts in Jiménez, Ciudad Juárez, and Acayucan. Had Albro surveyed the new literature on this topic, a more vivid and convincing picture of much wider Magonista support might have emerged to prove his point.

Albro refers to the Magonistas throughout as (just plain) liberals, in lower case. This begins to confuse the reader, especially as the PLM radicalizes, and the liberals of 1900 become the anarchists of 1911. A number of questions arise with respect to the situation of the PLM in the wider context of opposition in Mexico. Were the PLM supporters the only liberals in Mexico at the time? Did they carry on the tradition of Juarista liberals? How did they differ from Ponciano Arriaga's or Francisco Madero's liberals? Other authors have dealt with this issue by opting for the use of radical liberals, PLM liberals, or Magonistas to distinguish them from other liberal dissidents.

Although some new works on the revolution are cited in the bibliography, their contribution is not incorporated into the study, and only a few are discussed in the introduction. Albro does not engage recent questions of interpretation of worker or peasant agency or the controversy over the role of the precursors themselves in the revolution, leaving the book unable to respond to the concerns of scholars in the 1990s.

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MARK WASSERMAN. *Persistent Oligarchs: Elites and Politics in Chihuahua, Mexico, 1910–1940*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1993. Pp. x, 265. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$16.95.

The best thing about this book by Mark Wasserman is its well-designed cover, on which a print by José Guadalupe Posada appears to be embroidered onto a piece of purple, blue, and black patterned cloth. There is not much particularly "Chihuahuan" about the pattern.

This appears to be a readable book. It is also—in some passages deceptively, in others obviously—a bad

book. It is an appropriate companion piece to Wasserman's *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution* (1984). Like that earlier contribution—the thematic originality and empirical coherence of which was undermined by a fast-and-loose quality to the presentation of bare facts (for example, railroad lines running through towns they never got close to; figures on land appropriations that did not add up) and a certain thinness of original sources consulted—this volume promises more than it delivers. An unapologetic example of "elite history," it is also an unashamed example of shoddy research.

In one respect, the author's brief is simple and straightforward: what happened to the ruling class in Chihuahua during and after the Mexican Revolution? This question is answered in six descriptive chapters. Three deal with Chihuahua during the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s; another three deal with the old elite, the new elite, and what are called (borrowing from Barnett Singer's study of nineteenth-century France) local notables. The presentation throughout is wooden and schematic. The reader is left wondering whether historical shifts in Chihuahua really occurred in base ten (the one-decade-after-another periodization of chapters 2 through 4), for example, and why the border town of Ciudad Juárez was chosen for the "case study" of developments in urban Chihuahua after the revolution. The chapter on the revolution is called "The Age of the Centaur" but it is difficult to tell whether the author had in mind the revolutionary Francisco Villa or the landlord Luis Terrazas as the centaur.

This book succeeds above all as a chronicle, providing information on the period from 1910 to 1940 in Chihuahua in a concise package. It does flesh out Francisco R. Almada's capsule biographies of the *Gobernadores del Estado de Chihuahua* (1950) during that period, but the "fleshing out" consists primarily in the provision of some of the nastier details that Almada left out. Wasserman shows little hesitation in hanging out the dirty laundry, and less concern for documenting some of his more contentious assertions (such as regarding continuities in the families that controlled local politics in rural Chihuahua).

In another respect, however, Wasserman's task is exceedingly complex: how to write a regional history of rule, power, and their exercise—in short, politics—from the standpoint of an "elite" that appreciates the character of the subjects over whom they rule. Here the book's weaknesses are manifold, a function of the uneven quality of the research and sources consulted, and of the author's refusal to problematize key concepts and categories (political power, political economy, elites) central to his argument.

Ciudad Juárez is the celebrated and centrally important "case study" in the later chapters. But is this because "the case" of Juárez is typical of developments throughout the state of Chihuahua, or is it a function of the author's having more data on Juárez than, say, Chihuahua City? Whereas U.S. State De-

partment archives are a gold mine of information on Chihuahua, they may also be a cesspool of disinformation if the data they provide are not compared against Mexican (national, state, and regional level) sources. The statistical tables at the end of the book (offered as an appendix) would be comical—from a purely semantic standpoint—were it not for the fact that Wasserman makes no reference to them in the text.

The author's invocation of comparative material from other parts of Mexico and the world fails to contribute much to the argument. The comparison with "local notables" in nineteenth-century France is strained. Is the comparison Chihuahua-France, or Mexico-France? What are the comparable inclusive units within which the appearance—and perpetuation—of the "types" of political action described take place? The failures to elaborate what is meant by "political economy" or to problematize the notion of politics (is something called "political power" the same throughout Mexico? Throughout the world? Is it always exercised in the same way cross-culturally and over time in different regional and historical contexts?) weaken the argument considerably.

If anything emerges clearly from this book, it is that the individuals, groups, and classes that secured power in Chihuahua in the postrevolutionary decades understood their enemies. It is precisely such an appreciation that appears to escape Wasserman.

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BARRY CARR. *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth-Century Mexico*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1992. Pp. xiii, 437. \$49.50.

In this ambitious book, Barry Carr studies the Mexican Communist Party (PCM) in the context of urban and rural unions, the postrevolutionary state and official party, other parts of the Mexican Left, and the international Communist movement. The main focus is on "ideology, 'the official voice,' and the zigzag of tactics and strategy" (p. 3). The party that emerges is both dependent and independent, authoritarian and committed to popular struggle, given both to confrontation and capitulation vis-à-vis the Mexican state.

The PCM was born at the juncture of the Mexican and Russian revolutions and reached its pinnacle of membership during the 1930s. A sympathetic Cardenista state combined with massive urban and rural mobilization to give the PCM its historical strongholds in the railroad union and the newly formed *ejidos* in Coahuila's cotton-growing Laguna area. A commitment to popular front unity against fascism did not prepare the PCM for the repression of the late 1930s, however, nor did it protect against the Browderist "heresy" that briefly made collaboration with capitalism and the United States seem possible to U.S. Marxists and influential Cuban and Mexican Communists.

Thanks to the influence of the U.S. and Cuban Communist parties and the international Communist movement, as well as their own internal history of alliance with Vicente Lombardo Toledano and the official trade union movement (CTM), PCM leaders continued to believe that collaboration with the national industrialist class and the state was necessary for development and future progress. But especially during the presidency of Miguel Alemán (1946–52), collaboration left them helpless in the face of massive repression and bloody government interventions of unions. When dramatic industrial growth and proletarianization changed the nature and composition of social movements in Mexico in the 1950s, the PCM was unable to respond creatively, not only to national trends but also to the stunning revelations at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party.

Despite some efforts at internal reform, during the 1950s and 1960s the locus of dynamism shifted to social movements in the society at large. Struggles for democracy in the electrical, railway, and teachers' unions all challenged the state and the official Left. Inspired by the Cuban revolution, students, radical Christians, urban squatters, and other groups all took the lead in direct action. Although never to the same extent as in some other Latin American countries, short-lived guerrilla movements emerged in the early 1970s. Through the 1980s, the "historical subjects" of the popular movements and Left parties emerging in Mexico were no longer simply workers and peasants but also *colonos*, indigenous peoples, and women.

The need to confront these national changes, combined with Eurocommunism and the rise of Solidarity in Poland, prompted the creation of the Partido Socialista Unificado de México (PSUM) in 1981. An openness toward other positions, as well as efforts to create spaces of broad intellectual and political creativity, marked the early PSUM experiment. Conflicts were no longer solved through purging dissent, a practice that had weakened the PCM throughout the 1930–60 period. And yet the legacy of hierarchy and top-down leadership endured. Not only was the PSUM "merger" decided without consulting the rank and file but accusations of PCM dominance within the new party began to surface as well.

In the end, despite democratization, internal reform, greater openness to different positions, and dramatically increasing Left unity, the most viable challenge to the hegemony of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) at the end of the 1980s emerged from within the PRI itself, in the form of the "Corriente Democrática" and Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, former governor of Michoacán. Why was a unified Left unable to capitalize on the increasing dissatisfaction of the 1980s, with its "desperate yearning for democracy and, for some, a nostalgic desire to return to precrisis 'normalcy'" (p. 325)? Why was a renegade "*prista*," declared presidential candidate by one of the most servile opposition parties, able to take leadership in this crisis, when the Mexican Left—preparing

for such an eventuality for nearly half a century—was once again relegated to the sidelines, running to catch up? It is at this point, in my opinion, that Carr's analysis is unable to deliver.

The problem is that focusing on leftist tactics, ideology, and debate, and on the Left's relationship with organized workers and peasants, cannot explain the Left's fate. It is not just a problem of too much "macro" and not enough "micro," although more analysis of shop-floor union mobilization, non-party political coalitions and movements, even the actions of party rank and file, would have helped. It is also a problem of not enough "macro," in the sense of a deeper analysis of the Mexican postrevolutionary state and the Left's relationship to it. If the Mexican Left zigzagged desperately between servile collaborationism with the state and total rejection of it; if party intellectuals held on too long to the idea of democratizing and deepening the Mexican Revolution; if, as the aphorism goes, "Those who go to bed with the State, in the morning alongside Lombardo awake" (p. 397), then the problem may not be only with the Left's ideology and internal debates. It may also be with the postrevolutionary state, and with the seemingly endless ability of the PRI to survive crises through partial accommodation, while cloning its authoritarian tactics throughout Mexican political society.

It is obviously too much to ask any one author to solve all these riveting conundra faced by those of us who attempt to study twentieth-century Mexico. Readers will also find here a refreshing complexity in the analysis of international Communism, a deep respect for oppositional intellectuals, and a sincere affection for the many activists who risked their economic and physical survival in the name of social justice. Perhaps it is partially because of his obvious empathy with his subject that Carr reproduces two of its blind spots: a one-dimensional view of the state, and a superficial understanding of grass-roots politics and their effect on long-term political change.

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JANE M. RAUSCH. *The Llanos Frontier in Colombian History 1830–1930*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1993. Pp. xii, 401. \$50.00.

In this sequel to her first work, *A Tropical Plains Frontier: The Llanos of Colombia, 1531–1831*, Jane M. Rausch tells of a soon-to-be-famous Italian geographer who on surveying the llanos in 1855 concluded that "The grass itself gave off fumes that caused epidemics similar to cholera" (p. 23). If this political history of the interminable frontier of the "Colombian" llanos is not exactly the story of 100 years of solitude, much of it does make one feel like visiting with Gabriel García Márquez.

Consider that *garza* feathers were one of the major commodities that might have joined the llanos with the world market. Even had the trade in feathers been successful, local inhabitants went after the birds with such gusto that they killed most of them off in no time at all. And female cows were put to the knife before they had a chance to reproduce. One wonders what these people were thinking. Travel was difficult: "There were no roads in the summer, and in the winter the plains became a lake" (p. 314). Violence was a daily part of life.

But it was not only the llanos population that experienced difficulties. Rausch says more about the various efforts of highlanders (the sort of people whom García Márquez rarely talks about) to do something about, with, and for the huge lowland plains (outside) of Colombia. This book offers us a view from the top down, as it were. We come to understand these many highlanders better than we do the llaneros.

The highlanders, it turns out, did not know what to do with the llanos, and the region moved further away from the emerging nation than it had been during the colonial times. Missions are one of the only enduring points of contact throughout these 100 years. Politicians, teachers, and others tied to the state rarely went there, and when they did, they stuck together in villages, more interested in themselves than in those around them. And who can blame them? Time and again the Conservatives were more realistic and pragmatic than the naive and utopian Liberals. But lack of funds and no real infrastructure assured that Conservative integrationist plans were swept away even before they got to the plains.

Through a detailed account of how highlanders constantly thought about and constructed plans for the llanos, Rausch manages to show that the llanos are not divorced from the life of the nation. Still, what we are left with are deep distances between the two that are made all the more remarkable because of all these efforts.

The consequences of this history are far from inconsiderable. Take, for example, events that took place some forty years after the period covered in this book comes to an end. On April 9, 1972, the *New York Times* told of a group of white landowners in the llanos. They invited a group of Indians to sit down at a long wooden table to eat a sumptuous meal. The landowners had set their trap, luring their prey with food. Once the Indians were full, and were sitting back contentedly, the landowners got out their rifles and shot them dead.

The lawyers who came down from Bogotá to defend the landowners, and who are also the sort of people who populate Rausch's book, argued successfully that the landowners were not to blame, for they knew not what they were doing. The Colombian state, they asserted, had not managed to integrate the region into the nation. Thus, the civilized laws of the nation could not apply to the landowning llaneros.

"We" knew that the Indians were human, but the llaneros knew them to be animals.

The central truth that emerges from this book is that the llanos have not pulled Colombians to it. This history has left the area wide open and underpopulated. Now, many thousands of Colombians are right on the edge, beginning to spill over into the plains, having been pushed there by the violence of the highlands. Those who lose their land to others move farther out, becoming *colonos*. And without the force of the law and the state to help them much, they turn to the guerrillas for protection, replicating at long last the history of the highlands in the lowlands, demonstrating in their actions that the history of the llanos is the history of Colombia.

This is perhaps the "new era" to which Rausch refers at the end of her book, tantalizing us with the prospects of a third work in what would be an extraordinary trilogy on one of the most enduring of all frontiers.

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PAUL H. LEWIS. *Political Parties and Generations in Paraguay's Liberal Era, 1869–1940*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1993. Pp. 227. \$37.50.

Paul H. Lewis, after a few mandatory nods to such political theorists as Samuel P. Huntington, gets right to work in this study, and with a commendable lack of obfuscatory jargon. Within the very loose—and qualified—conceptual framework of political "generations," he interprets seventy chaotic years of Paraguayan political history, explaining just why they were chaotic: "The desperate need to govern in order to control the few sources of wealth in an otherwise impoverished country" (p. 144). And, after the devastating Paraguayan War, the nation was uniquely ravaged.

Although Lewis covers much of the same ground as Harris G. Warren did in his splendid narrative histories of postwar Paraguay, his focus is on politics, and his sophisticated political acumen clarifies an understudied and misunderstood era. The period covered

is a logical one; from creation of a provisional government after the liberation of Asunción, up through decades of personalistic rule by caudillo, then gradual institutionalization of two major political parties, followed by the "Liberal Ascendancy" (1904–40), and, finally ending with the Chaco War and the repudiation of traditional "liberal" values as enshrined by the Constitution of 1870 in favor of a virulent nationalism articulated and enforced by the military. The Febreristas who seized power in 1936, and José Félix Estigarribia, who rose to power two years later, shattered the reality—although not the form and illusion—of the two-party system. As Lewis so succinctly puts it: "Nationalism had unleashed the military on civil society like a genie let out of the bottle, and there would never again be a retreat back to the barracks," no matter who was inaugurated president (p. 170).

As he progresses through Paraguay's political "generations," Lewis graphically demonstrates that the "infamous" Paraguayan Legionnaires (who fought against the dictator Francisco Solano López and in common parlance are denounced as traitors by the Colorado Party) were the founders of both the Liberal and Colorado parties. He also correctly limns the almost constant political meddling of both Brazil and Argentina in Paraguayan politics, and, in stressing the prostration of postwar Paraguay, he reveals why so many of that nation's politicians were amenable to outside funding and direction: "The definition of a well-off farmer was someone who owned an ox" (p. 55).

The prose is clean, the text well-organized, the judgments sound, but there are, of course, flaws. Throughout the slender volume one encounters a rolling barrage of names that threatens to overwhelm even the experienced Paraguayanist. Minor errors are a source of irritation. For example, Humaitá is not at the confluence of the Paraguay and Alto Paraná rivers (p. 116); the capital's infantry battalion did not have several regimental commanders (p. 103); and Latin Americanists—of all people—do not have to be told "that a coup is not the same thing as a revolution" (p. 92).

Still, this is a good, solid, historical work.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

SHMUEL TRIGANO, editor. *La société juive à travers l'histoire*. Volume 3, *Le passage d'Israël*; volume 4, *Le peuple-monde*. Paris: Fayard. 1993. Pp. 592; 791. 250 fr.; 290 fr.

MARTIN A. COHEN, L'espérance juive, son rôle et son développement dans le christianisme et l'islam primitifs. HAROLD FISCH, L'interface du XVII^e siècle. MICHAEL LÖWY, Le messianisme juif et les idéologies politiques modernes. MOSHE IDEL, L'influence intellectuelle des Juifs. ARYEH GRABOÏS, Rôle et fonction de l'usure juive dans le système économique et social du monde médiéval (IX^e–XIV^e siècle). MENAHEM BEN SASSON, Le commerce et la banque en terre d'islam du VII^e au XIII^e siècle. JOSEPH KAPLAN, L'impact social et économique de la diaspora judéo-hispanique sur l'Europe occidentale au début de la période moderne. MOSHE J. ROSMAN, Les rôles des Juifs dans l'économie polonaise du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle. MINNA ROZEN, La vie économique des Juifs du bassin méditerranéen de l'expulsion d'Espagne (1492) à la fin du XVIII^e siècle. SIMON SCHWARZFUCHS, Les statuts politiques des Juifs. SIMON SCHWARZFUCHS, Les Juifs de Cour. SHLOMO FISCHER, Empire, conscience identitaire juive et relations internationales des Juifs à l'époque du second Temple. LEAH BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, L'activité diplomatique de l'élite sépharade après l'expulsion. SHMUEL SANDLER, De l'émancipation à l'indépendance: Stratégies juives internationales à l'huere de l'État-nation. SHMUEL TRIGANO, Espaces, ruptures, unités: Essai d'introduction à une morphologie générale de la société juive. MOSHE IDEL, *Erets Yisra'el* dans la pensée juive. ISRAËL BARTAL, Les émissaires d'*Erets Yisra'el*: Entre la réalité d'un lien et l'abstraction d'une vision. YOSEF SALMON, Les émigrations traditionnelles vers la Palestine (1740–1880). YOSEF SALMON, Les vagues de migration modernes vers la Palestine (1880–1939). JACKIE FELDMAN, Les pèlerinages au second Temple. ZVI ZOHAR, Le processus du *responsum*. COLETTE SIRAT, Les bases de la communication: Édition et circulation des textes manuscrits dans le monde juif. ZEEV GRIES, L'imprimerie comme moyen de communication entre les communautés juives: Prolégomènes à une analyse d'après des exemples du XVI^e siècle. ZVI ZOHAR, La circulation de la *halakha* dans les espaces et le temps. MOSHE IDEL, Mystiques et philosophes: Échanges entre centres du monde juif. JACOB BARNAI, La diffusion du

mouvement sabbatéen aux XVII^e–XVIII^e siècles. GÉRARD NAHON, La dimension du voyage. GÉRARD NAHON, Les Portugais au péril de la mer filières d'évasion, croisières, havres de grâce. EVYATAR FRIESEL, Structure, organisation et activités du Congrès sioniste et du mouvement sioniste (1897–1914). JOSEF SHATZMILLER, Les limites de la solidarité: Antagonismes au sein de la société juive ancienne et moderne. JEHUDA REINHARZ, Conflits entre sionistes et libéraux en Europe centrale (1880–1920). ROBERT S. WISTRICH, Révolutionnaires et sionistes. ELIEZER BASHAN, Le rachat des captifs dans la société juive méditerranéenne du XIV^e au XIX^e siècle. LUCIEN LAZARE, Réseaux de sauvetage des enfants juifs en France (1938–1944). ROBERT O. FRIEDMAN, Dynamiques du mouvement juif soviétique: Deux modèles de la communauté juive mondiale. JOSHUA A. FISHMAN, Le yiddish, de la tradition à la modernisation. JOSEPH CHÉTRIT, Le judéo-arabe et ses stratégies d'existence. DAVID BUNIS, *Le judezmo*: Autres cadres, autres rôles. JOSEPH CHÉTRIT, L'hébreu moderne: Totalisation et régénération d'une langue renouvelée. SERGIO DELLA PERGOLA, Histoire démographique du peuple juif.

RONALD BEINER and WILLIAM JAMES BOOTH, editors. *Kant and Political Philosophy: The Contemporary Legacy*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1993. Pp. ix, 380. \$37.50.

PATRICK RILEY, The Elements of Kant's Practical Philosophy. LEWIS WHITE BECK, Kant's Two Conceptions of the Will in Their Political Context. MARY GREGOR, Kant on "Natural Rights." RICHARD L. VELKLEY, The Crisis of the End of Reason in Kant's Philosophy and the *Remarks* of 1764–1765. DIETER HENRICH, On the Meaning of Rational Action in the State. SUSAN SHELL, Commerce and Community in Kant's Early Thought. JOSEPH M. KNIPPENBERG, The Politics of Kant's Philosophy. MICHAEL W. DOYLE, Liberalism and International Relations. WILLIAM A. GALSTON, What Is Living and What Is Dead in Kant's Practical Philosophy? BERNARD YACK, The Problem with Kantian Liberalism. WILLIAM JAMES BOOTH, The Limits of Autonomy: Karl Marx's Kant Critique. RONALD BEINER, Kant, the Sublime, and Nature. JOHN RAWLS, Themes in Kant's Moral Philosophy. JÜRGEN HABERMAS, Morality and Ethical Life: Does Hegel's Critique of Kant Apply to Discourse Ethics? CHARLES TAYLOR, The Motivation behind a Procedural Ethics. HANS-GEORG GADAMER, On the Possibility of a Philosophical Ethics.

WALTER EUCHNER *et al.*, editors. *Il potere delle immagini: La metafora politica in prospettiva storica/Die*

Macht der Vorstellungen: Die politische Metapher in historischer Perspektive. (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento/Jahrbuch des italienische-deutschen historischen Instituts in Trient, number 7.) Bologna: Mulino or Duncker und Humblot, Berlin. 1993. Pp. 410. L. 40,000 or DM 45.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

TO THE EDITOR:

I thank John E. Wills, Jr., for his review of my book, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* [AHR, 99 (February 1994): 191]. I expected my work, especially the estimates of the volume and value of Portuguese Cape cargoes and investments in Asian country trades, to be controversial and to elicit criticism. But the reviewer should have been more careful in his reading and avoided the assertion that "in his effort to compare total Portuguese public and private investments in Asian trade with those of the Dutch East India Company, Boyajian fails to consider as investments the profits of trade within Asia that the company retained and reinvested in Asia (p. 115)." I refer the reviewer and other readers to pages 111–14 as well as 115, wherein I consider the financing of company operations on subscription capital, debt incurred on the Amsterdam market, direct subsidies from the Dutch States-General, and retained profits of trade. The reviewer apparently does not understand the VOC's financial statements, and he does not refer to my discussion of Dutch Asian trading operations (especially pp. 148–50). The financial statements consolidate and summarize all of the VOC's commercial and predatory operations for all factories in Asia. They are by definition measures of profits (or losses). The statements I used are nothing more than the Asian balance sheets first prepared by Jan Peterszoon Coen in 1621, restated as modern Balance Sheets and Income Statements and translated from Dutch florins to Portuguese crusados. The first set of statements (p. 149), for the period January 13, 1613, through January 7, 1621, reveals a loss of 249,481 crusados in Asia; therefore, for that period at least,

the VOC's country trade produced no profits to reinvest in Asia. The Balance Sheet demonstrates that the capital to continue and expand operations in Asia was coming instead from the Netherlands, hence the Asian factories' liability of 1,974,850 crusados to the General Company in the Netherlands. The company's only profits were derived from selling in Europe Asian cargoes delivered to Amsterdam. But these profits were insufficient to pay the dividends investors were demanding, finance the expansion of naval actions against the Portuguese and Spanish in Asia, and build the Asian factories' trading capital. Thus, through the 1620s, the General Company went heavily in debt on the Amsterdam market to finance its build-up of capital in Asia. The second set of financial statements (p. 224), for the decades ending February 1631 and November 1640 respectively, again consolidate and summarize the results of the Dutch Asian factories' operations. The Income Statements demonstrate that now there were modest profits in Asia. The decade ending February 1631, however, would not have been profitable were it not for the addition of 586,199 crusados of prizes taken from Portuguese and native trade within Asia. Thanks to these profits, by the decade ending in November 1640 the Asian factories had repaid much of the liability to the General Company in the Netherlands, which stood at just 183,457 crusados. I note all this in the text of my book. Finally, the conclusions I draw from these statements differ little from conclusions drawn by leading specialists in Dutch company history.

I suggest that the reviewer profit by rereading the cited pages and perhaps reconsider his conclusion that my book includes "some shaky quantitative reasoning."

JAMES C. BOYAJIAN
Madera, California

JOHN E. WILLS REPLIES:

I certainly was too quick in my criticism of Boyajian's effort to compare Portuguese and Dutch investments, and I find his rejoinder quite convincing. My apologies. Other issues of quantitative reasoning and reliability of data would require even longer discussion,

of a kind that is very difficult in a 500-word review. Above all, I want to accentuate the positive; this is an important book based on excellent archival research, and it develops a basic and convincing revision of earlier interpretations of Portuguese Asian trade.

JOHN E. WILLS, JR.
University of Southern California

of Polish anti-Semitism") or simply a device to obfuscate a simplistic and biased position?

PIOTR S. WANDYCZ
Yale University
ANTONY POLONSKY
Brandeis University

TO THE EDITOR:

B. Pinchuk's review [AHR, 99 (April 1994): 609] of David Engel, *Facing a Holocaust: The Polish Government in Exile and the Jews*, does a disservice to the complex and touchy debate on Polish-Jewish relations during World War II. Whatever one's opinion of Engel's study, it is a serious book based on an impressive array of sources. The author is aware of the complexity of the subject and its nuances. The reviewer is far less subtle. Characterizing the activity of the Polish government toward the genocide as "glaringly meager"—and which Allied government, as Walter Laqueur has shown, had a faultless record?—Pinchuk proceeds to make sweeping and unsubstantiated assertions. He claims that the Polish government did not "feel itself duty bound to its Jewish citizens" and that "one could hardly expect a different policy from a Polish government that represented the Polish political elite of the Second Republic. It was the same elite that on the eve of the war created in Poland the most outrageous manifestations of anti-Semitism, including legal discrimination, boycotts, pogroms, and plans for mass expulsion."

Blissfully ignoring the wide range of attitudes toward the Jews that existed among Polish politicians, Pinchuk subsumes them all under "Polish political elite" and makes this elite collectively responsible for the crudest anti-Semitism. The government established in Paris and London after the Polish defeat was a coalition. It did include representatives of the National Democrats, who before the war had made anti-Semitism a central plank in their political program. But its tone was set by the prime minister, General Józef Sikorski, who had made clear in the pre-war years his commitment to liberal democratic principles and who frequently upheld them during the war. It included representatives of the followers of Józef Piłsudski, who certainly until his death in 1935 had strongly opposed political anti-Semitism, and members of the pre-war left-of-center opposition, including such socialists and Jews as Ludwik Grosfeld, a cabinet minister in the wartime government, and Herman Lieberman, a deputy speaker in the National Council, the "parliament" established by that government. Pinchuk seems to realize that such oversimplifications would not stand up to the test of documentary evidence, as he wishes us to look beyond the documents into "deeper recesses of the cultural make-up of the participants." Is this an attempt at psychohistory (the "mother's milk theory

BEN-CION PINCHUK REPLIES:

Reviewing David Engel's book, I followed the basic guidelines of scholarly criticism. I tried to assess Engel's contribution to the subject of his research as well as the quality of his scholarship and presentation. I certainly had no intention of performing any service, or "disservice," to the complex and touchy debate on Polish-Jewish relations during World War II. That was not my role as reviewer, though it seems to be the purpose of Professors Wandycz and Polonsky. If my conclusions have some implications for that touchy debate, they are based entirely on Engel's book. To reiterate what should be clear in my review, I think that Engel's study is of great scholarly value. My major conclusion that the activity of the Polish government in the face of the Holocaust was "glaringly meager" is Engel's conclusion, and his entire book shows precisely how reluctant, evasive, and negligible were the actions of the Polish government when millions of its Jewish citizens were slaughtered. As a matter of fact, even Wandycz and Polonsky do not claim that the record is any different. They draw our attention to the fact that the record of other governments was not faultless either. This is an overly subtle way of saying that other Allied governments did close to nothing in the face of the Holocaust. To spell out that fact in clear and unequivocal terms is the role of the researcher and the reviewer. One should not hide with complexity and nuance very basic truths and proven facts, facts such as the rampant anti-Semitism in Poland on the eve of the war. The letter writers do not deny the fact that Polish anti-Semitism existed in the period preceding September 1939, but they expected a review of five hundred words to take account of "the wide range of attitudes toward the Jews that existed among Polish politicians." Of course, there was a wide range of attitudes and nuances in Polish-Jewish relations, but they did not count for much at the time.

My assertion that in order to understand Polish behavior in the face of the Holocaust one has to look beyond diplomatic notes and official memoranda should be self-evident in any historical research. It is beyond my comprehension how the commentators connected me with the "mother's milk" theory of Polish anti-Semitism. The idea that relations between people, in this case Poles and Jews during the Holocaust, are based on deeper levels than diplomatic-tactical considerations hardly needs any proof.

Historical phenomena are always complex and full of nuances and subtleties. However, there are also proven facts and ascertainable verities. Wandycz and

Polonsky did not provide any fact that would change the major conclusions that were reached in Engel's study and spelled out, I had hoped, clearly in my review. Perhaps by being direct and avoiding nuances, I inadvertently contributed in a positive way to the debate on Polish-Jewish relations during World War II.

BEN-CION PINCHUK
Haifa University

ERRATUM

In the review of Mascarenhas Barreto's book *The Portuguese Columbus* [AHR, 98 (December 1993): 1590], the date of the Treaty of Tordesillas was mistakenly given as 1493. Bernard Sinsheimer points out that the treaty was signed on June 7, 1494. The editors regret the error.

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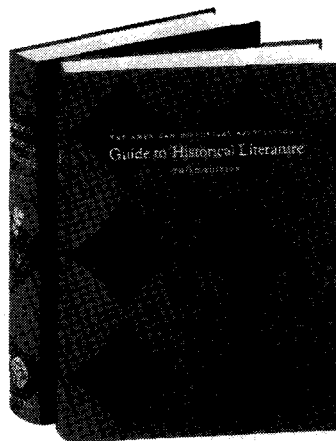
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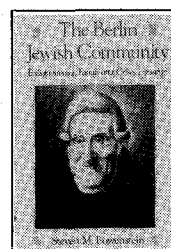
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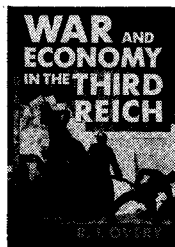
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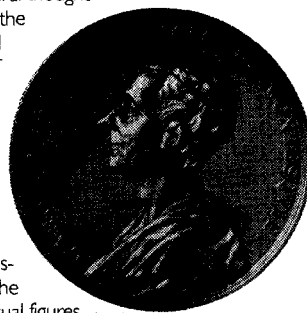
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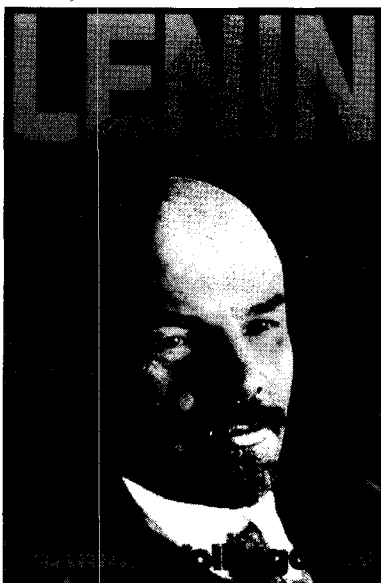
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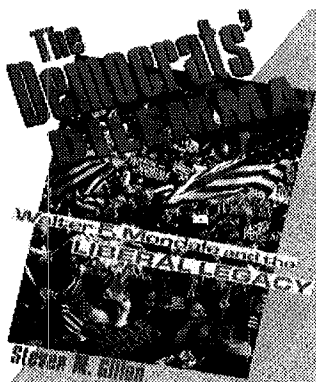
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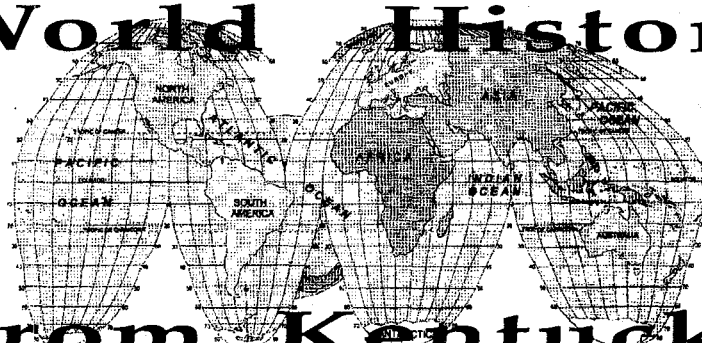
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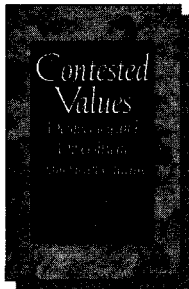
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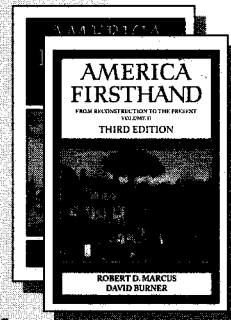
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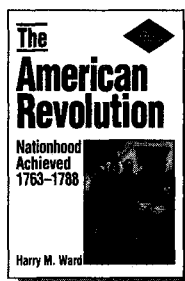
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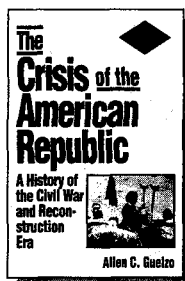
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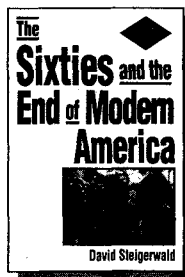
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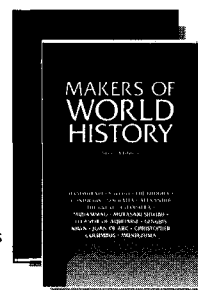
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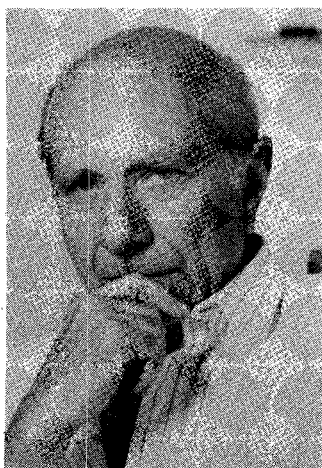
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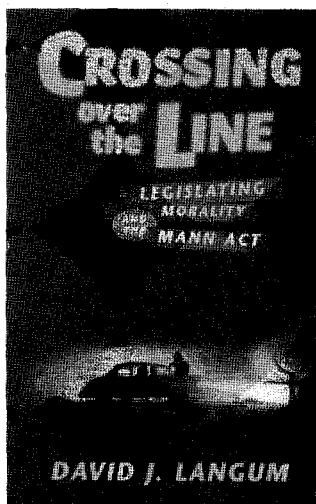
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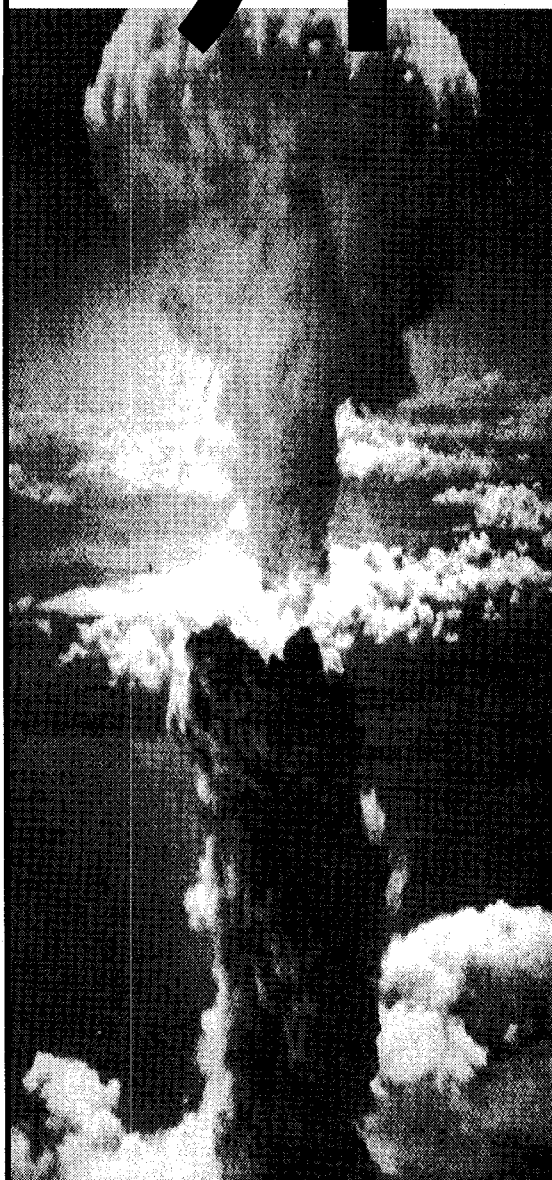
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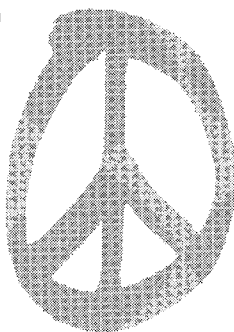
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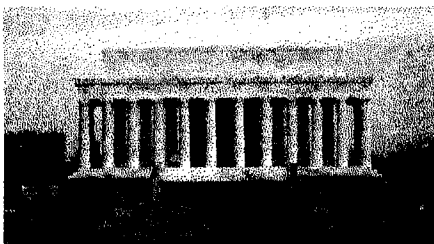


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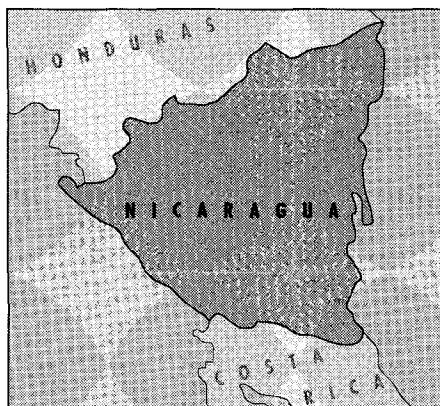
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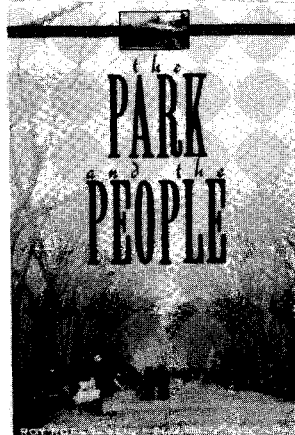
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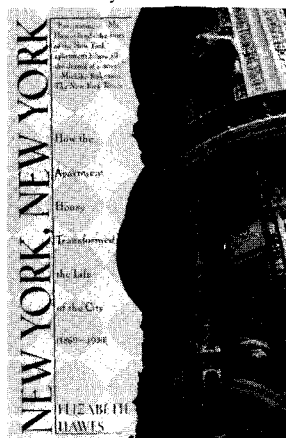
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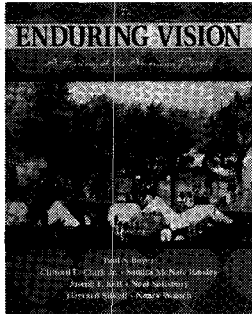
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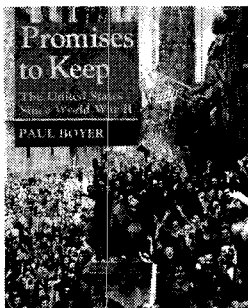
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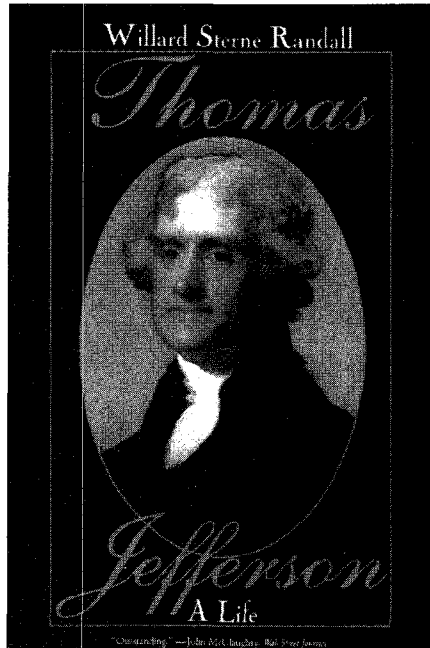
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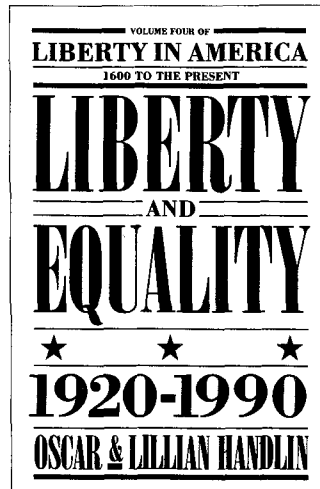
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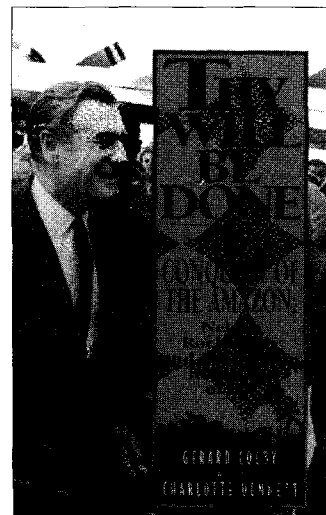
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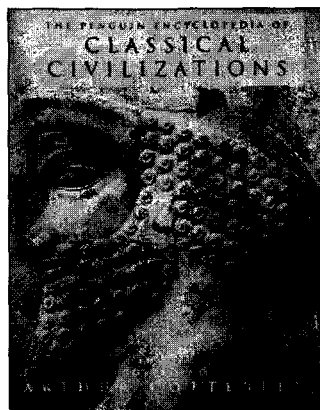
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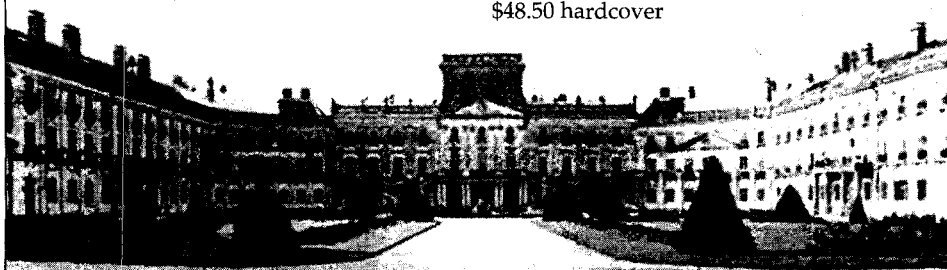
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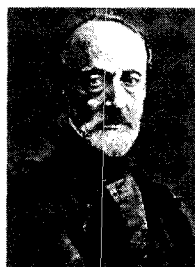
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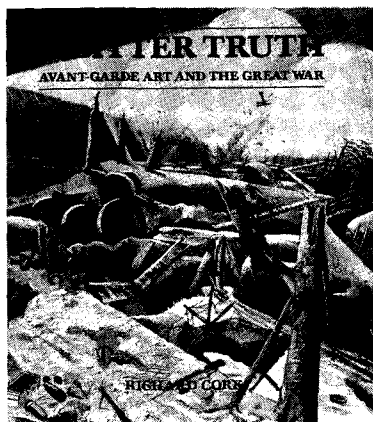
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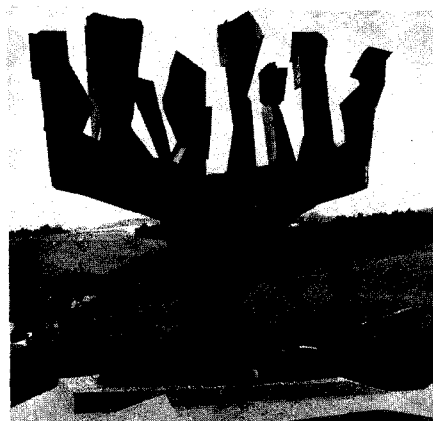
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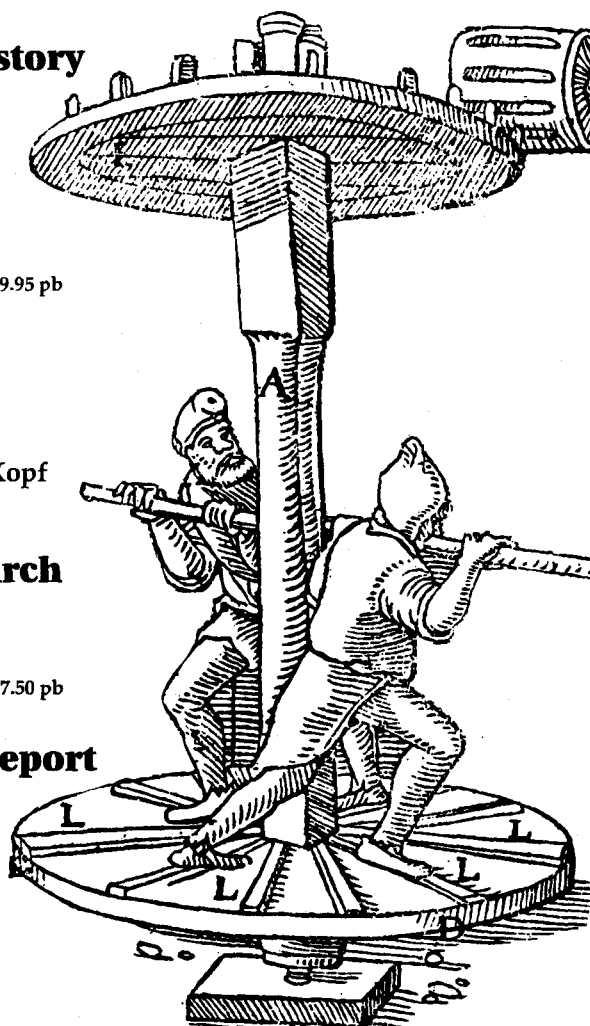
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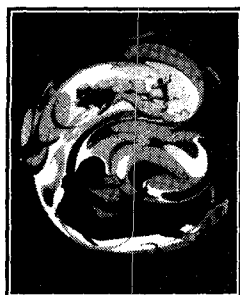
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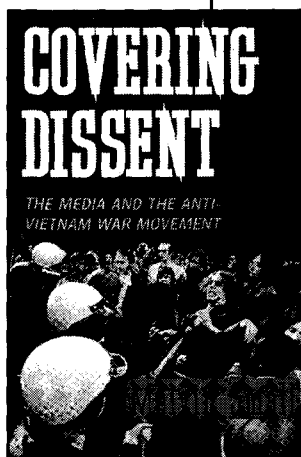
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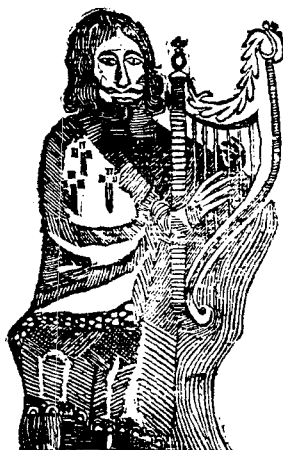
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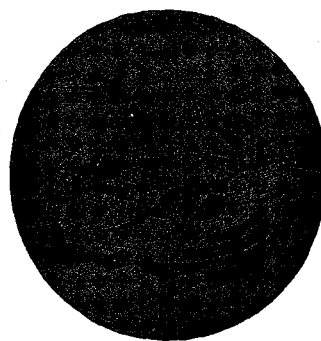
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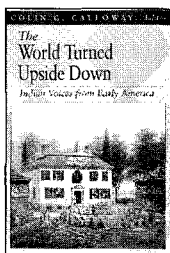
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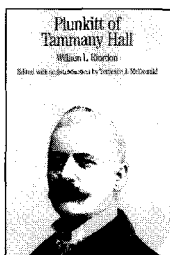
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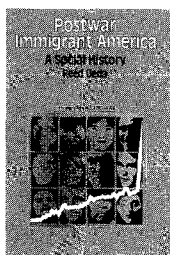


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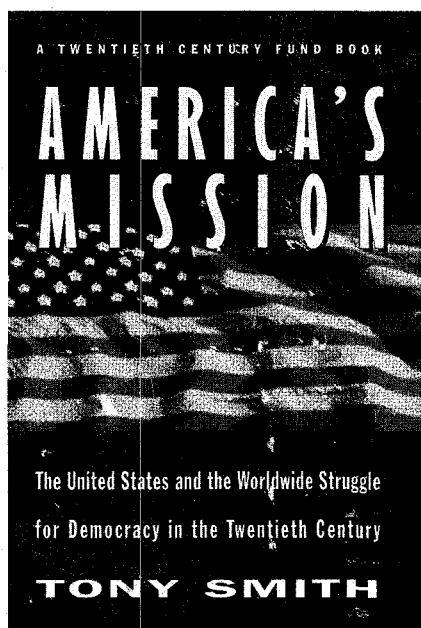
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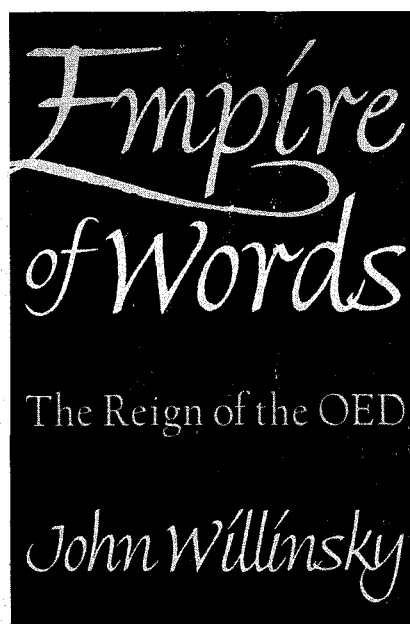
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